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THE FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES
OF THE
PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
DEDICATE
THIS VOLUME
TO THE MEMORY OF
P. OSMUND LEWRY, O.P.



P. OSMUND LEWRY, O.P. (1929-1987)

J. Ambrose Raftis, C.S.B.

Patrick Osmund Lewry, O.P. died on 23 April 1987 at Blackfriars, Oxford (England). It was only upon his return to his beloved Oxford in June 1986 that the presence of cancer was discovered. Despite his heroic efforts to recover sufficiently to return to Toronto and his students for at least some brief period of time the remorseless progress of the disease made this impossible. Nevertheless, the last year of the life of Father Osmund became a triumphal capstone to his career. In both the homily of the Prior given at the funeral on 30 April 1987 and the homily given by the President of the Pontifical Institute during the memorial Mass at Toronto on 13 May, the joyful fullness of the last year of his life for Father Osmund in himself and in his relationship with his friends was presented as the underlying theme.

It was fitting for the scion of a military family that Lewry should have been born on 8 May 1929 at Königstein-in-Taunus while his father served in the British Army of the Rhine just as his father in turn had been born in Lucknow during a period of his grandfather's service in India. But somehow the military genes failed to be transmitted to the Lewry born in 1929. Rather, his life reveals a deep underlying current of what another mediaevalist has characterized as 'surprised by joy', a current that was nourished by his family's memories of the idyllic Rhineland, his own early school opportunities for cultural association with old London and domestic encouragement of an interest in literature and music. Fulfillment of this inner aspiration, however, was to take a lifetime. Declining family fortunes directed the young Lewry to a far from classical secondary school, a university scholarship in mathematics and chemistry that ended in three years of failure, and several years of military service as a clerk with the prospect of becoming an education officer. But the spark was not allowed to go out, as the young Lewry seized every opportunity for independent reading, adopted a religion that he found expressive of his inner inclinations and gradually discovered his ideals to be articulated in the vocation of the Dominican.

The academic ambivalence that had dogged the first twenty years of Osmund Lewry's life was to continue for almost another twenty years. His acceptance into

the Dominican community was delayed some four years owing to his ignorance of Latin. The broad training in philosophy and theology required for ordination to the priesthood that would only be attained as he arrived at thirty years of age (29 September 1959) and the subsequent two years at Oxford devoted to obtaining his S.T.L. was too unexceptional in its requirements to reveal his special talents. Indeed, despite his early predilection for logic he was first perceived by his counsellors as a prime candidate for canon law, although this prospect was quickly changed to the opportunity for training in logic. A year at Manchester provided an introduction to the Polish school of logic by followers of Jan Lukasiewicz. This year was characterized as well by involvement in parochial activities and cooperation with such groups as the Young Christian Workers. By the end of the year Father Lewry was also prepared to become deeply immersed in the constitutional changes of his Dominican province and the pastoral adjustments required after Vatican II. From August 1968 to September 1969 Lewry was in South Africa as a lecturer in theology, and he was deeply involved in the concerns of apartheid through life with his Dominican brothers and visits to the coloured in the notorious Stellenbosch area. His professional academic career came fully into focus only from the end of the 1960s.

A long period of study and teaching in traditional cosmology, along with the opportunity for courses in mathematical logic, had left Lewry with a clear sense of direction. In his own words, 'our future interest ... was more in the history and philosophy of logic than in manipulative skill'. He was well prepared to take advantage of general direction from the distinguished mediaevalist, Sir Richard Southern, and to be supervised by one of Oxford's most erudite men, Dr. R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library. By the time he had completed his D. Phil. thesis (September 1978), Osmund Lewry was already well known to European scholars in his field by the presentation of papers. One year later Lewry came to the Pontifical Institute at Toronto from Oxford which, as he wrote, 'for all its scholarly growth was a desert for medieval philosophy'. Full opportunity was obtained for continued research and publishing at Toronto as a Junior Fellow (1981) and Senior Fellow (1983). But there was more. A long and varied experience of communication on every level of life in a score of contexts had left him admirably prepared to become one of the more successful teachers and theses directors among Toronto mediaevalists.

Perhaps because those Toronto years were spent in the Pontifical Institute community, to us they seem to have been the providential crown of Osmund Lewry's career. Within our ambience of older and younger scholars, Lewry found new fields for his steadily widening academic interests. Step by step he achieved a solid reputation for expertise in the recovery of mediaeval logic. That reputation is guaranteed permanence by his editorship of *The Rise of British Logic*, papers of a 1983 Oxford symposium on Medieval Logic and Semantics in which he had

taken part, by his earlier contributions on Robert Kilwardby and on Boethius, on a Robertus de Vulgarbia who had continued unfinished work by Aquinas on the *Perihermeneias*, as well as by investigations of the enigmatic *Liber sex principiorum*. In our time the study of mediaeval logic enjoys new prestige thanks to pioneering work by a galaxy of erudite mediaevalists; Osmund Lewry was an acknowledged member of that company. Still, in the multi-disciplinary tradition of the Pontifical Institute, Lewry went well beyond logic. From the symbolism of the peacock in Jewish and in Christian art, to mediaeval perceptions of aging and of the papacy, he passed through the ways in which ethics, metaphysics, and rhetoric were taught and studied in the medieval university.

During those years too, he journeyed from his Toronto base to libraries and to friends and to historical sites in the United States and in the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Despite the quiet pastoral influence he exercised upon a number of our students (a role intensified for him after the loss of our colleague James A. Weisheipl, O.P.), Lewry regretted what he counted a diminution of his pastoral function. In his intention Osmund Lewry was first and last a Dominican friar and priest who happened to be a professional scholar, not a scholar who happened to be a Dominican.

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THE UNIVOCITY OF THE CONCEPT OF BEING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: JOHN DUNS SCOTUS AND WILLIAM OF ALNWICK*

Stephen D. Dumont

WHEN John Duns Scotus in the early version of his *Commentary on the Sentences* advanced his position that there is a concept of being univocally common to God and creatures, he knew it would provoke controversy. 'It seems', he says, 'that to maintain the univocity of being to all things destroys the whole philosophy.'¹ Controversy did ensue and the univocity of being became a dominant topic of debate in the fourteenth century.² An early participant in this

* Research for this study was begun at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., and was funded in part by a Faculty Research Grant from that institution. I wish to thank Professor Stephen F. Brown, for reading an earlier draft of my edition and for making available to me his unpublished editions of Peter Aureoli's *Commentarium* and the anonymous *QQ ord. de conceptibus transcendentibus*. I am also grateful to The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., for lending me microfilms of Alnwick's question until my copies arrived from Europe. The following libraries graciously provided me with microfilm copies of the manuscripts used in this edition and granted me permission to publish their contents: Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale; Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska; Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana.

¹ 'Sed contra. Videtur enim quod hoc destruat totam philosophiam, ponere univocationem entis ad omnia ...' (1 *Lect.* d.3 n.105 [Vat. 16.264]). There are two versions of Scotus' Oxford *Commentary on the Sentences*: the early *Lectura* and the later *Ordinatio*. On these terms and Scotus' works in general, see Charles Balić, 'The Life and Works of John Duns Scotus' in *John Duns Scotus, 1265-1965*, ed. John K. Ryan and Bernadine Bonansea (Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy 3; Washington, D. C., 1965), pp. 1-27. The *Ordinatio* and *Lectura* are available in the critical Vatican edition up to 2 d.3 and 2 d.6 respectively. All other works of Scotus will be cited according to the Vivès reprint of the Wadding edition. For these two editions, see p. 34 below. It has been maintained that because his theory of univocity went so against common opinion Scotus held it as only probable (Timotheus Barth, 'De argumentis et univocationis entis natura apud Joannem Duns Scotum', *Collectanea franciscana* 14 [1944] 35 note 2; Stephen F. Brown, 'Scotus' Univocity in the Early Fourteenth Century' in *De doctrina Ioannis Duns Scoti* 4 vols. [Rome, 1968] 4.38). The chief evidence for this view is that Scotus qualifies his position on univocity as follows: 'Non asserendo, quia non consonat opinioni communi, dici potest ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 q.2 n.5 [Vivès 9.18]). As Balić has pointed out, however, the lines containing this qualification are spurious ('Circa positiones fundamentales I. Duns Scoti', *Antonianum* 28 [1953] 278-79 and 'The Nature and Value of the Complete Works of John Duns Scotus' in *John Duns Scotus, 1265-1965*, p. 375; cf. 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.26 [Vat. 3.16]).

² For an overview of many of the opinions in the controversy, see the articles cited in the previous note by Barth, pp. 48-56, and Brown. In addition to the several studies on univocity mentioned in

debate was the English Franciscan, William of Alnwick (d. 1333), one of Scotus' closest associates and an editor of his *Commentary on the Sentences*.³ Considerable attention has been given to Alnwick over the past fifty years, especially to his theory of the divine ideas and his anti-Averroist writings.⁴ These studies show Alnwick

the ensuing notes, see also: Camille Bérubé, 'La question sur l'univocité de Vat. lat. 4871', *Collectanea franciscana* 41 (1971) 148-71; Stephen F. Brown, 'Gerard of Bologna's *Quodlibet* 1, quaestio 1: On the Analogy of Being', *Carmelus* 31 (1984) 143-70; Matthew Menges, *The Concept of Univocity regarding the Predication of God and Creatures according to William Ockham* (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1952); Armand Maurer, 'Henry of Harclay's Question on the Univocity of Being', *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954) 1-18; Robert Prentice, *An Anonymous Question on the Unity of the Concept of Being Attributed to Scotus* (Rome, 1972) [edition of same text as Bérubé above]; Joseph Przezdziecki, 'Thomas of Sutton's Critique on the Doctrine of Univocity' in *An Étienne Gilson Tribute*, ed. Charles O'Neil (Milwaukee, 1959), pp. 189-208; Michael Schmaus, 'Die Quaestio des Petrus Sutton OFM über die Univokation des Seins', *Collectanea franciscana* 3 (1933) 5-25 and *Thomas Wylton als Verfasser eines Kommentars zur aristotelischen Physik* (Munich, 1957); Bartomeu Xiberta, 'Guiu Terrena i Sant Tomàs sobre l'analogia de l'èsser', *Criterion* (Barcelona) 6 (1930) 11-34.

³ On the life and works of Alnwick, see Guillelmus de Alnwick, *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili et de quodlibet*, ed. Athanasius Ledoux (Quaracchi, 1937), pp. ix-xlvi; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), 1.27. Alnwick attests to having heard and recorded one of Scotus' *collationes* (Ledoux, p. xi). On the evidence that some witnesses of the *Ordinatio* are descended from an edition made by Alnwick, see 'Adnotationes ad nonnullas quaestiones circa *Ordinationem* I. Duns Scoti' (Vat. 4.44* note 1). Alnwick is also credited with compiling the *Additiones magnae*, which are long additions to lacunae in Scotus' *Ordinatio*. On the latter, see [Charles Balić], *Les commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les quatre livres des Sentences* (Louvain, 1927), pp. 264-301. It is to be noted that the text printed as the *Reportatio parisiensis* in vol. 22 of the Vivès edition is, as Wadding himself indicates, based upon Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 876 ('Censura Lucae Waddingi' [Vivès 22.4-5]). For the first book, however, this manuscript carries *Additiones magnae* extracted by Alnwick from Scotus' Parisian and Oxford lectures, not a *Reportatio parisiensis*. See 'De *Ordinatione* I. Duns Scoti: Disquisitio historico-critica' (Vat. 1.38*-42*, 145*); 'Adnotationes' (Vat. 7.4* note 2).

⁴ In addition to his disputed and quodlibetal questions, the following works of Alnwick have been edited:

In libros Sententiarum

- prol. q.1: Joachim D'Souza, 'William of Alnwick and the Problem of Faith and Reason', *Salesianum* 35 (1973) 425-88.
- prol. q.2: Stephen F. Brown, 'Sources for Ockham's Prologue to the *Sentences-II*', *Franciscan Studies* 27 (1967) 61-107.
- 2 d.3 q.1: P. T. Stella, 'Illi qui student in Scoto: Guglielmo di Alnwick e la haecceitas scotista', *Salesianum* 30 (1968) 614-41.

Determinationes

- q.1: 'La sindrome della scienza nella questione "Utrum habitus scientiae sit subiective in intellectu" di Guglielmo di Alnwick', *Orientamenti pedagogici* 15 (1968) 767-803.
- qq.5-7: Zdzisław Kuksewicz, 'Wilhelma Alnwicka tryz kwestie antyawerroistyczne o duszy intelektualnej', *Studia mediewistyczne* (Warsaw) 7 (1966) 3-76.
- q.5: Faustino Prezioso, *Il problema dell'unione tra anima e corpo in Guglielmo Alnwick* (Naples, 1966).

to command a complete knowledge of Scotus' writings, but very often to be critical of his positions. Alnwick's critical attitude has earned him the label of 'independent Scotist'.⁵ As we shall see, this characterization holds true of Alnwick's appraisal of Scotus' teaching on univocity. Alnwick's discussion of univocity is contained in 1 *Sentences* question 8, published here for the first time: 'Whether the being predicated of God and creatures, substance and accident, predicates some intention univocally common to them.'

For purposes of analysis, Alnwick's treatment of univocity can be divided into two separate but related issues. The first is whether the concept of being expresses a single or univocal meaning (*ratio*) applicable to both God and creatures. This issue had been sharply focused with Scotus' critique of Henry of Ghent's theory of analogy.⁶ The second is whether being is predicated essentially or 'quidditatively' (*in quid*) of the other transcendentals and ultimate differences. It appears that widespread debate over this latter question begins with Alnwick's criticism of

- q.6: *Il problema dell'immortalità dell'anima in Duns Scoto e in Guglielmo Alnwick* (Padua, 1964).
 q.10: *L'eternità aristotelica del mondo in una Quaestio inedita di Guglielmo Alnwick* (Padua, 1962).
 q.12: Michael Schmaus, 'Gulielmi de Alnwick, O.F.M., doctrina de medio quo Deus cognoscit futura contingentia', *Bogoslovni vestnik* 12 (1932) 201-25.
 qq.23-27: R. Franz Wagner, *Die Relationslehre Wilhelms von Alnwick: Textedition und doktrinale Studie* (Diss. Louvain, 1970).
 Sermo: Marc Dykmans, 'Le dernier sermon de Guillaume d'Alnwick', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 63 (1970) 259-79.

Studies devoted to Alnwick include: Pío Sagüés Azcona, 'Una cuestión inédita del código Vat. lat. 1012', *Estudios eclesiásticos* 47 (1972) 555-83; Anneliese Maier, 'Wilhelm von Alnwick's Bologneser Quaestiones gegen den Averroismus (1323)', *Gregorianum* 30 (1949) 265-308; reprinted in *Ausgehendes Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1964-77) 1.1-40; Faustino Prezioso, *L'evoluzione del volontarismo da Duns Scoto a Guglielmo Alnwick* (Naples, 1964); D. Veliath, 'The Scotism of William of Alnwick in His *Determinationes de anima*', *Salesianum* 32 (1970) 93-134; R. Franz Wagner, 'Relation und Wissen. Der Einfluss der Relationslehre auf die Deutung des Wissens und des Erkennens bei Wilhelm von Alnwick', *Franziskanische Studien* 53 (1971) 228-74; Otto Wanke, *Die Kritik Wilhelms von Alnwick an der Ideenlehre des Johannes Duns Scotus* (Bonn, 1965).

⁵ This label was fixed by Ledoux, p. ix. Among the doctrines of Scotus Alnwick criticizes are that the divine ideas have intelligible being, that the principle of individuation is a positive entity, and that the immortality of the soul is indemonstrable.

⁶ It is worth stressing that the debate is over the univocity of the *concept* of being. Both Henry and Scotus hold that being is not a single reality (*res, realitas*) common to God and creatures but two wholly diverse *realitates* proper to each. At issue is whether any *concept* which is positive and real, as opposed to a mere second intention, can be applied univocally to these two diverse *realitates*. Scotus is especially clear that this is the point of contention: 'Nota quomodo aliqua intentio prima de a et b indifferenter et nihil unius rationis in re correspondet, sed intelliguntur obiecta formalia primo diversa, in una intentione prima ...' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 Adnotatio Duns Scoti [Vat. 4.221:19-21]). See notes 11 and 94 below.

Scotus contained in the question edited below. Each issue will be taken up separately and Alnwick's contribution to the debate over univocity assessed.

I

THE UNIVOCITY OF THE CONCEPT OF BEING

Alnwick upholds Scotus' position that there is a single concept of being univocally common to God and creatures. Since Scotus develops his theory of univocity in reaction to the particular version of analogy advanced by Henry of Ghent, the expectation is to find Alnwick directing the arguments of Scotus against those of Henry. This is not historically, even if doctrinally, the case. Without ever naming them, Alnwick instead marshals Scotus' arguments against his own more contemporary Franciscans, Richard of Conington and Robert Cowton.⁷ Although both Conington and Cowton reject Scotus' doctrine of univocity, it is Conington whom Alnwick singles out as posing the contrary position.⁸ An avowed disciple of Henry, Conington pointedly defends his master's peculiar version of analogy by directly attacking Scotus' arguments against Henry.⁹ Thus, by singling out Conington, Alnwick in effect addresses a more current formulation of Henry's position.

⁷ On Robert Cowton's theory of analogy, see Stephen F. Brown, 'Robert Cowton, O.F.M. and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971) 5-40 and Hermann Theissing, *Glaube und Theologie bei Robert Cowton* (BGPTM 42.3; Münster i. W., 1969), pp. 32-39. For Thomas of Sutton's polemic against Cowton's theory of analogy, see Michael Schmaus, *Zur Diskussion über das Problem der Univocität im Umkreis des Johannes Duns Scotus* (Munich, 1957), pp. 105-23. Other studies on Cowton include: Stephen F. Brown, 'Sources for Ockham's Prologue to the Sentences — II', *Franciscan Studies* 27 (1967) 39-60; Barnabas Hechich, *De immaculata conceptione BVM secundum Thomam de Sutton OP et Robertum de Cowton OFM* (Rome, 1958); Odon Lottin, 'Robert de Cowton et Jean Duns Scot', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954) 281-94. It is disputed whether Cowton's *Sentences* are to be dated before (Lottin) or after (Hechich, Theissing) Scotus' *Ordinatio*. See Brown, 'Robert Cowton', 5-6.

⁸ It is interesting to note that both Cowton and Conington were theologians from Oxford. Franciscans at Paris were more receptive of Scotus' theory of univocity. Another early rejection at Oxford of Scotus' univocity can be found in Peter Bradlay. See Edward A. Synan, 'Master Peter Bradlay on the *Categories*', *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967) 279-80, 283-84.

⁹ On Conington's life and works, see: Stephen F. Brown, 'Richard of Conington and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', *Franziskanische Studien* 48 (1966) 297-307 and 'Sources for Ockham's Prologue to the *Sentences*', *Franciscan Studies* 26 (1966) 51-65; Victorin Doucet, 'L'œuvre scolastique de Richard de Conington O.F.M.', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 29 (1936) 396-442; Emden, *Biographical Register of Oxford* 1.477. Conington incepted in theology at Oxford c. 1306. Conington is explicitly called a follower of Henry by his contemporaries. He espouses Henry's version of analogy in both his *Quaestio ordinaria* 1 (ed. Doucet, 'Richard de Conington', 430-38) and his *Quodlibet* 1 q.2 (ed. Brown, 'Richard of Conington', 299-307). The later *Quodlibet* shows more awareness of Scotus and is consequently the account attacked by Alnwick. It appears, however, that Scotus himself had already begun to respond to Conington's renewed version of Henry's teachings. See 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.212 (16.312 note 1); 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.52 (4.174 note 5 and *apparatus fontium* to l. 8). Contrary to the indication by the editors in the *apparatus* at these two places, Alnwick cannot be the author of the two questions on univocity in Vatican City, Biblioteca

The version of analogy which Scotus attacks, Conington defends, and Alnwick in turn reattacks, is found in Henry of Ghent's *Summae quaestionum ordinariarum* a.21 q.2.¹⁰ According to Henry, there can be no real concept of being univocally common to God and creature because they communicate in no reality which could serve as the objective foundation for such a concept.¹¹ Rather, being can only be conceived as applying solely to God or solely to creatures, for there is no concept common to both. There is thus no simple concept of being but only two wholly

Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 869, fols. 29v-44r since they quote and argue against his question here edited. See note 109 and p. 31 below.

¹⁰ *SQO* 21.2 (1.123E-125A). Henry's doctrine of analogy and Scotus' critique of it are too well known to need any detailed account here. For the present purpose of locating Alnwick in this debate, an outline of the positions of Henry and Scotus will suffice. Nevertheless, the extent to which Scotus and Henry agree on the concept of being remains underappreciated. The point of Scotus' arguments is not, as he himself makes clear, to deny that the concept of being is analogous but that it is *exclusively* analogous: '... dico quod *non tantum* in conceptu analogo conceptui creaturae concipitur Deus ... sed in conceptu aliquo univoco sibi et creaturae ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.26 [Vat. 3.18]). According to Scotus, Henry's analogous concept does not preclude univocity but presupposes it. Analogy of attribution and univocity are thus compatible for Scotus. See 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.83 (Vat. 4.191-92). Even less noticed but more significant is the degree to which Henry's apparently univocal, but really analogous concept of being, in fact functions univocally. At times Henry's language of analogy is indiscernible from Scotus' language of univocity: 'Species enim prima intelligibilis ex phantasmate abstrahitur, qua per intellectum concipiuntur primo primi conceptus intelligibiles, entis scilicet et unius veri et boni, et aliarum generalium intentionum ut generales sunt, non distinguendo in eis id quod creatoris ab eo quod est creaturae ... *sicut etiam in univocis abstrahitur natura communis* ...' (*SQO* 24.7 [1.144i]); 'Et hoc modo ens simpliciter tanquam universale quoddam descendit in ens creatum et increatum. Nihil enim reale commune significat creato et increato, non tamen est pure aequivocum, sed partim univocum et partim aequivocum. Et quoad hoc quod habet rationem univoci potest distribuere simul pro creato et increato ...' (*SQO* 75.6 [2.311z]). This of course was not lost on Scotus: '... omnes magistri et theologi videntur uti conceptu communi Deo et creaturae ...' (1 *Lect.* d.3 n.29 [Vat. 16.235]). The distance between Henry's apparently univocal and Scotus' really univocal concept of being is thus not as great as it might seem. For the background to the present discussion in Henry and Scotus, see Stephen F. Brown, 'Avicenna and the Unity of the Concept of Being: The Interpretations of Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, Gerard of Bologna and Peter Aureoli', *Franciscan Studies* 25 (1965) 117-50; Timotheus Barth, 'Being, Univocity, and Analogy according to Duns Scotus' in *John Duns Scotus, 1265-1965*, pp. 210-62; Ludger Honnefelder, *Ens inquantum ens: Der Begriff des Seienden als solchen als Gegenstand der Metaphysik nach der Lehre des Johannes Duns Scotus* (BGPTM N.F. 16; Münster i. W., 1979), pp. 268-312; Jean Paulus, *Henri de Gand. Essai sur les tendances de sa métaphysique* (Paris, 1938), pp. 52-66; Allan B. Wolter, *The Transcendentals and Their Function in the Metaphysics of Duns Scotus* (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1946), pp. 31-57. A succinct and very clear presentation of Henry's position remains the one given by Scotus himself. See 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.20-23 (Vat. 3.11-15). This has been translated by Allan B. Wolter in *Duns Scotus: Philosophical Writings* (Indianapolis, 1962), pp. 20-22.

¹¹ '... nullo modo ens potest esse aliquid commune reale Deo et creaturae. Et ideo absolute dicendum quod esse non est aliquid commune reale in quo Deus communicet cum creaturis, et ita si ens aut esse praedicatur de Deo et creaturis, hoc est sola nominis communitate, nulla rei. Et ita non univoco per definitionem univocorum ...' (*SQO* 21.2 [1.124F-G. Cf. 'Nunc autem cum nihil sit commune reale in ente significatum ad creatorem et creaturam ...' (*SQO* 21.3 [1.126i]); '... propter communitatem nominis solum, ut contingit in proposito in communitate entis ...' (*SQO* 21.4 [1.128Y])).

discrete notions which have nothing in common, the one proper to God, the other to creatures.¹² Despite the disparity of these two proper concepts, Henry maintains that they are analogous. That is, they are not equally primitive and wholly unrelated, but the concept proper to God is primary, while that proper to creatures is related to it as a secondary or derived notion. The real foundation for the analogous unity of these concepts is the creature's participation in the divine being as its effect.¹³

If Henry's analogous concept of being had gone no farther than this, it would have differed little from the formulations of his contemporaries, conforming to what Peter Aureoli calls the common opinion. According to Aureoli, the conventional view is that the concept of being does not possess a single common meaning (*ratio*), but expresses in a disjunctive way several proper meanings according to an order of priority and posteriority.¹⁴ Henry maintains, however, unlike the common view, that these two proper concepts of being can *appear* to form a single, univocal notion. How can two totally discrete concepts, having nothing in common, *appear* univocal?

Henry's explanation is that in both cases being is conceived as lacking all determination. As proper to creatures, however, being is conceived as undetermined by those limitations to which it is by nature subject. This is a universal concept formed by abstracting from creatures all determinations with which they are actually found. This concept of being is proper to creatures since the divine being cannot be conceived as a universal open to some advening determination. Rather, the being proper to God is undetermined in the sense that it is repugnant to any limitation. Being undetermined in this sense is infinite. In Henry's technical

¹² 'Nunquam enim potest concipi aliquis intellectus entis simpliciter absque eo quod homo concipit aliquem intellectum Dei aut creaturae, ut concipiat aliquem unicum intellectum simplicem communem ad Deum et creaturam, alium praeter intellectum Dei et creaturae, quia nullus potest esse talis. Sed si aliquid concipit homo, illud est aut quod pertinet ad esse Dei tantum aut quod pertinet ad esse creaturae tantum Omnis ergo conceptus realis quo aliquid rei concipitur concipiendum esse simpliciter aut est conceptus rei quae Deus est, aut quae creatura est, non alicuius communis ad utrumque' (*SQO* 21.2 [1.124o]); '... ut ex hoc nihil sit re commune Deo et creaturae positivum, sed negativum solum, et si aliquid sit positivum substratum negationi, illud est alterius et alterius rationis ...' (*ibid.* [1. 125s]).

¹³ 'Et ita quamvis in nulla convenientia realis similitudinis in aliqua forma significata nomine entis [*sc.* Deus et creatura] communicent, conveniunt tamen in ente convenientia imitationis formae ad formam, quarum unam significat ens inquantum convenit Deo, aliam vero inquantum convenit creaturae. Non ergo esse convenit Deo et creaturis univoce, quia non secundum eandem formam ad quam nomen entis ad significandum imponitur, nec tamen pure aequivoce, cum non aequè primo et principaliter significet formam Dei et creaturae ... sed medio modo, scilicet analogice, quia significat unum suorum significatorum primo et principaliter, alterum vero in ordine et respectu sive proportionem ad illud, ut primo et principaliter formam qua habet esse Deus, in ordine autem ad illam formam qua habet esse creatura Et secundum hunc modum ens communissime dictum primo significat Deum, secundario creaturam ...' (*SQO* 21.2 [1.124h-1]).

¹⁴ Brown, 'Scotus' Univocity', 36-37.

language, being conceived as proper to creatures is undetermined privatively, as proper to God undetermined negatively. The first is the absence of determination in act alone, the second in act and potency. These two modes of indeterminacy are so similar, claims Henry, that the intellect fails to distinguish between them and conceives them as one. That is, when the intellect first abstracts from creatures the general concept of being, it appears to have a unified concept of being as absolutely undetermined, equally applicable to God and creature. In this the intellect is deceived, for there is no positive concept of being as absolutely undetermined apart from its proper modes of negation and privation. Instead the intellect has conceived in a confused fashion two proper and distinct concepts, one applicable only to God, the other only to creatures.¹⁵ Analysis of this apparently univocal notion would show it to be in fact an 'analogously common' concept, that is, two distinct but related concepts conceived confusedly as one.

Thus, according to Henry's theory of analogy, there is no simple concept of being univocal to God and creature but only distinct concepts proper to each. These two proper notions are nonetheless united through both *attribution* and *confusion*.¹⁶ In the first case, the intellect grasps being *distinctly* in two proper

¹⁵ 'Quod autem nomine entis videatur concipi aliquid commune est quia sive concipiatur aliquid quod est res divina sive quod est creatura, tamen cum concipitur esse absque eo quod determinate et distincte concipitur esse Dei vel creaturae, illud non concipitur nisi indeterminate, scilicet non determinando intellectum ad esse Dei vel esse creaturae Intelligendum tamen quod illa indeterminatio alia est respectu esse Dei et alia respectu esse creaturae, quia duplex est indeterminatio: una negativa, altera vero privative dicta. Est enim negativa indeterminatio quando indeterminatum non est natum determinari, ad modum quo Deus dicitur esse infinitus, quia non est natus finiri. Est autem privativa indeterminatio quando indeterminatum natum est determinari, ad modum quo punctus dicitur infinitus cum non est determinatus lineis quibus natus est determinari. Secundum istam autem duplicem indeterminatorem oportet intelligere quod concipiendo esse simpliciter et indeterminate quod est Dei, tunc est indeterminatio negativa, quia esse Dei nullo est natum determinari Concipiendo autem ipsum esse indeterminate indeterminatione privationis illorum quibus natum est determinari, concipitur esse quod creaturae est, quia esse creaturae per proprias naturas quibus invicem differunt, natum est determinari Per hunc ergo modum esse indeterminatum per abnegationem convenit Deo et per privationem creaturae. Et quia indeterminatio per abnegationem et per privationem propinqua sunt, quia ambae tollunt determinationem, una tantum secundum actum, alia secundum actum simul et potentiam, ideo non potentes distinguere inter huiusmodi diversa pro eodem concipiunt esse simpliciter et esse indeterminatum, sive uno modo sive altero, sive sit Dei sive creaturae. Natura enim est intellectus non potentis distinguere ea quae propinqua sunt, concipere ipsa ut unum, quae tamen in rei veritate non faciunt unum conceptum. Et ideo est error in illius conceptu' (*SQO* 21.2 [1.124o-125s]); 'Si sub ratione boni non distinguitur secundum intellectum bonum quod est in Deo ab eo quod est bonum in creatura, sed intellectus ambo concipit quasi unum, eo quod prope sunt existentia ...' (*SQO* 24.9 [1.146v]); 'Et licet secundum se diversos intellectus distinctos faciunt bonum creatoris et bonum creaturae, sicut et ens de Deo et de creatura, quia tamen proximi sunt, intellectus noster concipit modo confuso utrumque ut unum ...' (*SQO* 24.6 [1.142v]; cf. *SQO* 24.7 [1.142H]).

¹⁶ Failure to recognize that Henry holds for both a unity of attribution as well as confusion has led to useless debate over whether the unity of the concept of being is for Henry real or merely apparent. On this debate, see Brown, 'Unity of the Concept of Being', 120 note 10. Contemporary

concepts, yet sees them united through a proportion or analogy. In the second, the two proper concepts of being are not known *distinctly* but in a *confused* manner as though they were one. Such a confused concept appears univocal but is really analogously common. The unity of attribution has an objective foundation in the creature's real dependence upon the divine being. The unity of confusion has only a subjective basis in the intellect's tendency to grasp similar things as though they were one. Being is invariably seized in a confused and apparently unified concept before it is known as distinct and proper. Only through long argumentation can the two proper concepts of being be distinguished and then further seen to be united by attribution.¹⁷ Peculiar to Henry's position among his contemporaries is the admission of a confused, analogously common concept of being which nevertheless appears simple and univocal.

In his *Quodlibet* 1.2, Conington resurrects Henry's distinctive theory of analogy against Scotus' critique of it. Conington marks for explicit attack the most famous of Scotus' demonstrations for univocity.¹⁸ Scotus argues that the intellect in the present state is certain that the first principle is a being, yet can doubt whether it is infinite or finite. Since the intellect cannot be both certain and doubtful of the same concept, the concept of being must be distinct from, and hence common to, the two proper concepts of infinite and finite being.¹⁹ In Henry's terms, Scotus is

commentators recognized this ambiguity in Henry's analogously common concept. For example, Peter Thomae (Petrus Thomae) lists Henry together with Aureoli as uniting the concept of being through confusion (*Quaestiones de ente* q.9 [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2190, fol. 30v]). For Aureoli's view, see Brown, *ibid.*, 135-50. On Peter Thomae, see Eligius M. Buytaert, 'The Scholastic Writings of Petrus Thomae' in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Johann Auer and Hermann Volk (Munich, 1957), pp. 927-40.

¹⁷ *SQO* 24.3, 6, 8, 9 (1.137H-39Z, 141L-43b, 145L-47z).

¹⁸ Scotus' discussion of univocity is spread throughout his corpus, but his most definitive treatments are found in distinctions 3 and 8 of 1 *Lectura* and *Ordinatio*: 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.21-34 (Vat. 16.232-37); nn.97-123 (Vat. 16.261-73); d.8 nn.54-88 (Vat. 17.18-30); nn.123-25 (Vat. 17.43-45); 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.26-55 (Vat. 3.18-38); nn.129-66 (Vat. 3.80-103); d.8 nn.44-89 (Vat. 4.171-95); nn.137-50 (Vat. 4.221-27). See also *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 (Vivès 7.145-155); *QQ De an.* q.21 (Vivès 3.612-19); *Collatio* 24 edited in C. R. S. Harris, *Duns Scotus*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1927), 2.371-75 and in Charles Balić, 'De collationibus Ioannis Duns Scoti', *Bogoslovni vestnik* 9 (1929) 212-17; *Collatio* 13 = 32 Balić (Vivès 5.199-204); *De cognitione Dei* edited in Harris, 2.379-398. As Honnfelder points out, the editors of Scotus have never commented on the authenticity of the last work. Indeed, it is not even mentioned in the general introduction to the Vatican edition of Scotus or in Balić's catalogue. See *Ens in quantum ens*, p. 126 note 172. On Scotus' view of univocity in his logical treatises, see Robert Prentice, 'Univocity and Analogy according to Scotus' *Super libros elenchorum Aristotelis*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 35 (1968) 39-64.

¹⁹ Brown, 'Richard of Conington', 303.22-26. Conington is following the *Lectura* formulation of Scotus' argument. See 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.22-24 (Vat. 16.232-33); cf. 1 *Lect.* d.8 n.69 (Vat. 17.23), 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.27-29 (Vat. 3.18-19), d.8 n.56 (Vat. 4.178), d.23 n.9 (Vat. 5.352) and *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 nn.6, 14 (Vivès 7.148b, 154b-55a). This argument is cited as 'ista ratio famosa de conceptu dubio et certo' by 1320. See Peter Thomae, *QQ de ente* q.10 (Vat. lat. 2190, fol. 38r). Brown, 'Unity of the Concept of Being', 127 note 26 finds the source of the argument in Avicenna, *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.33:25-34:44). Early Scotists also took the source to be Algazel: 'Et Algazel in *Meta-*

arguing that there is a concept of being as absolutely undetermined, different from and univocal to, the proper concepts of negative and privative indetermination. Unlike Henry's confused analogous notion, Scotus' univocal concept is irreducibly simple and thus known only distinctly.²⁰ To Scotus' argument Conington replies that the alleged univocal notion is not a single, common concept at all, but two *imperceptibly* distinct notions conceived together as one. Thus, the intellect is not certain of a univocal concept different from those two proper notions about which it is doubtful, but is certain of those two proper notions conceived confusedly and doubtful of them conceived distinctly.²¹ Clearly, Conington does little more than reiterate against Scotus Henry's position that any univocal notion of being is only apparently such.

Conington's faithful adoption of Henry's version of analogy in direct attack against Scotus accounts for his special treatment by Alnwick. Alnwick, however, no less than Conington, remains content to repeat the arguments of his own master rather than seek new solutions, at least on the particular issue of the univocity of the concept of being. After closely quoting Conington's *Quodlibet* 1.2 as the contrary opinion, Alnwick recites with equal fidelity against Conington nearly all of Scotus' discussion on univocity from 1 *Ordinatio* d.3.²² While, as we shall see in detail, Alnwick rejects Scotus' position on the manner in which being is predicated of the other transcendentals and ultimate differences, he wholly endorses Scotus' arguments for univocity against Conington. Alnwick's question in his *Sentences* indicates that, in the first decade after Scotus' death, debate over the univocity and simplicity of the concept of being goes little beyond the entrenched positions of Henry and Scotus. Real movement on this particular aspect of the univocity debate would have to await Peter Aureoli, who separates the issue of the simplicity of the concept of being from that of its univocity.²³

Although Alnwick reports with little innovation Scotus' arguments against Conington, he does so without remaining entirely faithful to his master. In addition to his explicit criticism of Scotus' restrictions on the quidditative predication of

physica sua c.5 ubi probat ex intentione quod ens dicitur non aequivoce Et ibidem facit (quasi *in marg.*) rationem Scoti de conceptu dubio et certo ...' (Landolfo Caracciolo, 1 *Sent.* d.3 [Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1496, fol. 32vb]); 'Huic fortissimae rationi [*sc.* de conceptu certo et dubio] aliqui dicunt quod est regula Scoti et quod transeat cum regula sua. Quibus ergo respondeo quod si non curant de Scoto, vadant ad *Metaphysicam* Algazelis, qui maximus reputatus est metaphysicus, et istam regulam quasi hisdem verbis reperient. Unde ista regula si ab inventore nominetur, dicitur non scotistica sed algazaelitica nuncupatur' (William of Vaurouillon, 1 *Sent.* d.3 [ed. Venice, 1496], fol. 10rb). See Algazel, *Metaphysics*, ed. J. T. Muckle (Toronto, 1933), p. 24.29-25.23.

²⁰ 'Ens autem non potest concipi nisi distincte, quia habet conceptum simpliciter simplicem ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.80 [Vat. 3.54-55]).

²¹ Brown, 'Richard of Conington', 306.24-307.7.

²² Below, II. 208-339.

²³ Brown, 'Scotus' Univocity', 40-41.

being, Alnwick takes subtle license with Scotus' explanation of how being is 'contracted' to its inferiors. At issue is how to give an account of the univocal community of the concept of being without reducing being to a genus.

Scotus himself treats this problem in response to a variety of related objections. One major class of such objections is drawn from the inadequacy of the Aristotelian predicables. In its general form, the objection is that if being is a univocal predicate, it must fit under one of the five universal predicates of genus, species, difference, property, or accident. The only likely candidate is genus, which is impossible, since then God would be in a genus and the categories would be species. If, however, being can fit under none of the predicables, then it must be analogous, for the five predicables exhaust all classes of univocal predicates.²⁴ A related objection is drawn from the so-called paradox of being. If being is univocally common, then it must be contracted to its inferiors by differences which are outside it. This is impossible, however, since nothing lies outside being.²⁵

In reply to the first of the above objections in *QQ Metaph.* 4.1, and to the second in *QQ De an.* q.21, Scotus gives an explanation of the non-generic character of being not found in any of his other treatments of univocity. In these two texts Scotus answers that being is contracted to its inferiors not like a genus to a species, but like a *species specialissima* to its individuals. That is, the individual difference adds nothing further to the species, so that the species descends into its individuals as a whole and not through something added to it. So too being descends into its inferiors as a whole and not, like a genus, as a part to which a difference is added.²⁶

In this reply Scotus is obviously not claiming that being is a species since they are not equally universal. As Scotus elsewhere points out, the generality of a universal is determined by what is *above* it. Thus the *species specialissima* would be the least universal because everything is above it, while being is the most general because nothing is above it.²⁷ Rather, Scotus' point is that being and species have the same universality with respect to what is *below* them, for both descend into their inferiors not as a part, but as a whole to which nothing is added. In other words, Scotus is claiming that being and species are universals of the same *nature* but not of the same *extent*.

Even so qualified, however, Scotus' explanation of the non-generic nature of being by appeal to species is on his own principles not entirely satisfactory.

²⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.120-27 (Vat. 4.212-16); 1 *Lect.* d.8 nn.119-22 (Vat. 17.42-43); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1. n.9 (Vivès 7.150a-b); *QQ De an.* q.21 nn.11-12 (Vivès 3.617a-618a). Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.152-66 (Vat. 3.94-103); 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.105-108, 110-20 (Vat. 16.264-70); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.3 (Vivès 7.146b).

²⁵ 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.109, 123 (Vat. 16.265, 272); 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.157 (Vat. 3.95); 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.39, 136 (Vat. 4.169, 221); *Collatio* 24 (Harris, 2.373; Balić, pp. 214-15); *QQ De an.* q.21 nn.11, 13 (Vivès 3.617b, 618b). See Wolter, *Transcendentals*, p. 95.

²⁶ *QQ Metaph.* 4.1. n.9 (Vivès 7.150b); *QQ De an.* q.21 n.13 (Vivès 3.618b).

²⁷ 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.114 (Vat. 4.206).

According to Scotus, the minimal distinction in things required to ground our concepts of genus and difference is that of two formally distinct realities (*realitates*) related as act and potency in one and the same thing (*res*).²⁸ Thus the concept of the genus is taken from one reality, perfected by and potential to, the formally distinct reality from which the difference is taken. Such a distinction of realities is required, argues Scotus, for if the genus expresses the entire reality of the species, the primary or precise definition of the species would be given by the genus alone, not by the genus and difference.²⁹ Such a distinction, however, cannot exist between being and the differences which contract it to God and creatures. If being were contracted by a formally distinct reality, it would be potential to the perfection of that contracting reality. Being could not then be conceived as indifferently common to the finite and the infinite, for to be potential to any reality is incompatible with infinity.³⁰

²⁸ Scotus recognizes an extra-mental distinction of entities in one and the same thing corresponding to our distinct concepts of it. This formal distinction, or more accurately, formal non-identity, is less than a real distinction properly called because it is not between things (*res*), but between entities, formalities, or realities, as Scotus variously terms them, within one and the same thing. It is nonetheless real, as opposed to a distinction of reason alone, because it is found in the thing (*ex parte rei, ex natura rei*) prior to any act of the intellect. See: Hadrianus Borak, 'De fundamento distinctionis formalis scotisticae', *Laurentianum* 6 (1965) 157-81; Maurice Grajewski, *The Formal Distinction of Duns Scotus* (Washington, D. C., 1944); R. G. Wengert, 'The Development of the Doctrine of the Formal Distinction in the *Lectura prima* of John Duns Scotus', *The Monist* 49 (1965) 571-87; Allan B. Wolter, 'The Formal Distinction' in *John Duns Scotus, 1265-1965*, pp. 45-60. Although the formally distinct realities of genus and difference, as well as those of species and individual difference, are related as potency and act, the formal distinction does not entail such a relation. For example, the divine attributes are formally distinct, yet one cannot be potential to the perfection of another since they are all formally infinite. It has recently been argued that, in 1 *Rep. par.* d.33 qq.2-3 (Vivès 22.399-410) and *QQ misc. de formalitatibus* q.1 (Vivès 5.338-53), Scotus modifies his earlier view that the formal distinction is between realities in one and the same thing, while nevertheless maintaining it as an extra-mental distinction answering our discrete concepts. See Hester Goodenough Gelber, *Logic and the Trinity: A Clash of Values in Scholastic Thought 1300-1335*, 2 vols. (Diss. Wisconsin, 1974), 1.71-102, 2.526-44 and Marilyn McCord Adams, 'Ockham on Identity and Distinction', *Franciscan Studies* 36 (1976) 25-43. Gelber conjectures that during his Paris lectures Scotus weakened his commitment to a formal distinction of realities in one and the same thing because of the stiff resistance he met there in applying it to the Trinity. As we have already noted, however, the text printed as 1 *Reportatio parisiensis* in the Wadding-Vivès edition is instead the *Additiones magnae* extracted by William of Alnwick from Scotus' Parisian and Oxford lectures. See note 3 above. For Adam Wodeham's citation of Alnwick's *Additiones* on the formal distinction, see Gelber, 2.630 note 4. To what extent these *Additiones* are an accurate portrayal of Scotus' Parisian period, not to mention what influence they might carry of Alnwick himself, should be determined from comparison with known *Reportationes parisienses*, such as the report examined by Scotus himself in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1453. On this manuscript, see 'De *Ordinatione* I. Duns Scoti' (Vat. 1.125*-26*).

²⁹ 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.105-107, 135, 219 (Vat. 4.200-202, 220, 275). Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.2 nn.407-408 (Vat. 2.358); d.3 nn.159-60 (Vat. 3.97-99); 1 *Lect.* d.8 nn.102-103, 118, 189 (Vat. 17.34-35, 41, 68-69); d.3 nn.121-22 (Vat. 16.270-72).

³⁰ 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.101-103, 136 (Vat. 4.199-200, 221); 1 *Lect.* d.8 nn.106, 125 (Vat. 17.36, 44).

Thus a distinction is required, says Scotus, between being and its contracting difference which is less than that of reality and reality. This lesser distinction is found, according to Scotus, between a reality and its intrinsic mode.³¹ Such a distinction is evident between an accidental form and its grades of intension and remission. For example, the intrinsic modes of white are the degrees or grades of intensity proper to it.³² These grades of intensity qualify or differentiate the reality of whiteness but not to such an extent as a specific difference. If they did, argues Scotus, white would be a genus, not a species.³³ Furthermore, white or color cannot be conceived properly and perfectly apart from their intrinsic grades, while a genus can be so conceived apart from its differences. Thus the distinction between color or white and their grades of intension is less than that between two realities, the minimum required for the concepts of genus and difference.³⁴ Appealing to this distinction of reality and mode, Scotus holds that being is contracted to God and creature by the intrinsic modes of infinity and finitude, which are the two fundamental grades or magnitudes proper to being.³⁵ As the term 'intrinsic mode' itself indicates, infinity and finitude do not modify being extrinsically through the addition of further reality or formal perfection, but simply

³¹ 'Requiritur ergo distinctio inter illud a quo accipitur conceptus communis [sc. entis] et inter illud a quo accipitur conceptus proprius, non ut distinctio realitatis et realitatis, sed ut distinctio realitatis et modi proprii et intrinseci eiusdem ...' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.139 [Vat. 4.222]).

³² '... intensio et remissio dicunt proprium modum intrinsecum albedinis ...' (1 *Lect.* d.8 n.104 [Vat. 17.35]). The accidental form of charity provides another instance. See 1 *Lect.* d.17 nn.52, 185, 203 (Vat. 17.199, 239, 246) and 1 *Ord.* d.17 n.28 (Vat. 5.150). On Scotus' doctrine of intension and remission of accidental forms, see Edith D. Sylla, 'Godfrey of Fontaines on Motion with Respect to Quantity of the Eucharist' in *Studi sul XIV secolo in memoria di Anneliese Maier*, ed. Alfonso Maierù and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Rome, 1981), pp. 105-41; John F. Wippel, 'Godfrey of Fontaines on Intension and Remission of Accidental Forms', *Franciscan Studies* 39 (1979) 343-55.

³³ 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.108 (Vat. 4.202-203) where Scotus makes the following annotation: 'Modus intrinsecus non est differentia in quocumque gradu formae' A similar annotation is made later in connection with the grades of charity: 'Responsio: species dicit "quid", species sub gradu "quid-quantum virtute"; "quantum" non est differentia, distinctione 8 huius' (1 *Ord.* d.17 n.214 Adnotatio Duns Scoti [Vat. 5.245]). Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 (Vat. 4.221:10-15) and 1 *Lect.* d.8 n.104 (Vat. 17.35-36).

³⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.138-40 (Vat. 4.222-23).

³⁵ 'Illa autem per quae commune aliquod contrahitur ad Deum et creaturam sunt finitum et infinitum, qui dicunt gradus intrinsecos ipsius' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.108 [Vat. 4.202-203]); '... quaelibet entitas habet intrinsecum sibi gradum suae perfectionis, in quo est finitum si est finitum et in quo infinitum si potest esse infinitum, et non per aliquid accidens sibi' (1 *Ord.* d.2 n.142 [Vat. 2.212]). On infinity and finitude as magnitudes of being or entity, see *Quod.* q.5 nn.2-4 (Vivès 25.198a-200b) q.6 nn.6, 10 (Vivès 25.243a, 247a-b) and Allan B. Wolter, 'An Oxford Dialogue on Language and Metaphysics', *Review of Metaphysics* 32 (1978) 331-35. Since they are intrinsic modes, infinity and finitude are not for Scotus proper attributes of being, for they would then be extrinsic to being as their subject. Rather, infinity and finitude are the grades of being and its attributes: 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.58 (Vat. 3.40); *Quod.* q.5 n.4 (Vivès 25.200a-b).

qualify being as a reality of a determinate degree, just as 'tenth degree of intensity' adds no new formal content to white, but only determines it to a certain grade of whiteness.³⁶ Because its contracting modes add no perfecting reality, being is not potential to them in any way that reduces it to a genus, for a genus descends into its inferiors not through the addition of intrinsic modes alone, but through the addition of some perfecting reality in the difference.³⁷

That being and its contracting elements are related not as reality and reality, but as reality and intrinsic mode, is incontestably part of Scotus' doctrine of univocity.³⁸ On this precise point, however, the relation of *species specialissima* to its individuals proves difficult as an explanation of the non-generic nature of being. According to Scotus' teaching on individuation, the individuating difference, while adding no further *quidditative* determination to the species, accrues to it nonetheless as a positive reality formally distinct from it.³⁹ The reality of the species is potential to the reality of the individual difference.⁴⁰ The two realities, though

³⁶ '... isti conceptus contrahentes dicunt ... non aliquam realitatem perficientem illum [sc. conceptum entis] ...' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 [Vat. 4.221]); 'Infinitas enim non destruit formalem rationem illius cui additur, quia in quocumque gradu intelligatur esse aliqua perfectio, qui tamen gradus est gradus illius perfectionis, non tollitur formalis ratio illius perfectionis propter istum gradum ...' (n.192 [Vat. 4.261]). This later text gave rise to the Scotistic maxim that an intrinsic mode does not vary the formality of which it is the mode. See Alfonso Pompei, 'De formalitatibus modis et rebus Scotistarum doctrina — Accedit *Quaestio de formalitate* Nicolai Lakmann OFM Conv. (d.1479)', *Miscellanea francescana* 61 (1961) 238; Armand A. Maurer and Alfred Caird, 'The Role of Infinity in the Thought of Francis of Meyronnes', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971) 208 note 29. That modes add no further reality or formal content to being, see: Étienne Gilson, 'Sur la composition fondamentale de l'être fini' in *De doctrina I. Duns Scoti* 2.185; Walter Hoeres, 'Wesen und Dasein bei Heinrich von Gent und Duns Scotus', *Franziskanische Studien* 47 (1965) 172-73; Honnfelder, *Ens in quantum ens*, p. 379.

³⁷ 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.108 (Vat. 4.202-203) and the 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti' to this text at 203.13-18.

³⁸ 'Die berühmte Lehre des Doctor subtilis von der univocatio entis hängt aufs engste mit seinem Begriff vom modalen Unterschied zusammen' (Hoeres, 'Wesen und Dasein', 172).

³⁹ 2 *Ord.* d.3 nn.168-99 (Vat. 7.474-89); 2 *Lect.* d.3 nn.164-88 (Vat. 18.280-89). Cf. 1 *Lect.* d.17 nn.178-85 (Vat. 17.236-39) and 1 *Ord.* d.17 nn.250-57 (Vat. 5.260-63). On Scotus' doctrine of individuation, see: Oscar J. Brown, 'Individuation and Actual Existence in Scotus', *The New Scholasticism* 53 (1979) 347-61; Grajewski, *Formal Distinction*, pp. 140-54; Thomas P. McTighe, 'Scotus, Plato, and the Ontology of the Bare X', *The Monist* 49 (1965) 597-616; Joseph Owens, 'Common Nature: A Point of Comparison between Thomistic and Scotistic Metaphysics', *Mediaeval Studies* 19 (1957) 7-14; T. M. Rudavsky, 'The Doctrine of Individuation in Duns Scotus', *Franziskanische Studien* 59 (1977) 320-77, 62 (1980) 62-83; Wolter, *Transcendentals*, pp. 101-10.

⁴⁰ '... species etiam secundum se habet realitatem correspondentem sibi, potentialem ad propriam realitatem individui ...' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.152 [Vat. 4.228]); 'Quoad hoc ista realitas individui est similis realitati specificae, quia est quasi actus, determinans illam realitatem speciei quasi possibilem et potentialem ...' (2 *Ord.* d.3 n.180 [Vat. 7.479]); '... illa realitas a qua accipitur differentia specifica, potentialis est respectu illius realitatis a qua accipitur differentia individualis ...' (n.189 [Vat. 7.484-85]); 'Dico quod omnis natura quae non est de se actus purus, potest, secundum illam realitatem secundum quam est natura, esse potentialis ad realitatem illam qua est haec natura ...' (n. 237 [Vat. 7.504]).

formally distinct, are really identical in one and the same thing.⁴¹ Thus the degree of distinction and composition between the specific nature and individual difference is the same as that between genus and specific difference.⁴² From this it is apparent that the *species specialissima* account of the non-generic character of being is inadequate. The species model contradicts Scotus' fundamental insight that being, unlike a genus, is not potential to some further perfecting reality. In other terms, the species model introduces a formal distinction between being and its contracting difference while Scotus insists that there is at most the lesser distinction of reality and mode.⁴³

While the *species specialissima* is analogous to being in that neither is contracted to its inferiors by any *quidditative* determination, it is disanalogous in that the individual difference adds a formally distinct reality to the specific nature. Doubtless because of this disanalogy, the species explanation receives no attention at all in the accounts of univocity in the *Lectura*, *Ordinatio*, or *Collationes*. In the *QQ Metaph.* it is given only as an alternative to Scotus' usual answer to the objection based on the insufficiency of the predicables, namely, that the five

⁴¹ '... ita quod quodcumque commune, et tamen determinabile, adhuc potest distingui, quantumcumque sit una res, in plures realitates formaliter distinctas, quarum haec formaliter non est illa: et haec est formaliter entitas singularitatis, et illa est entitas naturae formaliter. Nec possunt istae duae realitates esse res et res ... sed semper in eodem sive in parte sive in toto sunt realitates eiusdem rei, formaliter distinctae' (2 *Ord.* d.3 n.188 [Vat. 7.484]).

⁴² '... illa realitas a qua accipitur ratio generis est prior naturaliter illa realitate a qua sumitur intentio differentiae, et illa realitas a qua sumitur genus est determinabilis et contrahibilis per realitatem differentiae. Sic est in proposito, quod natura specifica est determinabilis et contrahibilis per realitatem a qua accipitur differentia individualis Et sicut realitas generis est in potentia ad realitatem differentiae, ita realitas naturae, ut natura est, est in potentia ad realitatem a qua accipitur differentia individualis' (2 *Lect.* d.3 n.171 [Vat. 18.282-83]); '... et talis est compositio in re simpliciter habente genus et differentiam, ut in albedine: habet enim unam realitatem formalem a qua accipitur intentio generis, et haec realitas non habet unde includat realitatem formalem a qua accipitur differentia Et talis est compositio individui ex natura specifica et differentia individuali, per quam contrahitur et determinatur' (n. 178 [Vat. 18.285]).

⁴³ It may be objected, as Gelber and Adams have argued, that the formal distinction for Scotus does not entail distinct realities in one and the same thing. See note 28 above. Thus it would be possible to speak of being and its mode as formally distinct as long as such distinction is not taken to entail one reality distinct from and potential to another reality in one and the same thing. The reply to this objection is twofold. First, whatever the formal distinction may mean ontologically for Scotus, it at least indicates two distinct and *proper* formal objects or concepts. This, however, is not the case with being and its intrinsic modes, for being cannot be conceived *properly* apart from either of its modes. See 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.138, 140, 142 (Vat. 4.222-24). Conversely, it is generally agreed that according to Scotus the intrinsic modes of finitude and infinity cannot be conceived apart from being because they present no formal content of their own (Walter Hoeres, 'Francis Suarez and the Teaching of John Duns Scotus on *univocatio entis*' in *John Duns Scotus, 1265-1965*, pp. 284-87 and 'Wesen und Dasein', 172-73; Honnefelder, *Ens inquantum ens*, p. 379; Wolter, *Transcendentals*, p. 25). Secondly, it is certain that for Scotus being and its modes are not two distinct realities while the specific nature and individual difference are. Thus, whether or not the formal distinction is construed to involve distinct realities, the species explanation of being is inadequate, which is my central point.

predicables apply only to the categories.⁴⁴ The *QQ De an.* alone gives the species model as a primary explanation of the non-generic character of being.⁴⁵ This occurrence in the *QQ De an.*, however, need not be given much weight. These questions certainly show the hand of a *scotellus*, probably Antonius Andreas.⁴⁶ Where the *QQ De an.* of Scotus ends and that of the *scotellus* begins is not known. Whatever significance may be attached to these two exceptional texts, it is clear that Scotus' definitive explanation of the non-generic character of being is not the species account but that of reality and intrinsic mode.

Against this background, Alnwick sets forth his own account of the nature of univocity in the second article of his magistral response and in his replies to the first principal objection. From Scotus' 1 *Ord.* d.8 he appropriates the explanation based upon intrinsic modes and from *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 the species model.⁴⁷ While following these texts quite closely, Alnwick nevertheless alters the species account beyond anything found in his source and master. With Scotus Alnwick maintains that being functions like a species because both descend into their inferiors as a whole and not as a part to which something is added. Alnwick interprets this to mean, however, that being is contracted to God and creature through negative differences alone, for when something common is the whole of its inferiors, that inferior adds only negation to the superior and common. In the same way, the individual, whose entire substance is its specific nature, adds nothing but negation to the common nature. Thus being and species alike descend into their inferiors purely by negation.⁴⁸

With this Alnwick certainly goes beyond what Scotus actually says. Nowhere does Scotus explicitly claim that being is contracted to God and creatures through negation alone. He does say that intrinsic modes add no perfecting *reality* to being, but Scotus' only point there is that modes do not differentiate being by adding realities formally distinct from and extrinsic to being itself.⁴⁹ It is an additional step

⁴⁴ *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.9 (Vivès 7.150a). Cf. 1 *Lect.* d.8 nn.119-22 (Vat. 17.42-43); 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.120-127 (Vat. 4.212-16); *Collatio* 24 (Harris, *Duns Scotus*, p. 371 and Balić, 'De Collationibus', 212-13). It should be noted that *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 has caused difficulties for modern commentators because it appears to deny univocity: 'Ad quaestionem, concedo quod ens non dicatur univoce de omnibus entibus ...' (n. 12 [Vivès 7.153a]). That this text does not deny univocity, see Wolter, *Transcendentals*, p. 46 note 35. Curiously, none of the discussions on univocity contemporary with Scotus that I have examined, including Alnwick's, cites this as a controversial text.

⁴⁵ *QQ De an.* q.21 n.13 (Vivès 3.618b). Cf. 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.123 (Vat. 16.272-73) and *Collatio* 24 (Harris, *Duns Scotus*, 373; Balić, 'De Collationibus', 215).

⁴⁶ 'De Ordinatione I. Duns Scoti' (Vat. 1.152* note 1). As the editors note, the *QQ De an.* may be the product of more than one *scotellus*. See also Balić, 'De critica textuali scholasticorum scriptis accommodata', *Antonianum* 20 (1945) 286 note 2 and Efreim Bettoni, *Vent'anni di studi scotisti (1920-1940)* (Milan, 1943), pp. 18-19.

⁴⁷ Below, II. 718-762, 964-1027.

⁴⁸ Below, II. 737-751, 1014-1027.

⁴⁹ '... isti conceptus contrahentes dicunt modum intrinsecum ipsius contracti, et non aliquam realitatem perficientem illum' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 [Vat. 4.221]).

for Alnwick to conclude that if contracting modes are not formalities distinct from being then they are negations. Thus where Scotus says that being is not a genus because 'per nullum additum descendit in haec', Alnwick, following this text as his source, has 'per nullum *positivum* additum descendit in haec'.⁵⁰ Although it can be debated whether intrinsic modes can consistently be interpreted as negations for Scotus, it is certain that Alnwick cannot remain faithful to Scotus if he takes the species model to mean that being descends by negation.⁵¹ As we have seen, Scotus is adamant that the principle of individuation is a *positive* entity added to the species, not a privation or negation.

This discrepancy between Scotus and Alnwick results from a difference between the two on the principle of individuation itself. In his 2 *Sent.* d.3 Alnwick answers at length Scotus' arguments that the specific nature is contracted to individuals through a positive entity added to it. Alnwick in effect returns to the position of Henry of Ghent criticized by Scotus and holds that the principle of individuation is a privative entity negating both divisibility and identity.⁵² In so doing, Alnwick completely transforms the species account of the univocity of being by importing into it a theory of individuation inconsistent with Scotus' own. Having decided at the level of species that something common can descend as a whole into its inferiors only through negation, Alnwick holds the same at the level of being.

In sum, Scotus offers two separate explanations of why being is not a genus despite the univocal nature of its concept. The first is that being is not contracted to its inferiors by differences but by intrinsic modes. The second is that being is related to its inferiors as a species is to its individuals. The two accounts, however, are not on Scotus' principles fully reconcilable, for a species descends into its inferiors through the addition of a further reality to which the species is potential.

⁵⁰ *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.3 (Vivès 7.147a). Cf. below, II. 750-751.

⁵¹ Wolter thinks that intrinsic modes can be construed as privations, though he admits that contingency is a positive mode: 'The problem may arise whether or not these differences add new positive entity to the entity represented by the indifferent concept of being. There is no doubt that the differential concept adds to the concept of being, but this does not necessarily imply that the objective basis of the differential concept need be anything more than a real privation' (Wolter, *Transcendentals*, p. 145). That differential modes are positive, see Hoeres, 'Suarez and the Teaching of Duns Scotus', 285-86. Infinity is generally regarded as something positive for Scotus; see Maurer, 'The Role of Infinity', 205-207 and Étienne Gilson, *Jean Duns Scot* (Paris, 1952), p. 208. Observe, however, that the text of Scotus cited by Maurer at p. 207 note 25 comes from the *De cognitione Dei*, concerning which see note 18 above. Wolter seems to have in mind Scotus' doctrine that creatures are a composition of entity and privation of entity. See 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.32 (Vat. 4.165-66).

⁵² 'Principium tamen individuationis est aliquid negativum, quia cum in individuo nihil sit, nisi natura quae de se divisibilis est, ita non potest esse causa indivisibilitatis ut est aliquid positivum. Igitur principium talis indivisibilitatis erit aliquid privativum negans divisibilitatem in se et identitatem cum alio' (2 *Sent.* d.3 edited in Prospero T. Stella, 'Illi qui student in Scoto: Guglielmo di Alnwick et la "haecceitas" scotista', *Salesianum* 30 [1968] 630). Cf. Henry of Ghent, *Quod.* 5.8 (ed. Paris 1518, 1.166 M). This is Alnwick's earlier account of individuation. His mature treatment is contained in a *quaestio disputata* edited by Stella, *ibid.*, pp. 331-87.

Scotus insists, however, that being cannot descend through any added reality. The explanation based upon intrinsic modes is for Scotus the definitive answer to the problem, while the species account offers at best a limited solution framed within the categorical terms of the Aristotelian predicables.

Alnwick takes up both solutions in his commentary, but shows no concern over their discrepancy and consequently no need to prefer one over the other. The reason for Alnwick's lack of concern over any incongruity between the two accounts is that he has radically changed one of them. Scotus, in holding that the specific nature is individuated through an added reality, excludes the species account as an adequate explanation of the non-generic character of being. Alnwick, on the other hand, contradicts Scotus on this point and holds individuation to occur through negation alone. This revised theory of individuation permits Alnwick to identify, in a way Scotus cannot, the manner in which being and species descend into their inferiors. According to Alnwick, neither being nor species descend through any added reality, but only through negation. While the negations would in each case differ, the mode of descent would be the same. For Alnwick, then, the species model can provide a more adequate account of why being is not a genus than it can for Scotus.

The explanation of the univocity of being in terms of species sees development after Alnwick. For example, the explicit integration of the individuation of the species with the descent of being into its inferiors by intrinsic modes comes a few years later with the 'prince of Scotists', Francis of Meyronnes.⁵³ As the commentator Lychetus points out, Meyronnes takes up the species account of univocity.⁵⁴ Accordingly, Meyronnes makes an adjustment in Scotus' theory of individuation. For Meyronnes the individuating difference is an intrinsic mode of the specific nature and is consequently not formally distinct from it. This contradicts Scotus'

⁵³ On Francis of Meyronnes and his *Sentences* which date from about 1320, see B. Roth, *Franz von Mayronis, O.F.M., sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre vom Formalunterschied in Gott* (Werl i. W., 1936); also Armand A. Maurer, 'Francis of Mayron's Defense of Epistemological Realism' in *Studia mediaevalia et mariologica* P. Carolo Balić OFM septuagesimum explenti annum dicata (Rome, 1969), pp. 203-25 and his article cited at note 36 above. The version of Meyronnes' *Sentences* cited below is known as the *conflatus* and is the most complete. See Heribert Rossmann, 'Die Sentenzenkommentare des Franz von Meyronnes O.F.M.', *Franziskanische Studien* 53 (1971) 129-227.

⁵⁴ 'Prima est cum ens praedicatur ut superius, cuius proprietatem magis habet vel generis vel speciei? Dico ad hoc quod magis assimilatur speciei. Et ratio est ista, quia genus praedicatur in quid de eo quod addit species supra genus, sic intelligendo quod praedicatur de specie quae habet unam rationem formalem constitutam ex genere et ex addito quod est differentia sive ratio formalis. Species autem non sic. Non enim individuum addit ad substantiam vel speciem nisi proprietatem individualem. Similiter nec illud de quo praedicatur in quid ens addit tunc ad ens nisi proprietatem individualem, quia ens non praedicatur in quid proprie nisi de hoc ente, quod non addit rationem formalem ad ens' (1 *Sent.* prol. q.11 [ed. 1520, fol. 8b-c]). Cf. Franciscus Lychetus' commentary on Scotus' *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.16 (Vivès 7.156a).

view that the individuating difference is a reality formality distinct from the species even though it adds nothing quidditative.⁵⁵ Although Meyronnes and Scotus use the terms intrinsic mode and formality somewhat differently, the discrepancy between them on this point is not merely one of terms.⁵⁶ For Meyronnes, the distinctions between the haecceitas and the common nature on the one hand, and the specific difference and genus on the other, are not the same. The former distinction is only modal and consequently less than the latter, which is formal.⁵⁷ For Scotus, however, the degree of distinction and composition is in each case the same. Both the specific and individuating difference are formally distinct from that which they differentiate and are related to it as act. Because Meyronnes admits a

⁵⁵ 'Et ad hoc dico quod sic, quia inferius ad ens non videtur addere ad ens nisi modum intrinsecum, sed prior est comparatio rationis formalis ad modum suum intrinsecum quam ad quaecumque rationem formalem aliam. Maior patet quia haecceitas nihil videtur esse nisi modus intrinsecus illius cuius est haecceitas ...' (ibid.); 'Alia sunt quae nec realiter nec formaliter distinguuntur, sicut quidditas et modus quidditatis' (1 *Sent.* d.8 q.2 [ed. 1520, fol. 44c]).

⁵⁶ For Meyronnes a formality, and hence the formal distinction, is confined to the quidditative order: 'Tertia [distinctio] est formalis et ista est inter quidditatem et quidditatem ...' 1 *Sent.* d.8 q.2 [ed. 1520, fol. 43o]). A mode on the other hand is anything outside the quidditative realm: '... nihil autem aliud est a quidditate nisi modus' (1 *Sent.* d.42 q.4 [ed. 1520, fol. 121k]). That is, an intrinsic mode is that which when added or taken away does not change the quiddity or formal nature (*ratio formalis*) of something: '... nam illud quod advenit alicui et non variat eius rationem formalem, illud est modus intrinsecus eius' (1 *Sent.* d.8 q.5 [ed. 1520, fol. 49i]). Since the individuating difference does not *quidditatively* alter the specific nature, it must for Meyronnes be a mode of it. See Roth, *Franz von Mayron*, pp. 319-25 and Maurer, 'Infinity in the Thought of Francis of Meyronnes', 207-209. Scotus, however, considers the individual difference a distinct formality even though it adds nothing quidditative to the nature. In Scotus' own terminology, the individual difference cannot be an intrinsic mode of the species since an intrinsic mode is not a difference in *any grade* of form: 'Modus intrinsecus non est differentia in quocumque gradu formae ...' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.108 Adnotatio Duns Scoti [Vat. 4.202]). This is also evident from Scotus' treatment of intension and remission of forms. As observed in note 32 above, the grades of intension and remission are the intrinsic modes of accidental forms. Although Scotus says that there are individual grades of intension and remission, which are the intrinsic modes of the form as individual, he is at pains to distinguish them from the individual difference which contracts the nature to a 'this determinate nature': '... "quid" abstrahit ab omni condicione individuali, ita a magis [sc. et minus] sicut ab haecceitate, viii *Metaphysicae* "sicut numeri". Magis est condicio individualis, non signata sicut "haec" sed vaga, quia potest esse idem gradus licet non idem hoc, sed non e converso. ...' (1 *Ord.* d.17 n.214 Adnotatio Duns Scoti [Vat. 5.245]). Edward P. Mahoney gives the impression that the individual grade and the individuating difference are the same. See his exhaustive 'Metaphysical Foundations of the Hierarchy of Being according to Some Late-Medieval and Renaissance Philosophers' in *Philosophies of Existence: Ancient and Medieval*, ed. Parviz Morewedge (New York, 1982), p. 235 note 101. Gilson seems to have been swayed by Meyronnes when he says that the haecceitas of the divine nature is its intrinsic mode of infinity. See *Jean Duns Scot*, pp. 240-42, 677 proposition 28 and *Being and Some Philosophers* (Toronto, 1949; rpt. 1961), pp. 94-95. On Gilson's apparent confusion of mode and formality in his discussion of the existence-essence problem in Scotus, see Hoeres, 'Wesen und Dasein', 172 note 14.

⁵⁷ 'Istae distinctiones sunt essentialiter ordinatae, quia maxima est essentialis Secunda post essentialem maior est realis. Post illam est tertia scilicet, quidditativa vel formalis. Quarta est minor omnibus, scilicet quidditatis et modi intrinseci' (1 *Sent.* d.8 q.2 [ed. 1520, fol. 43o-p]).

lesser distinction between the nature and its individual difference than between genus and specific difference, he can more adequately adapt the species model of being. Because Scotus recognizes in each case the same degree of distinction, he cannot. That neither Alnwick nor Meyronnes remain entirely faithful to Scotus' view of individuation in adopting the species as a model for the univocity of being is evidence of its limitation in Scotus' metaphysics.

II

THE PREDICATION OF BEING

While Alnwick agrees with Scotus that there is a univocal concept of being, he forcefully rejects Scotus' attendant position on the manner in which this concept is predicated. According to Scotus, there is a distinction between a univocal concept or predicate and its univocal predication.⁵⁸ A predicate is univocal, as opposed to equivocal, if it possesses a single essential meaning (*ratio*). Predication is univocal, on the other hand, if the *ratio* of the predicate is that of the subject. This is opposed to denominative predication in which the *ratio* of the predicate falls outside that of the subject. Scotus in effect identifies univocal predication with predication *in quid*. This means that univocal predication occurs when a predicate is included as a *quid*, that is, as a subsistent or subjective part, in the essence (*ratio essentialis*) of its subject.⁵⁹ For example, 'animal' is univocal whether predicated of 'horse' or 'rational', because it has the same *ratio* in either case. In the first instance, however, predication is univocal or *in quid*, while in the latter it is merely denominative, for the *ratio* of a genus is not included in that of its difference.⁶⁰ In brief, univocity concerns the *ratio* of some predicate in itself; univocal or *in quid* predication concerns the *ratio* of the predicate in relation to that of its subject.

Applying this distinction to being, both Alnwick and Scotus agree that being is a univocal predicate because it has a single *ratio* applicable to all things. They disagree, however, on the extent to which being can be predicated univocally or *in quid* of other *per se* intelligible objects.⁶¹ According to Scotus, being can be predicated *in quid* of all other *per se* intelligibles except for its own proper

⁵⁸ 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.89 (Vat. 4.195); 3 *Ord.* d.7 q.1 n.5 (Vivès 14.336a); *Super Praed.* q.3 n.5 (Vivès 1.443b). See Cyril L. Shircel, *The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Philosophy of John Duns Scotus* (Washington, D. C., 1942), p. 73; Honnefelder, *Ens inquantum ens*, pp. 335-39.

⁵⁹ On predication *in quid* see Wolter, *Transcendentals*, pp. 79-81. Note that for predication *in quid* it is necessary for the *ratio* of the predicate to be included in that of the subject in the manner of a *quid* or subject (*per modum quid*): '... dico quod ad praedicari in *quid*, non sufficit quod praedicet *quid*; sed quod praedicet *quid* per modum *quid*' (*Super univ.* q.28 [Vivès 1.332b]).

⁶⁰ 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.89 (Vat. 4.195).

⁶¹ 'Per se intelligible' excludes privations and the like which are not of themselves intelligible.

attributes, which constitute the other transcendentals, and ultimate differences. Of these two latter classes, being is predicated only denominatively. Alnwick flatly contradicts Scotus on this point, contending that being is predicated *in quid* of all *per se* intelligibles whatsoever. Put in other terms, both Scotus and Alnwick agree that being has a single univocal *ratio* but dispute whether it is included in the *ratio* of all other intelligible objects.

Scotus analyzes the predication of being in the course of attempting to salvage being as the adequate object of the human intellect.⁶² He first proves that being cannot be predicated *in quid* of ultimate differences. As is clear from the definition of *in quid* predication, this amounts to showing that ultimate differences cannot include being in their essential account (*ratio*). According to Scotus, a difference is ultimate if it includes no further difference.⁶³ The concept of such a difference is irreducibly simple (*simpliciter simplex*), which means that it cannot be resolved into more simple concepts, of which one would be quidditative or determinable, and the other qualitative or determinative.⁶⁴ Rather, the concept of an ultimate difference is purely qualitative or determinative. Scotus has two arguments. The first claims that if ultimate differences include being quidditatively then there will be an infinite regress of differences. Differences that include being are themselves

⁶² 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.129-51 (Vat. 3.80-94).

⁶³ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.131, 159-61 (Vat. 3.81, 97-100); 2 *Ord.* d.3 nn.170, 179, 183 (Vat. 7.475, 479, 481). Ultimate differences can be narrowly or broadly construed for Scotus. Narrowly taken, ultimate differences refer to the last specific difference constituting an atomic species. Broadly construed, an ultimate difference is any irreducibly simple difference. This would include the intrinsic modes contracting being, the ultimate specific differences, and individuating differences. In either case, ultimate difference is contrasted with the intermediate specific differences which are not irreducibly simple. See Wolter, *Transcendentals*, pp. 82-87 and Honnefelder, *Ens inquantum ens*, pp. 318-21. Scotus' contemporaries sometimes regard his arguments here as applying to ultimate specific and individuating differences, and even exclusively to the latter. Peter Thomae notes the confusion over this issue: 'Quidam dicunt ipsum per differentias ultimas intellexisse solas differentias individuales, sed hoc non est verum Alii et quasi omnes dicunt quod Scotus intendit quod ens praedicatur in quid de differentiis mediis, non tamen de ultimis specificis ...' (*QQ de ente* q.13 [Vat. lat. 2190, fol. 49v]). Apparently Peter had Peter Navarre in mind for the first position. See *Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia sive de Navarra In primum Sententiarum scriptum*, ed. Pío Sagüés Azcona, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1974), 1.193:50. Alnwick himself can only with consistency criticize Scotus' arguments on the issue of ultimate specific differences since he holds that transcendental and individual differences are negations, and hence not beings *in quid*. Thus is Alnwick interpreted by his critic in the anonymous *QQ ord. de conceptibus transcendentibus*: 'Non ergo imaginor quando dicitur "ens praedicari de ultima differentia in quid", quod accipiat ibi "ultima differentia" pro differentia entis ...' (Vat. lat. 869, fol. 41rb).

⁶⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.131 (Vat. 3.81). On irreducibly simple concepts, see 1 *Lect.* d.2 n.24, d.3 n.68 (Vat. 16.118-19, 250) and 1 *Ord.* d.2 n.31 (Vat. 2.142-43), d.3 n.71 (Vat. 3.49). Whatever has an irreducibly simple concept is not properly definable, for a definition is a *ratio* expressing a *quid*, such as the genus, and a *quale*, such as the specific difference. Irreducibly simple concepts express only a pure *quid* or a pure *quale*. The former is the concept of being, the latter the concepts of ultimate differences and all other transcendentals. See 4 *Ord.* d.1 q.2 n.3 (Vivès 16.101a).

properly different, as opposed to diverse, because they hold something in common. Therefore, they must differ by other differences, which themselves include being or not. If so, then these latter differences include still other differences, which again include being or not. Either this process continues without ever reaching a last difference, or it terminates in a difference that does not contain being.⁶⁵

Scotus' second argument is similarly based upon the impossibility of an infinite regress in differences. Just as in the real order a composite being is made up of act and potency, so too a composite concept comprises a potential or determinable concept and an actual or determining one. The resolution, however, of a composite being ultimately ends with two irreducibly simple elements, one which is its ultimate act and another its ultimate potency. These two irreducibly simple components are wholly or primarily diverse (*primo diversa*) having nothing common, for what is primarily or ultimately act contains nothing potential.⁶⁶ The same is true in our analysis of concepts. Every unified concept which is not irreducibly simple can be resolved into concepts that are related as potency and act or as determinable and determining. If this resolution is not to be endless, it must ultimately arrive at concepts that are irreducibly simple, namely, at a concept purely determinable and one purely determining. Such concepts are wholly diverse containing nothing of the other. But that purely determinable concept is the concept of being, while that which is purely determining is the concept of ultimate difference. Therefore, the concept of an ultimate difference does not include that of being.⁶⁷

Both of these arguments are designed to show that if conceptual analysis is not to be endless, the concepts of being and ultimate differences must be irreducibly simple. As such, they are wholly diverse so that the *ratio* of one lies totally outside that of the other. Thus being cannot be predicated *in quid* but only denominatively of ultimate differences. Later Scotus concludes generally that it is a contradiction for being to be predicated *in quid* of anything whose concept is irreducibly simple.⁶⁸

Scotus' second conclusion is that being is not predicated *in quid* of its proper attributes (*passiones propriæ*). Here Scotus extends Aristotle's analysis of subject and attribute to the transcendental level of being and its properties. Citing *Posterior Analytics* 1.4, Scotus argues that since an attribute or property is predicated of its subject in the second mode of *per se* predication, its definition includes the definition of its subject as something added or extrinsic. That is, a property such

⁶⁵ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.132 (Vat. 3.81-82). Cf. 2 *Ord.* d.3,n.170 (Vat. 7.475).

⁶⁶ Scotus is interpreted to refer here to prime matter and ultimate specific form. See Shircel, *Univocity of Being*, p. 76 note 76.

⁶⁷ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.133 (Vat. 3.82-83).

⁶⁸ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.150 (Vat. 3.92-93).

as 'risible' cannot be defined without reference to 'man' as the subject in which it inheres, yet 'man' falls outside the formal nature (*ratio*) of 'risible'. Applying this analysis to being and its properties such as unity, Scotus concludes that being enters the *ratio* of its properties as something added. It consequently cannot be predicated of them *in quid*.⁶⁹

In his *Quaestiones super VIII Physicorum*, dated about 1330, the Scotist John the Canon writes that the above arguments of Scotus are 'weighty' and that the first especially is 'irrefutable'. John remarks that 'No one has ever dared to refute that first argument, although Alnwick tries.'⁷⁰ Indeed, after reporting verbatim nearly all of Scotus' foregoing discussion on the predication of being, Alnwick rejoins with twenty-five arguments to the contrary. In his extensive critique, Alnwick attempts to establish that Scotus' position is wrong, that it is inconsistent with the theory of univocity itself, and that Scotus' own 'weighty' and 'irrefutable' arguments are inconclusive. We shall consider each in turn.

Aside from his charge of inconsistency, Alnwick's many arguments against Scotus' position can be reduced to three fundamental objections. First, if being is taken in its utmost generality as that which is opposed to nothing, then whatever is distinct from nothing must essentially include being in that sense. Ultimate differences and the transcendentals, however, are not nothing.⁷¹ Secondly, if being is the adequate object of the intellect, then whatever is only denominatively a being will not be *per se* intelligible. But ultimate differences and the attributes of being are *per se* intelligible.⁷² Finally, with regard to ultimate differences, Alnwick argues in various ways that since they are the ultimate quidditative actuality of a composite, being is more truly predicated of them than of anything potential. But being is predicated *in quid* of a genus, which is potential to ultimate differences.⁷³

Alnwick's first objection was later seen as persuasive against Scotus. Peter Aureoli used it, and even Walter Chatton, who defended Scotus' position on *in quid* predication of being against both Alnwick and Aureoli, reluctantly conceded it.⁷⁴ Scotus, however, would have regarded Alnwick's reasoning as fallacious.

⁶⁹ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.134 (Vat. 3.83).

⁷⁰ 'Istae sunt tres rationes Scoti sollemnes, per quas dicta conclusio probatur, inter quas primam reputo insolubilem, nec unquam aliquis ausus fuit solvere illam, licet Alnwick temptet eam solvere, quod tangetur inferius in quaestione de genere et differentia' (*Super 8 Physicorum* 1.3 [London, Lambeth Palace Library 100, fol. 124r; Oxford, All Souls College 87, fol. 30r]). The London manuscript incorrectly refers to Landolfo Caracciolo instead of Alnwick. This is a slip because later in the question cited on genus and difference (1.7, fol. 141v), it correctly refers to Alnwick. On John the Canon, see Charles H. Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries. Authors: Jacobus-Johannes Juff', *Traditio* 26 (1970) 183-84.

⁷¹ Below, II. 359-363, 398-404.

⁷² Below, II. 405-416, 433-438.

⁷³ Below, II. 417-432, 439-443.

⁷⁴ 1 *Scriptum* d.2 sec.9 nn.72, 79 (*Peter Aureoli Scriptum super primum Sententiarum*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert [St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1956], 2.495, 497); 1 *Commentarium* d.2 p. 1, edited in

According to Scotus, it does not follow that if something is not formally a being, it is formally non-being, for what is a being denominatively is not nothing.⁷⁵ Such is the case with ultimate differences and the transcendental attributes of being. Alnwick's point, on the other hand, seems to be that there cannot be merely denominative predication of being taken in its most general sense of anything opposed to nothing. At this level of generality, there is no such middle ground as denominative predication. Either something is essentially a being as opposed to nothing, or it is nothing.

Alnwick's second objection raises perhaps the greatest difficulty of the three for Scotus' position. If an object is intelligible to the extent it is a being, how can what is not essentially a being be essentially intelligible? Scotus is of course acutely aware of this difficulty because he presents it himself as an obstacle to making being the adequate object of the human intellect. Scotus concedes that being can be the adequate object of the intellect according to community or predication only in the case of those intelligible objects that essentially include being. Such are God, genera, species, non-ultimate differences, and individuals. As for those intelligibles that do not include being, Scotus' solution is to locate them under being according to a primacy of virtuality. This means that any *per se* intelligible not essentially containing the formal nature (*ratio*) of being either is (1) virtually included in the *ratio* of being or is (2) virtually or (3) essentially included in something else which itself essentially includes being. According to the first two senses of virtual primacy, the transcendental attributes are intelligible because they are virtually included in being and its inferiors as properties. According to the third sense of virtuality, ultimate differences are intelligible because they are essentially contained in species, mediate differences, and individuals, all of which themselves essentially contain being.⁷⁶ Alnwick's objection amounts to a rejection of Scotus' solution,

Stephen F. Brown, *The Unity of the Concept of Being in Peter Aureoli's Scriptum and Commentarium*, 2 vols. (Diss. Louvain, 1964), 1.81:186-190, 84:240-246. For Chatton, see Noel A. Fitzpatrick, 'Walter Chatton on the Univocity of Being: A Reaction to Peter Aureoli and William Ockham', *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971) 119-22, 176-77. Fitzpatrick points out that although Chatton concedes this objection, he thinks it is irrelevant since being taken as opposed to nothing is merely a logical and not a metaphysical notion, and it is the latter Scotus has in mind.

⁷⁵ 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.123 (Vat. 16.272-73).

⁷⁶ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.137, 151 (Vat. 3.85-86, 93-94). As Wolter *Transcendentals*, pp. 91-94, shows, Scotus' notion of virtual primacy has been given varied and conflicting interpretations. Wolter himself argues that virtual primacy does not mean that the *ratio* of being virtually contains other intelligibles: 'The being that contains the attributes and differences virtually is not the formal concept or *ratio* of being at all, but that of which the concept of being is predicated' (ibid., p. 92). This, however, is contradicted by Scotus with regard to the attributes of being: '... quidquid probatur de ipso [sc. Deo], continetur primo virtualiter in *ratione* entis, quia sicut passio simplex convertibilis includitur primo in subiecto, sic et disiuncta ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.17 [Vat. 3.9]). Cf. '... omnes passionis entis includuntur in ente et in suis inferioribus virtualiter' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.137 [Vat. 3.85]). Probably what Scotus means in these texts is that being virtually contains its properties inasmuch as they are predicated of it in the second mode of *per se* predication. Wolter, however, goes on to concede that for Scotus being

especially with regard to ultimate differences. While Alnwick seems to admit a primacy of virtuality in the sense that being virtually contains its properties, he appears unconvinced that ultimate differences are essentially intelligible simply because they are contained in something else which is essentially intelligible.⁷⁷

Finally, Alnwick seems to view his third argument as particularly convincing, repeating it four times in one variation or another. Although Scotus admits that the ultimate difference is the ultimate quidditative actuality of the composite, he would for that very reason deny that it essentially includes being in the sense under discussion.⁷⁸ The concept of being at issue is that of a purely determinable subject lacking all determination. Because an ultimate difference is the ultimate determination, it cannot be conceived as a determinable subject.

In addition to the foregoing objections, Alnwick further claims that to deny the *in quid* predication of being of all intelligibles is inconsistent with the theory of univocity itself. This charge was later leveled by Ockham and to some extent was anticipated by Scotus himself, who provided responses to this very objection.⁷⁹ Alnwick tries to establish inconsistency by showing that Scotus' own demonstrations for univocity themselves prove that being is predicated *in quid* of ultimate differences and the other transcendentals. Thus, according to Alnwick, Scotus argues in his first proof for univocity that the ancient philosophers were certain that the First Principle was a being, yet doubted whether it was finite or infinite. Since it is impossible to be both certain and doubtful of the same concept, the concept of being is other than, and hence univocal to, the First Principle and its effects. In the same way, claims Alnwick, it can be argued that the ancients were certain that ultimate differences were beings, but doubted whether they were substances or accidents. For example, some philosophers identified substance with matter and regarded the differentiating forms as accidents. Thus, by the same argument, being is univocal *in quid* to ultimate differences.⁸⁰

Alnwick immediately confronts the obvious objection to such an interpretation of Scotus' argument, one which Scotus himself had already raised.⁸¹ The above argument proves only that the concept of being is different from either doubtful

does virtually contain its properties in this sense (*ibid.*, p. 93 note 117). Cf. Honnefelder, *Ens inquantum ens*, pp. 329-31.

⁷⁷ Below, II. 405-416.

⁷⁸ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.159-60 (Vat. 3.97-99); 4 *Ord.* d.11 q.3 n.47 (Vivès 17.430a-431b).

⁷⁹ Ockham, 1 *Ord.* d.2 q.9 (OT 2.302:1-5). For Scotus' anticipation of this objection, see 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn. 147-49 (Vat. 3.91-92). On Ockham's criticism of Scotus, see Fitzpatrick, 'Walter Chatton on the Univocity of Being', 140-68; Douglas C. Langston, 'Scotus and Ockham on the Univocal Concept of Being', *Franciscan Studies* 17 (1979) 105-29.

⁸⁰ Below, II. 341-352. Cf. Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.138 (Vat. 3.86:10-17).

⁸¹ 'De prima [sc. ratione] ostenditur, quia aut intellectus est certus de aliquo tali quod sit ens, dubitando utrum sit hoc vel illud, tamen non est certus quod sit ens quidditative, sed quasi praedicatione "per accidens" ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.147 [Vat. 3.91]).

concept and thus only that it is univocal to them. It does not, however, show that being is predicated *in quid* of ultimate differences rather than denominatively. In other words, it shows only that being is a univocal predicate with respect to ultimate differences, not that it is predicated of them univocally. To this Alnwick replies that if rationality is the ultimate difference of man, then the following proposition is true because rationality is not nothing: 'Rationality is an entity'. But this is predication *in abstracto* and consequently abstracts entirely from all accidental conditions. It is thus predication *in quid*.⁸² Behind Alnwick's response is Scotus' rule that any formal predication, whose subject is abstract by ultimate abstraction, is true only if it is a predication *per se* in the first mode, that is, only if the predicate is included in the *ratio* of the subject.⁸³ Thus Alnwick is arguing that, on Scotus' own principles, since the proposition 'rationality is an entity' is true and *in abstracto*, it is *in quid*.⁸⁴ Scotus, however, explicitly denies that being can be predicated *in quid* of an ultimate difference, even if taken abstractly, and would clearly regard Alnwick's argument as fallacious.⁸⁵ As we have seen, it does not follow according to Scotus, as Alnwick in effect here argues, that if something is not nothing, then it is formally being. Whatever the cogency of Alnwick's argument based on this example of abstract predication, it occasioned an important development in the interpretation of Scotus' theory of transcendentals. In discussing Alnwick's example, Francis of Meyronnes and Peter Thomae extend predication by identity, reserved by Scotus to express relations between divine perfections, to the analysis of transcendentals.⁸⁶

⁸² Below, ll. 353-363.

⁸³ 1 *Ord.* d.5 nn.19-24 (Vat. 4.18-23); 1 *Lect.* d.5 nn.21-25 (Vat. 16.417-20). Formal predication here is not contrasted with denominative or accidental predication but with predication by identity. See note 86 below. On ultimate abstraction, which Scotus explains in the above texts, see Honnefelder, *Ens inquantum ens*, pp. 212-18.

⁸⁴ Cf. 'Predicatio enim in abstractis, non est predicatio in quale vel denominativa' (Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.127 [Vat. 4.216]).

⁸⁵ 'Unde si talis realitas [sc. a qua sumitur ultima differentia] sit *a*, haec non est in quid "*a* est ens", sed est per accidens, et hoc sive *a* dicat illam realitatem sive differentiam in abstracto, sumptam a tali realitate' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.159 [Vat. 3.98]).

⁸⁶ 'Tertio sic: nulla praedicatio in abstracto est vera nisi quidditativa. Sed in abstracto veritas recipit praedicationem entis. Ergo etc. ... Ad tertium argumentum, dico quod non solum in abstractis invenitur praedicatio quidditativa vera, sed etiam identica, sicut patet in divinis. Sed aliter haec et aliter in divinis, quia in divinis conceditur praedicatio identica propter infinitatem, sed haec conceditur propter communitatem alterius extremi excedentis, sicut est ens' (Meyronnes, *Sent.* prol. q.6 [ed. 1520, fol. 5N-O]); '... ista "rationalitas est entitas" potest verificari identice, licet non formaliter, nam rationalitas est compossibilis entitati, cum in eodem quidditative includantur' (Peter Thomae, *QQ de ente* q.13 [Vat. lat. 2190, fol. 54r]). A similar position is taken in the *Sentences* attributed to Peter Thomae: 'Tunc ad rationem quod ens praedicatur per se et non per accidens: per se dico realiter de quocumque suo inferiori, quia facit cum omni suo inferiori unum conceptum realem, sed non formaliter praedicatur, quia de primo diversis nec simpliciter simplicibus dicitur formaliter ...' (*Sent.* prol. q.5 [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1106, fol. 66r]); on this manuscript, see A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani latini 1-1134*, 2 vols. [Vatican City, 1931],

But Scotus would further object to Alnwick's interpretation of this first argument for univocity on even more fundamental grounds. Ultimate differences have irreducibly simple concepts and are consequently known in their totality or not at all. Thus, about such concepts it is impossible to be certain in one respect and doubtful in another.⁸⁷ Alnwick certainly read this objection in Scotus, but regretably never confronted it directly. As we shall see shortly, Alnwick must be holding that the *concepts* of ultimate differences are not irreducibly simple.

In similar fashion Alnwick adapts Scotus' second argument for univocity. One object cannot produce a concept of another object unless it contains that other object essentially, as the less common contains the more common, or virtually, as a subject contains its proper attributes. But an ultimate difference causes, in addition to its own concept, the concept of being. An ultimate difference, however, cannot contain being virtually, for being is not a proper attribute of anything. Thus it must contain being essentially.⁸⁸ Scotus, however, replies to such an adaptation of his second argument in the same way he does to the first. An ultimate difference causes only an irreducibly simple concept proper to it. Thus it cannot produce the concept of any other object.⁸⁹

Finally, Alnwick appropriates Scotus' fourth argument for univocity. Every metaphysical inquiry about God proceeds by abstracting some perfection from the limitations with which it is found in creatures and attributing it to God. Such a metaphysical process, however, presumes that there is some concept univocally common to God and creatures. Alnwick in turn argues that such a metaphysical process is equally applicable to ultimate differences, for they contain attributable perfections, such as unity, actuality and intellectuality. Thus being and the other transcendentals are just as univocal to God and ultimate differences as they are to God and creatures, both of which contain being *in quid*.⁹⁰ Again, Scotus would object that concepts of ultimate differences are irreducibly simple and so nothing common *in quid* to God can be extracted from them.⁹¹

Alnwick's attempts to show inconsistency would all meet with the same response from Scotus. Either they prove only that being is univocal to ultimate

2.716-18). Scotus himself hinted at the application of predication by identity to the transcendentals. See Scotus' notation to 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.218 (Vat. 4.274:22-23) and *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.10 (Vivès 7.151a-b).

⁸⁷ "... vel aliter et melius [sc. ad primam rationem]: quilibet talis conceptus est simpliciter simplex, et ideo non potest secundum aliquid concipi et secundum aliquid ignorari ... vel enim totaliter attingitur vel non attingitur, et tunc omnino ignoratur. De nullo ergo simpliciter simplici conceptu potest esse certitudo secundum aliquid eius et dubitatio secundum aliud" (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.147 [Vat. 3.91-92]).

⁸⁸ Below, II. 378-387.

⁸⁹ Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.148 (Vat. 3.92).

⁹⁰ Below, II. 388-397.

⁹¹ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.149 (Vat. 3.92).

differences and the other transcendentals, and not necessarily that it is predicated of them *in quid*, or else they lead to the contradiction that being can be predicated *in quid* of that which has an irreducibly simple concept. Alnwick's only available answer to the latter charge of contradiction would seem to be that the concepts of ultimate differences are not irreducibly simple. How differences can be ultimate and not have irreducibly simple concepts, Alnwick explains in response to Scotus' 'weighty' argument to the contrary.

Recall that Scotus first argues that if ultimate differences include being, then they are not primarily diverse but properly different. Such differences themselves require further differences, and hence cannot be ultimate. In response Alnwick denies that ultimate differences themselves properly differ because they include being. According to Alnwick, Scotus himself admits that the ten genera include being, yet they are not different but diverse. But given Scotus' criterion that everything including being differs properly, the ten genera would have differences and would consequently be properly definable species. Instead Alnwick holds that things differ only if they are distinguished by actualities outside the *ratio* of that which they have in common. Since nothing is outside the *ratio* of being, no two things differ properly simply because of an identity in being and a diversity in something else.⁹²

It is now clear why for Scotus it is a contradiction for an ultimate difference to include being essentially and for Alnwick it is not. For Scotus differences that include being are not primarily diverse and hence cannot be ultimate. Alnwick denies against Scotus that things are different, as opposed to primarily diverse, simply because they include being. The categories are a case in point conceded even by Scotus. For Alnwick, then, differences that contain being can be primarily diverse, and hence ultimate, while for Scotus they cannot.

Has Alnwick at last sustained his charge of inconsistency against Scotus? Scotus does hold, as Alnwick says, that being is predicated *in quid* of the categories.⁹³ But does Scotus also hold that the categories are primarily diverse? Scotus would probably here distinguish between diversity in reality and diversity in concepts. In the first case, Scotus would concede Alnwick's objection. For example, God and creatures are primarily diverse in reality and yet being is predicable of them *in quid* without contradiction.⁹⁴ The same would presumably be true *a fortiori* of the

⁹² Below, II. 499-507.

⁹³ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.137 (Vat. 3.85).

⁹⁴ '... Deus et creatura non sunt primo diversa in conceptibus; sunt tamen primo diversa in realitate, quia in nulla realitate conveniunt, et quomodo possit esse conceptus communis sine convenientia in re vel realitate, in sequentibus dicitur' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.82 [Vat. 4.190]); '... dico quod sicut sunt primo diversa, sic in nullo conveniunt; si enim sint primo diversa secundum realitatem, in nulla realitate conveniunt; si autem secundum conceptus suos sint primo diversa, tunc in nullo conceptu conveniunt. Nunc autem creatura et Deus conveniunt in uno conceptu absque unitate in

categories for Scotus.⁹⁵ So interpreted, however, Alnwick's objection is irrelevant to Scotus' proof concerning ultimate differences, since Scotus argues that the *concepts* of being and ultimate differences are wholly diverse. If, however, Alnwick's objection means that the ten genera are primarily or wholly diverse in their *concepts*, Scotus would clearly deny it. According to Scotus, the concepts of substance and accident each contain the determinable concept of being and the determining concepts of intrinsic modes, such as 'not in another' and 'in another'.⁹⁶ But does denying that the *concepts* of the categories are primarily diverse entail, as Alnwick claims, that the categories are species? For Scotus it does not. In the case of the categories, the differentiating or determining concept is not taken from a reality other than the reality from which the determinable or common concept is taken, but rather from an intrinsic mode of that reality.⁹⁷ But in the concept of a species, as we have seen, the determinable and determining elements are drawn from two different realities. The counter-example of the categories is thus ineffective against Scotus, and Alnwick appears unable to show the alleged inconsistency in Scotus' positon, at least with regard to ultimate differences.

Alnwick's rejection of Scotus' arguments concerning the attributes of being deserves mention because it reveals another point of contention with his master. Scotus had argued that since the other transcendentals are related to being as its proper attributes, being would only enter their formal account (*ratio*) by way of addition. Being thus cannot be predicated of them *in quid*. Alnwick denies this whole reasoning on the basis that the other transcendentals are not attributes of being in any way that would permit Scotus to apply the Aristotelian analysis of subject and property. According to Alnwick, such analysis can only apply to a subject whose properties are really distinct from it. Being and its properties, however, are distinct only by reason. It seems that Scotus held being and its proper attributes to be distinct not purely rationally but really, at least in the sense of formally *a parte rei*.⁹⁸ Scotus would probably have replied to Alnwick that the formal distinction is real enough to warrant the analysis of being and its properties in terms of subject and attributes.

aliqua realitate ... sunt igitur primo diversa in realitate, sed non in conceptu' (1 *Lect.* d.8 n.84 [Vat. 17.29]).

⁹⁵ On the diversity of the categories, see 2 *Lect.* d.1 nn.165, 260 (Vat. 18.54, 88) and 2 *Ord.* d.1 nn.190, 277 (Vat. 7.95, 137-38).

⁹⁶ 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.122-23 (Vat. 16.272-73).

⁹⁷ 'Unde istae differentiae quibus ens descendit in substantiam et accedens, quae non sunt formaliter entitates sed modi entitatis ...' (ibid. n.122 [Vat. 16.272]).

⁹⁸ Cf. Scotus, 2 *Ord.* d.16 q.un. n.18 (Vives 13.43b-44a). It should be noted, however, that the manuscript upon which the edition of Scotus' *Ordinatio* is based, Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 137, is missing distinctions 15-26 at fol. 132ra. See 'De *Ordinatione* I. Duns Scoti' (Vat. 1.25*). Ockham attributes to Scotus the position that being and its properties are formally distinct (1 *Ord.* d.2 q.9 [OT 2.306:6-8]).

Despite its apparent shortcomings, Alnwick's critique of Scotus' position on the *in quid* predication of being was regarded for the next century as the most definitive. His exhaustive arguments were quoted, often by name, by many who took up the question: the anonymous *QQ ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus*,⁹⁹ Francis of Meyronnes,¹⁰⁰ Peter of Aquila,¹⁰¹ Peter Thomae,¹⁰² Anfredus Gonteri,¹⁰³ Walter Chatton,¹⁰⁴ and Peter of Candia.¹⁰⁵ William of Ockham, who

⁹⁹ See p. 31 below.

¹⁰⁰ 'Sed contra ista instatur quadrupliciter. Primo sic: Omne cognitum resolvitur in ratione entis, quia quod non est ens non potest cognosci. Sed simpliciter simplex potest cognosci. Ergo ens. Secundo sic: Primo diversum aut est ens quidditative aut nihil quidditative. Non nihil. Ergo ens. Tertio sic: Nulla praedicatio in abstracto est vera nisi quidditativa. Sed in abstracto veritas recipit praedicationem entis. Ergo etc. Quarto sic: Ultimae differentiae sunt specificae differentiae. Sed istae includunt ens, nam rationale est ens' (*Sent.* prol. q.6 [ed. 1520, fol. 5N-o]). While not quoting Alnwick directly, these arguments are clearly taken from his discussion. Questions 2-13 of Meyronnes' prologue are also printed separately under the title *Tractatus de univocatione entis* (ed. 1520, fols. 271L-274F).

¹⁰¹ 'Contra hoc per Guillelmum obicitur sic: unumquodque per suam rationem formalem qua distinguitur a non ente includit ens non enti oppositum. Sed differentiae ultimae per suam rationem formalem distinguuntur a non ente. Ergo includunt ens non enti oppositum. Et sic sunt quidditative ens. Praeterea, ultimae differentiae aut addunt aliquid ad ens aut nihil. Non nihil, ergo aliquid. Et de isto addito quaeritur, quia aut est ens per se, et habeo propositum, aut per aliquid aliud, et sic quaereretur de illo in infinitum. Ista rationes modicum valent' (1 *Sent.* d.3 q.1 [ed. Speyer, 1480; rpt. Frankfurt, 1967, unfoliated]). A Vatican manuscript of Peter's *Sentences* identifies the objector here more precisely as 'Guillelmus Alnoiy', that is, Alnwick (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1077, fol. 11vb). On Peter of Aquila, also known as *scotellus*, see Aniceto Chiappini, 'Fra Pietro dell'Aquila "Scotello" O. Min., celebre scolastico del Trecento († 1361)', *Miscellanea francescana* 61 (1961) 283-310. On his designation as *scotellus* see C. Balić, 'De critica textuali Scholasticorum scriptis accommodata', *Antonianum* 20 (1945) 287 ff.

¹⁰² *QQ de ente* q.13 'Utrum ens praedicetur in quid de ultimis differentiis (Vat. lat. 2190): 'Praedictae rationes sunt Alnwick argumentis contra Scotum' (fol. 49r); 'Ideo aliter vitat praedictam nugationem Alnwick dicens ...' (fol. 50r); 'Ad hanc propositionem quae accipitur a Scoto respondet Alnwick ...' (fol. 50v). This question is a detailed examination of the opinions of Alnwick and Peter Aureoli on ultimate differences. We have edited this question for publication in a subsequent volume of this journal. Alnwick seems to be the *moderni* alluded to in the following passage from the *Sentences* attributed to Peter Thomae. Aureoli could also be intended, but he does not hold being to possess a single *ratio*: 'Et hanc viam sequitur doctor noster [sc. Scotus], videlicet quod conceptus entis est univocus et eiusdem rationis in omnibus. Aliqui tamen moderni exponunt ipsum et exponunt tripliciter. Primo exponunt eum quidam sic, quod conceptus entis est communis omnibus per identitatem et formaliter, ita quod per nihil additum descendit inferius, sed dicit totum illud quod dicit inferius. Iste modus est irrationabilis prima facie, primo quia non intelligit doctorem distinctione 3 primi sui, id est, de cognoscibilitate dei, ubi dicit quod ens in ultimis differentiis et suis passionibus non includitur quidditative. Non igitur est communis eius conceptus omnibus formaliter, sicut tu dicis' (1 *Sent.* prol. q.5 'Utrum utibili et fruibili sit aliquis conceptus univocus' [Vat. lat. 1106, fol. 50r]).

¹⁰³ 'Contra dicta in conclusione secunda arguo, et primo quod quaelibet passio entis, scilicet unum et bonum etc. includit conceptum entis per se et quidditative, per rationem Commentatoris commento 3 ubi arguit contra Avicennam Praeterea passio realis entis est aliquitas sive entitas vel nihileitas Contra dicta in tertia conclusione arguo quod ens univoce et per se quidditative praedicetur de ultimis differentiis sicut de primis et mediis. Primo quia quando aliquid inest alicui subiecto per aliqua duo, quibus inest magis inest illi per quod principalius inest illi subiecto Praeterea differentia ultima substantiae est per se substantia Praeterea Philosophus 3 *Metaphysicae* c.8 probat quod ens

certainly read Alnwick, may have been influenced by him in arguing that Scotus was inconsistent to hold that the concept of being is univocal and to deny its *in quid* predication of all intelligibles.¹⁰⁶ Although Alnwick was not the first to criticize Scotus' theory of univocity on this point, his criticism was the most influential.¹⁰⁷

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* *

William of Alnwick upholds against Richard of Conington Scotus' position that there is a concept of being univocal to God and creatures. He departs from Scotus, however, on two fundamental points. First, Alnwick maintains that being and species descend into their inferiors in the same way, while Scotus does not. According to Alnwick, both are 'contracted' through negation alone. As a result, Alnwick is better able to explain univocity of being in categorical terms than is Scotus. Secondly, Alnwick holds that the only irreducibly simple concept is that of being. This is the apparent outcome of his position, held against Scotus, that being is predicated *in quid* of all intelligible objects, including the other transcendentals and ultimate differences. Alnwick, however, seems to have little success against Scotus' argument that if no concept other than being is irreducibly simple, then conceptual analysis will be infinite. A few years later Peter Aureoli would more successfully argue against Scotus that being is predicated *in quid* of all intelligibles, not by denying that the concepts of ultimate differences are irreducibly simple, but by denying that being has a distinct *ratio*. In a continuation of the present study (to appear in a subsequent volume of this journal), the influence of

et unum non sunt genera ...' (1 *Sent.* d.3 [Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka I.F.184 fols. 108rb-va]). These arguments are taken nearly verbatim from Alnwick, whose position Anfredus goes on to attack. On Anfredus Gonteri, see Victorin Doucet, 'Der unbekannte Skotist des Vaticanus lat. 1113, Fr. Anfredus Gonteri O.F.M.', *Franziskanische Studien* 25 (1938) 201-40; C. Balić, 'Adnotationes circa *Ordinationem* I. Duns Scoti' (Vat. 4.15*-28*).

¹⁰⁴ Chatton lists three opinions against Scotus' position on the predication of being. The second and third are those of Aureoli and Ockham respectively. The first, which Fitzpatrick does not identify, is that of Alnwick (Fitzpatrick, 'Walter Chatton on the Univocity of Being', 117-18).

¹⁰⁵ 'Tertia conclusio contra Scotum est haec: entitas communiter sumpta non est obiectum adaequatum intellectivae potentiae adaequatione denominativa. Ista conclusio ponitur contra imaginationem Doctoris Subtilis qui imaginatur quod ens non dicitur de omnibus intelligibilibus quiditative ...' (2 *Sent.* q.3 'Utrum forma reponens hominem in esse specifico sit per species a corruptibilibus creatas cuiuscumque ab ea cognoscibilis cognitiva' [Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1555 (3699-3700), fol. 134rb-vb]). Peter goes on to give arguments taken from Alnwick. At the end of these arguments Peter states that he now holds this position against Scotus, the contrary of which he held in his *Principium*, not because it is more true, but 'to suit those who wish sometimes to eat bread and sometimes cheese' (ibid., fol. 134vb). See Franz Ehrle, *Der Sentenzkommentar Peters von Candia* (Münster i. W., 1925), p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ Compare Ockham, 1 *Ord.* d.2 q.9 (OT 2.302:1-5) with text below, ll. 346-352.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Anglicus in his *Liber propugnatorius super 1 Sententiarum contra Joannem Scotum* d.8 q.4 had by 1311 already criticized Scotus' position. For the text and date, see Schmaus, *Univocität im Umkreis des Skotus*, pp. 9, 129-32.

these criticisms of Scotus' univocity by both Alnwick and Aureoli will be examined.

THE EDITION

Alnwick's question on the univocity of being is known to survive in the following three manuscripts all of which have been collated from microfilm for this edition:

- A = Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 172, fols. 37r-44v (s. XIV)
 K = Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 732, fols. 7r-10r (s. XIV¹)
 P = Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana 291, fols. 1r-6v (s. XIV).

A contains all four books of Alnwick's commentary, P the first two books, and K only questions 1, 3, 4, and 8 of the first book. All manuscripts have been adequately described.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the anonymous *QQ ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus* q.2 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 869, fols. 39r-44r) is in effect a fourth witness to much of Alnwick's question.¹⁰⁹ The author of these questions has quoted with care Alnwick's arguments against Scotus in order to refute them. We have consulted this manuscript in order to confirm some readings. The authenticity of Alnwick's commentary is certain, and it is estimated that he read the *Sentences* at Paris before 1314.¹¹⁰

Victorin Doucet's detailed examination of A and P shows that they transmit different versions of Alnwick's commentary. First, they do not contain the same

¹⁰⁸ Victorin Doucet, 'Descriptio codicis 172 bibliothecae communalis Assisiensis', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 25 (1932) 257-74, 378-89, 502-24; Giuseppe Abate and Giovanni Luisetto, *Codici et manuscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1975), 1,277; Mieczysław Markowski and Zofia Włodek, 'Les œuvres de Jean Duns Scot et de ses adhérents dans les manuscrits médiévaux de la Bibliothèque Jagellone à Cracovie' in *De doctrina I. Duns Scoti* 1,384; Zofia Włodek, 'Une question scotiste du XIV^e siècle sur la continuité du temps', *Mediaevalia philosophica polonorum* 12 (1967) 117 note 1. Doucet's article contains a complete analysis of both A and P.

¹⁰⁹ Professor Stephen F. Brown has edited these questions for which I am preparing an introduction. P. T. Stella has shown that the author of these two *QQ ordinariae de conceptibus de transcendentibus* also wrote the *QQ in I et II libros De anima* in the same manuscript (fols. 51v-101v) and has argued that both treatises are by Peter Thomae ('Res generabilis simplex est: il radicalismo antiilemorfico di Tommaso Barneby e di Giacomo di Carseto nella recensione di Pietro Tomàs (Thomae)', *Salesianum* 38 [1976] 755-806). My current research, however, indicates that Stella's attribution of these questions to Peter Thomae is almost certainly incorrect. See also by the same author, 'Erronea et honenda ... Pulchra et solemnis ... Antropologie in concorrenza nel *Com. in I-II De anima* di Pietro Tomàs', *Aquinas* 21 (1978) 400-38.

¹¹⁰ Doucet quashed Schmaus's doubts concerning the authenticity of Alnwick's *Sentences* (Doucet, 'Descriptio codicis 172', 385-89). Cf. Michael Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius des Thomas Anglicus und die Lehrunterschiede zwischen Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus* (BGPTM 29.2; Münster i. W., 1930), pp. 242 note 66, 351 note 165, 525, 641. For the date of Alnwick's *Sentences*, see P. Glorieux, 'Maîtres franciscains régents à Paris. Mise au point', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 18 (1951) 330-32 and D'Souza, 'William of Alnwick and the Problem of Faith and Reason', 435-36.

questions. For the first book A contains six questions not found in P, and P carries twelve not found in A. The questions they hold in common differ significantly, the major difference being that P presents a longer text. Doucet cautiously speculated that for the first two books A and P represent two different redactions, perhaps reflecting two different teachings.¹¹¹ P. T. Stella, in his edition of a question from book 2, suggests that A and P represent the same teaching, but A a *reportatio* and P an *ordinatio*.¹¹² Most recently, Joachim D'Souza, in his edition of the first question of the prologue, holds that A and P, while independent copies, derive from a common source which is a *scriptum*. According to D'Souza, P is 'a fairly integral transcription' of the *scriptum* while A is a 'deliberate abbreviation'.¹¹³ Both D'Souza and Stella base their editions on P because it has the longer and hence more authoritative version. D'Souza, however, fails to take into account K which provides a third witness to his text.

In the case of question 8 here edited, it is clear that P and K are independent copies of a common source and represent a revision of A. The revisions, while significant, do not seem great enough to conclude that, for this question at least, A and KP reflect two separate teachings, or even *reportatio* and *ordinatio* versions. The most common changes made by KP are inversions and transpositions. In many instances these are attempts to bring Alnwick's text more into line with the source he is following, usually Scotus' *Ordinatio*. For example, at ll. 661-662 A reads *in hostia consecrata posset naturaliter cognosci* while KP has *naturaliter posset cognosci in hostia altaris consecrata*, which is the word order of Alnwick's source, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.140 (Vat. 3.88:6-8). At places sentences have been rewritten for the same reason. Thus at ll. 926, A reads *illa est minor ista*, which KP has expanded into *unitas attributionis minor est quam unitas univocationis* so as to agree with 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.83 (Vat. 4.191:2-3). Similar changes in KP are also directed at making the text more clear. Thus at ll. 21-22 where A has simply *Tertio respectu tertii*, KP has *Consequentia etiam probatur respectu tertii consequentis*. The most apparent revisions, however, are the addition by KP of lines or even a paragraph of material. In the present question these longer additions consist of restating an objection in its entirety before it is answered. In one instance, KP supplies a response missing altogether in A.¹¹⁴

KP seems to have been the version used by Alnwick's contemporaries. The *QQ de conceptibus transcendentibus* mentioned above uses the KP text, as does Peter Thomae when quoting this question in his *QQ de ente*.¹¹⁵ Because the version

¹¹¹ 'Descriptio Codicis 172', 272 note 1, 518.

¹¹² 'Illi qui student in Scoto', 620-21.

¹¹³ 'William of Alnwick and the Problem of Faith and Reason', 426-36.

¹¹⁴ See below, ll. 508-510, 538-539, 543-545, 836-839, 1067-68, 1099-1102.

¹¹⁵ See Peter Thomae, *QQ de ente* q.13 (Vat. lat. 2190, fol. 50v).

represented by KP is apparently a revision of A, and because it is the one used by Alnwick's contemporaries, the aim of the present edition is to reconstruct the common source of K and P.

The *apparatus criticus* uses the abbreviations suggested by the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (*Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 2 [1960] 146-149) with the exception that *spat. rel.* = *spatium relinquit*. In the interest of brevity, the apparatus will record only those inversions and transpositions which effect a change of meaning in the text or form part of another variant. Also omitted are corrections which do not result in a reading different from that adopted in the text, notations and textual divisions in the margins, and disagreement over the following: *aliqua* and *alia*; *hic*, *haec*, and *hoc*; *quod* and *quia*. K and P have a tendency to read *alia* for *aliqua* and to make no distinction between *haec* and *hoc*. P often reads *quia* for *quod*. Similarly, the apparatus does not note these recurrent variants:

KP	A
Igitur etc.	Ergo
Item	Praeterea
Item secundo	Item <i>om.</i>
Metaphysicae suae	suae <i>om.</i>
sive	vel

The *apparatus fontium* identifies Alnwick's explicit citations as well as his implicit sources. The works of Aristotle have been abbreviated according to H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek Dictionary*, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1968), p. xix.

Below are given abbreviations for the works of Scotus and for the editions cited in the text:

<i>Add. magn.</i>	= <i>Additiones magnae</i> .
<i>Lect.</i>	= <i>Lectura</i> .
<i>Ord.</i>	= <i>Ordinatio</i> .
<i>QQ De an.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis De anima</i> .
<i>QQ Metaph.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones subtilissimae super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis</i> .
<i>Quod.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones quodlibetales</i> .
ArL	= <i>Aristoteles Latinus</i> , ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruges-Paris, 1939-).
AvL	= <i>Avicenna Latinus. Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina</i> , ed. S. van Riet, 2 vols. (Louvain-Leiden, 1977).
Conington	= Stephen F. Brown, 'Richard of Conington and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', <i>Franziskanische Studien</i> 8 (1966) 297-307.
Cowton	= _____, 'Robert Cowton, O.F.M. and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', <i>Franciscan Studies</i> 31 (1971) 5-40.
Iunt.	= <i>Aristotelis Opera omnia cum Averrois commentariis</i> , 11 vols. (Venice: apud Iuntas, 1562-74).

- OT = *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera theologica*, edd. Gedeon Gál et al., 10 vols. (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1967-85).
- SQO = *Henrici a Gandavo Summae quaestionum ordinariarum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1520; rpt. St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1953).
- Vat. = *I. Duns Scoti Opera omnia studio et cura Commissionis Scotisticae ad fidem codicum edita praeside Carolo Balić*, vols. 1-7, 16-18 (Vatican City, 1950-82).
- Vivès = *Joannis Duns Scoti Opera omnia*, editio nova iuxta editionem Waddingi XII tomos continentem ... recognita. 26 vols. (Paris: Vivès, 1891-95).

GUILLELMI DE ALNWICK

IN PRIMUM SENTENTIARUM Q.8

UTRUM ENS PRAEDICATUM DE DEO ET CREATURA, SUBSTANTIA ET ACCIDENTE
PRAEDICET ALIQUAM INTENTIONEM EIS UNIVOCE COMMUNEM

5 Visum est in quaestione praecedente quod Deus est cognoscibilis a nobis quid
est secundum ipsius proprium conceptum. Quaeratur consequenter utrum Deus sit
cognoscibilis a nobis quid est secundum aliquem communem conceptum univocum
sibi et creaturis, ut secundum conceptum entis. Et hoc est quaerere utrum ens
praedicatum de Deo et creatura, substantia et accidente praedicet aliquam intentio-
10 nem eis univoce communem.

Et arguitur primo quod non, quia si sic, ens esset genus, et Deus non esset
simplex, et decem prima genera essent species definibiles. Consequens primum est
falsum et contra Philosophum III *Metaphysicae*. Consequentia probatur primo quod
sequitur ens esse genus, quoniam omne commune univocum ad aliqua seipso non
15 descendit in illa nec seipso potest determinari ad illa. Si igitur ens esset commune
univocum Deo et creaturae, ens exspectaret differentias quibus descenderet in
Deum et creaturam, et per consequens esset genus. Consequentia secundo pro-
batur respectu secundi consequentis, quia quaecumque conveniunt in aliquo uno
communi et sunt diversa inter se sunt composita et non simpliciter simplicia, cum
20 non secundum idem conveniant et differant. Si igitur ens esset commune univocum
Deo et creaturae, Deus non esset simplex. Consequentia etiam probatur respectu
tertii consequentis, quoniam omne habens in suo per se intellectu quid et quale sive

13 *Metaph.* 3.3. t.10 (998b22-24). 18-21 Cowton (ed. Brown, 18). 22-28 Scotus, *QQ*
Metaph. 4.1 n.9 (Vivès 7.150b); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown, 21).

5 praecedenti *A* quod Deus] quid *K* est] sit *K* 6 Quaeramus *K* consequenter *om.*
P 7 secundum aliquem] aliquod *K* conceptum communem univoce *A* 8 ut] utrum *P*
11 esset² *om.* *P* 12 et *om.* *P* decem prima genera] praedicamenta *P* genera] entia *K*
13-14 quod ... genus] respectu primi consequentis *A* 14 quoniam] quia *P* 15 illa¹] alia *A*
terminari *K* ens in marg. *P*: *om.* *A* commune *om.* *A* 16 descendet *K* 17 Consequentia
om. *A* secundo] secunda *K* 19 inter] se *P* composita] opposita *P* simpliciter] -plex *K*
20 univocum *om.* *A* 21 esset] omnino *add.* *K* 21-22 Consequentia ... consequentis] tertio
respectu tertii *A* 21 etiam *om.* *P*

materiale et formale est proprie species definibilis per aliqua duo exprimentia illos conceptus ex VIII *Metaphysicae*. Sed si ens esset commune univocum substantiae
 25 et accidenti, quodlibet genus generalissimum haberet per se in suo intellectu quid et quale: ens ut quid, et differentiam ut quale qua determinaretur ens ad aliquod genus generalissimum. Et sic quodlibet genus generalissimum esset species, et per consequens generalissimum non esset generalissimum.

Item secundo sic: quaecumque in aliquo communi univoco conveniunt, praedi-
 30 cationem nominis et rationem rei significatae per nomen aequaliter recipiunt. Si igitur ens esset univocum Deo et creaturae, substantiae et accidenti, Deus et creatura essent aequaliter entia, quod falsum est, cum Deus sit ens per essentiam et creatura per participationem. Sic etiam substantia et accidens essent aequaliter entia contra Philosophum VII *Metaphysicae*, cum accidentia non sint entia nisi quia
 35 entis, ut substantiae.

Item tertio sic: si ens importaret conceptum univocum ad omnia, in qualibet definitione esset nugatio. Consequens est falsum ex V *Metaphysicae*. Probatio consequentiae: tunc est nugatio quando idem conceptus bis inutiliter exprimitur. Sed si ens esset univocum, cum ens sit de per se intellectu cuiuslibet, idem
 40 conceptus entis poneretur semel in genere et iterum in differentia. Igitur etc.

Item quarto sic: si esset univocum ad omnia, prima genera non essent primo diversa, nec aliqua negativa esset immediata in qua negatur unum genus primum ab alio. Primum consequens est contra Philosophum V *Metaphysicae* et secundum contra Philosophum I *Posteriorum*. Consequentia respectu primi consequentis
 45 probatur, quia differentia sunt diversa aliquid idem entia. Sed si ens sit univocum, genera prima essent aliquid idem entia. Igitur essent differentia et non primo diversa. Consequentia etiam probatur respectu alterius consequentis, quia tunc extrema essent in aliquo toto, scilicet in ente univoco, et quando sic est, non est propositio negativa immediata ex I *Posteriorum*.

24 *Metaph.* 8.3 t.9 (1043b30-32). 29-33 Cowton (ed. Brown, 17). 34 *Metaph.* 7.1 t.2 (1028a18-20). 36-40 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.161 (Vat. 3.99); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vivès 7.152a); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown, 19). 37 potius *Metaph.* 7.12 t.43 (1038a20-30). 41-49 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vivès 7.152b); 5.6 n.7 (Vivès 7.218b); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown, 21). 43 *Metaph.* 5.9 t.16 (1018a12-13). 44 *APo.* 1.28 (87a37-38). 49 *ibid.*

23 propria *P* definibilis] difficilis *P* illos] duos *add. A* 25 in suo per se *A* 26 qua *om. P* aliquod] aliud *K* 27 quaelibet *K* 28 consequens] genus *add. P* esset] genus *add. P* 32 sit] est *P* 33 etiam] et *K* 34 entia] quod falsum est *add. K* 35 ut] scilicet *A* 37 est ... *Metaphysicae*] falsum *A* 38 tunc] enim *add. A* 39 idem] per se *add. K* 40 semel *om. A* in differentia *om. K* 41 si] ens *add. A* 42 negativa] -gatio *P* esset] essent *K* negatur *mut. in* -garetur *P*: -gativa *A* 43 alio] removetur *in marg. add. A* consequens *om. A* 45-46 Sed ... entia *om. per hom. A* 45 sit] ens *add. P* 47 Consequentia ... consequentis] respectu secundi consequentis probatur *A* etiam] et *K* 48 essent] idem *add. A* est²] igitur *K*

50 Item quinto sic: absolutum et comparatum dividunt omnem conceptum sicut omnem rem extra animam, quia sicut necesse est omnem rem extra animam habere esse absolutum aut comparatum, sic etiam necesse est omne quod intelligitur intelligi per modum absoluti aut comparati. Si igitur conceptus entis sit unus, aut igitur est conceptus absolutus, et tunc est conceptus substantiae, aut conceptus
55 comparatus, et tunc est conceptus accidentis. Igitur etc.

Contra: comparatio non fit nisi secundum aliquid univocum in comparatis ex VII *Physicorum*. Sed substantia et accidens comparantur secundum intentionem entis. Similiter Deus et creatura, quia Deus est prius ens et magis ens quam creatura, et similiter substantia est prius ens et magis quam accidens. Igitur etc.

60 Item secundo sic: omnis passio unius rationis conveniens pluribus primo convenit alicui uni communi illis ex I et II *Posteriorum*. Sed praedicari in quid convenit substantiae, quantitati et ceteris praedicamentis. Et aequaliter convenit et secundum eandem rationem, quia aequae essentialiter et in quid quantitas praedicatur de hac quantitate et illa, sicut substantia de hac substantia et illa. Igitur talis
65 passio convenit eis per aliquid unum commune eis quod non potest esse aliud quam ens. Igitur etc.

Item tertio sic: si ens sit multiplex et aequivocum, igitur ista veritas complexa 'impossibile est idem esse et non esse' est multiplex et aequivoca. Sed consequens est falsum; igitur et antecedens. Consequentia patet, quia illa complexio est
70 multiplex et aequivoca cuius extremum vel extrema sunt multiplicia. Falsitas consequentis patet, tum quia est primum principium, et tale est notissimum et firmissimum ex IV *Metaphysicae*, quod non esset si esset multiplex et ambiguum; tum quia reductio posteriorum in aliquo genere debet fieri ad aliquod unum simpliciter illius generis. Cum igitur omnia vera reducuntur in veritatem primi
75 principii, necesse est veritatem primi principii esse unam et non multiplicem.

56-75 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.2 (Vivès 7.145b-46b); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown, 9, 11). 57 *Ph.* 7.4 t.24 (248b6-7). 61 *APo* 1.4 (73b26-74a3). 72 *Metaph.* 4.3 t.8 (1005b11-23).

51 sicut] sic K 53 intelligi] -gitur K absoluti aut in marg. a. m. P comparati] per modum add. K 54 est conceptus¹] erit A conceptus³ om. A 55 et om. K est] erit A 56 fit] sit K aliquid] quid P in om. P 57 *Physicorum*] *metaphysicae* K 58 Similiter] sequitur K et ... Deus om. per hom. K ens¹ om. A ens² om. K 59 creatura ... quam om. per hom. P similiter] sequitur K est...magis om. A 60 secundo sic om. P 61 alicui om. P communi] quam add. P 62 substantiae] et add. A 63 aequae corr. ex aequaliter A: om. P 64 et¹] de add. K sicut] et sic P substantia² om. P 65 unum om. K 67 veritas] quiditas K 68 et aequivoca om. P 68-70 Sed ... aequivoca om. per hom. K 69 et om. P antecedens] quia add. P 70 extremum vel om. A 71 principiorum KP 74 simplex K illius] unius P 75 est om. K veritatem ... principii] illam A unam] simpliciter add. K

<AD QUAESTIONEM>

<Opinio Richardi de Conington>

Ad quaestionem dicitur quod ens non dicit aliquam intentionem univocam Deo et creaturae nec substantiae et accidenti, quod probatur primo sic: aequivocatio est
 80 communitas vocis cum diversitate simpliciter intentionis significatae in aequivocatis. Unde aequivoca sunt quorum solum nomen commune est, ratio vero substantiae diversa, secundum Aristotelem in *Praedicamentis*. Cum igitur intentio vocis communis Deo et creaturis, substantiae et accidenti, sit diversae rationis simpliciter in eis, sequitur quod vox dicta de eis sit simpliciter aequivoca.

85 Item ab illis quae distinguuntur per contradictoria vel per formas convertibiles cum extremis contradictionis non potest abstrahi intentio neutra. Illa enim esset media per abnegationem utriusque extremi contradictionis, quod est falsum, cum contradictio sit oppositio cuius non est medium secundum se, ex 1 *Posteriorum*. Et ita etiam est de diversitate formarum convertibilium cum extremis contradictionis,
 90 scilicet quod non includunt medium quod sit neutrum eorum. Sed Deus et creatura sunt huiusmodi. Distinguuntur enim per contradictoria sive per formas convertibiles cum extremis contradictionis. Quidquid enim habet esse et non ab alio habet formam Dei et e converso. Et quidquid habet esse ab alio habet formam creaturae et e converso, sic etiam est de dependere et non dependere. Nulla enim essentia
 95 habet utramque nec neutram. Igitur etc.

Item Philosophus 1 *Physicorum* disputans contra Parmenidem et Melissum arguit quod si omnia sint unum ens, igitur aut substantia aut accidens. Sed sub termino communi univoco stante confuse tantum non potest descendi ad unum contentorum nec absolute nec sub disiunctione. Unde non sequitur 'omnis homo
 100 est animal, ergo aut hoc animal aut illud'. Et ratio est, quia terminus univocus significat intentionem unam quae non est actu aliquod participantium sed in potentia tantum. Igitur ens non est terminus univocus natus stare confuse tantum.

79-84 Conington (ed. Brown, 300.13-18, 301.20-23). 82 *Cat.* 1 (1a1-2). 85-95 Conington (ed. Brown, 306.13-22). 88 *APo.* 1.2 (72a12-15). 96-102 Conington (ed. Brown, 303.4-10); cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.156 (Vat. 3.95). 96 *Ph.* 1.2 t.13 (185a20-24).

81 Unde] dico *add. K* 82 substantiae] est *add. K* igitur *om. K* 83 creaturae *A*
 84 sequitur] sic *K* 85 distinguitur *P* 86 contradictoriis *P* 88 ex *om. A* 89 est de]
 in *K* 90 scilicet] secundum *K* quod²] non *add. P* 91 Distinguuntur] differunt *P* 92-
 93 et ... esse *om. per hom. P* 93 Et *om. K* 94 etiam est *om. K* de *om. P* essen-
 tia] una *add. K* 97 sint] sunt *K* 98 tantum] praedicatum *P* 100 ergo *om. P* Et] hoc
a. m. interl. add. K ratio] ideo *K* terminus univocus] ens univocum *P*

Item per auctoritates: I *Physicorum*, principium maxime proprium est quod ens dicatur multipliciter. Et IV *Metaphysicae*, ens dicitur multipliciter, sed omnia
 105 dicuntur ad unum. Et VII *Metaphysicae*, ens dicitur multis modis. Et Porphyrius, si quis omnia entia vocet, etc.

Item Lincolniensis *Super librum Dionysii De divinis nominibus*, capitulo 5 parte 5, ens est prius praesente Deo et ente particulato prioritatem non convertendi consequentiam, non quod ens sit genus, cum de diversis dictum non omnino univoce
 110 sed homonymie dicatur. Item capitulo 9 parte 7 dicit sic: 'non coordinatur Deus cum aliquo sub eodem et in eodem univoco ut ab omnibus alterum seu diversum.'

<Contra opinionem Conington>

Contra hanc opinionem arguitur probando quod conceptus entis non sit proprius Deo nec creaturae sed communis univoce utrique, quia intellectus habens
 115 conceptum proprium alicuius obiecti potest illo conceptu distinguere obiectum conceptum ab omni alio obiecto cuius conceptum proprium habet. Sed per conceptum entis quem intellectus noster habet de Deo non possumus ipsum distinguere ab aliquo alio, ut ipsi concedunt, quia in ente inquantum ens omnia conveniunt. Igitur conceptus entis dicti de Deo non est sibi proprius sed communis
 120 univoce sibi et creaturae. Maior probatur, quia omnis conceptus proprius alicuius obiecti est repugnans alteri obiecto. Igitur concipiens aliquod obiectum secundum conceptum eius proprium concipit ipsum vel concipere potest ut repugnans alteri obiecto. Sed concipiens aliquod obiectum ut repugnans alteri distinguit ipsum ab illo. Igitur etc.

125 Confirmatur ratio sub alia forma sic: duo obiecta primo diversa et secundum proprias rationes intellecta possunt ab invicem distingui. Unde quod duo obiecta

103-111 Conington (ed. Brown, 302.25-303.21); cf. Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn. 153, 155, 156 (Vat. 3.94-95). 103 *Ph.* 1.2. t.13 (185a20). 104 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.2 (1003a33). 105 *Metaph.* 7.1 t.1 (1028a10). *Isagoge*, De specie (ArL 1 pt.6-7 12.2-3). 107 Grosseteste, *In div. nom.* c.5 p.5 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1620, fol. 41ra): 'Prius enim ut praeostensum est, non tempore sed prioritatem non convertendi consequentiam est ipsum esse secundum se consideratum a praesente deo, et consequenter est ens particulatum aliqua differentia, utpote eo quod est non in altero ens vel in altero ens, vel eo quod est vivere vel non vivere, vel non quod est esse vel ens sit genus, cum de diversis dictum non omnino univoce sed homonymie dicatur.' 110 *ibid.*, c.9 p.7 (fol. 54vb): 'Non enim ordinatur cum aliquo et in eodem unico ut ab omnibus alterum seu diversum.' 113-124 Scotus, 1 *Add. magn.* d.3 q.1 n.6 (Vivès 22.94b-95a). 125-133 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.65 (Vat. 4.183); Conington (ed. Brown, 304.3-6).

103 auctoritates] accidens K 104 dicitur] dicit K 107 Lincolniensis *om. et spat. rel. P* librum] primum P: *om. A* Dionysium A 107-108 parte 5 *om. K* 108 ens *om. A* prius *om. et spat. rel. P* 109 dictum *om. P* omnino] causat P 110 homonymie] a nomine P dicatur] vocatur P dicit sic *om. A* 113 arguo K 114 proprius *in marg. A*: prius K creaturis A 116 conceptum¹] illud A alio *om. A* 117 ipsum] illum A 119-120 Igitur ... univoce *om. K* 119 conceptus] convenit A 119-120 sed ... proprius *om. per hom. P* 121 alteri ... concipiens] igitur P 121-123 secundum ... obiectum *om. per hom. A*

secundum proprias rationes, quarum una est primo diversa ab alia, sint a me intellecta, et tamen quod non possim distinguere illa est impossibile. Sed intellectus concipiendo ens nullum eorum quae sunt sub ente per rationem entis potest
 130 discernere sive distinguere. Certitudo enim cuiuscumque rei quae propria est ei est praeter esse, secundum Avicennam 1 *Metaphysicae* circa principium. Igitur concipiendo ens non concipitur aliquid sub ente secundum propriam eius rationem. Igitur vel nihil concipitur vel aliquod commune concipitur.

Item secundo sic: intellectus concipiendo ens in aliquo sistit et ad aliquid
 135 terminatur obiective, aliter intelligendo ens nihil intelligeret. Aut igitur sistit in aliquo conceptu simpliciter uno, et hoc est propositum, aut non sed uno unitate analogiae sive attributionis, quod non potest esse, quia intellectus non potest sistere in sic uno nisi praeconciat duo ut duo et distincta sunt, quia sicut impossibile est quod aliqua habeant ordinem realem nisi prius natura sint in se, sic impossibile est
 140 quod aliqua concipiantur secundum unitatem ordinis sive attributionis nisi prius cognoscantur in se ut distincta sunt, quia tam in effectu quam in conceptu est aliquid prius in se quam alteri comparetur. Si igitur intellectus intelligendo ens sistat in uno secundum analogiam Dei et creaturae, tunc intelligendo ens prius intelligit Deum et creaturam ut distincta sunt. Et sic prima cognitio de Deo non
 145 est quod sit ens, quod falsum est.

Confirmatur ratio. Sicut habentium ordinem essentialem in re unum praesupponit aliud, ita habentium ordinem essentialem sive attributionem in conceptu, conceptus qui attribuitur praesupponit notitiam conceptus cui attribuitur. Si igitur concipiendo ens non concipitur aliquid unum Deo et creaturae, sed concipitur
 150 utrumque secundum unitatem analogiae creaturae ad Deum, igitur prius natura concipitur a nobis Deus quam creatura. Et sic per creaturam non cognoscetur Deus.

Item tertio sic: apprehensio entis naturaliter praecedit apprehensionem cuiuslibet dividendium ens, ut entis a se et similiter entis ab alio. Praecedit etiam
 155 apprehensionem entis per se et apprehensionem entis in alio. Sed apprehensio

131 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.35:64-65). 146-148 Scotus, 1 *Add. magn.* d.3 q.1 n.5 (Vivès 22.94b). 153-175 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.69 (Vat. 4.184).

127 quarum] quia cum *P* sint a me] in (*spat. rel.*) mane (?) *P* 129 concipiendi *P*
 earum *P* sunt] est *K* ante per *transp.* potest *A* 130 rei *om.* *K* 130-131 ei est
 praeter] potest esse *P* 131 praeter] propter *K* 133 Igitur *om.* *P* commune *om.* *P*
 134 concipiendo] considerando *P* 135 aliter] aut *A* igitur aut *A*: ergo *P* consistit *P*
 136 hoc est] hoc erit proprium *K*: habetur *A* uno² *om.* *K* 137-138 quod ... uno *om.* *KP*
 138 nisi] nihil *P* praecipiat *P* praeconciat (?) *K* duo et] duos *K* 139-140 habeant ...
 aliqua *om.* per *hom.* *K* 140 nisi] rei *P* 141 cognoscitur *KP* sunt] sint *K* quam] in
 add. *K* 142 intelligendo *om.* *K* 144 intelligit] -gat *A* 146-147 in ... essentialem *om.*
 per *hom.* *P* 146 re unum] unum realiter *K* 150 secundum *om.* *K* 151 cognoscitur *P*
 154-155 Praecedit ... apprehensionem¹ *om.* *A* 155 apprehensionem² *om.* *A*

cuiuslibet dividendum ens praecedit naturaliter apprehensionem totius disiuncti dividendum ens, ut apprehensio entis a se praecedit apprehensionem entis a se vel ab alio. Igitur a primo apprehensio entis praecedit naturaliter apprehensionem totius disiuncti dividendum ens. Et per consequens apprehendendo ens non
 160 oportet ut apprehendatur ens a se vel ab alio, nec ens per se vel in alio. Et ita ens dicit conceptum communem tam enti a se quam ab alio, tam etiam enti per se quam in alio.

Probatio primae, quia in prima apprehensione qua scitur quod potentia animae est ens, non scitur quod sit substantia. Aliter quicumque sciens potentiam animae
 165 esse ens sciret eam esse substantiam. Et per eandem rationem in prima apprehensione qua apprehenditur potentiam animae esse ens non oportet ut apprehendatur quod sit accidens. Apprehensio igitur entis praecedit apprehensionem cuiuslibet dividendum ens. Unde apprehendendo aliquid esse ens non oportet ut apprehendatur illud esse ens ab alio, nec oportet ut apprehendat<ur> illud esse
 170 ens a se.

Secunda etiam propositio probatur, quia apprehensio extremi simplicis praecedit apprehensionem extremi compositi, cum non potest componere nisi simplicia prius apprehensa. Prius igitur apprehenditur ens a se quam apprehendatur ens a se vel ab alio. Igitur apprehensio cuiuslibet dividendum ens praecedit apprehensio-
 175 nem totius disiuncti dividendum ens.

Item quarto sic: si conceptus entis non sit unus conceptus communis sed duo, aut igitur illi duo conceptus videntur esse unus intellectui nostro aut non. Si non, igitur intellectus noster intelligendo ens intelligit duo ut duo, et per consequens intelligit aliqua distincte, quod falsum est, quia ex hoc quod intellectus intelligit ens
 180 non intelligit aliquid sub ente distincte. Si autem videantur unus conceptus propter propinquitatem eorum in analogia, sicut dicunt adversarii, adhuc sequitur propositum, quia si sint duo conceptus, aliquid patet de utroque. Si videntur unus, aliquid latet de utroque. Igitur de utroque conceptu aliquid patet et aliquid latet. Igitur neuter conceptus est simpliciter simplex, quia conceptus simpliciter simplex aut

176-188 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.59, 64 (Vat. 4.179, 182); cf. Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.30-31 (Vat. 3.20).

156 disiuncti] distincti *K* 157 ens] ut dividendum ens *add. P* ut] sicut *A* praecedit ... se *om. per hom. KP* 159 totius *om. K* Et ... ens *om. per hom. P* 160 ens² *om. P* vel² *om. et nec in marg. add. P* 161 quam²] etiam *add. P* 163 primae] primo *P* 164 sciens] sciret *A* 165 eam] etiam *K* 166 qua *om. K* potentiam *mut. in -tia P* 168 apprehendendo] -dens *A* 169 apprehendatur] -dat *A* 169-170 ab ... se] ab alio a se non oportet *del. tunc iter. ab alio P: a se vel ens ab alio A* 172 cum] cui *P* potest componere] possint componi *A* nisi *om. K* 179 intelligit¹ *om. A* aliqua] duo *P* intellectus *om. A* 180 videntur *P* 181 dicunt] duo *P* sequitur] habetur ad *A* 182 aliquid patet *del. P* 182-183 Si ... utroque² *om. per hom. P* 182 aliquid²] conceptus *K* 184 quia ... simplex *om. per hom. P*

185 totaliter ignoratur aut totaliter attingitur ex ix *Metaphysicae*. Immo si non sint
conceptus simpliciter simplices, igitur non sunt primo diversi abstractissimi. Et per
consequens potest aliquis unus conceptus ab eis abstrahi quod est propositum, quia
talis non esset nisi conceptus entis.

Item quinto sic: si ens non dicat conceptum communem Deo et creaturae sed
190 proprium conceptum utriusque, quaero tunc ex cuius evidentia causatur proprius
conceptus Dei in intellectu nostro. Non autem ex essentia divina, quia illa non est
praesens secundum se in ratione obiecti motivi. Causatur igitur ex creatura propter
attributionem eius ad Deum.

Sed contra: conceptus cui alius attribuitur perfectior est conceptu qui ei attribui-
195 tur, quia semper imperfectius attribuitur perfectiori et non e converso. Igitur
conceptus Dei causatus in intellectu nostro ex conceptu creaturae esset perfectior
conceptu creaturae. Sed hoc est impossibile, quia impossibile est obiectum aliquod
causare in intellectu nostro conceptum perfectiorem suo proprio conceptu quidi-
tativo, quia causa aequivoca naturaliter activa non potest effectum perfectiorem
200 causare suo proprio effectu sibi simillimo et ei secundum virtutem suam adaequato.
Obiectum autem est causa aequivoca respectu sui conceptus. Igitur etc.

<Opinio Duns Scoti>

Ideo dicunt alii quod conceptus entis est univocus Deo et creaturae, substantiae
et accidenti, cuius unitas sufficit ad contradictionem affirmando et negando. Primo
205 igitur probant entis univocationem et secundo ostendunt quibus est univocum et
quibus non.

<Articulus primus opinionis Scoti>

Primum probant per tres rationes quarum prima est haec: omnis intellectus
certus de uno conceptu et dubius de duobus habet conceptum de quo est certus
210 alium et neutrum a duobus de quibus est dubius. Aliter idem conceptus esset
certus et dubius. Sed philosophi erant certi quod Deus sive primum principium erat
ens. Dubitaverunt tamen utrum erat hoc ens vel illud. Sumus etiam certi quod
potentiae animae sunt entia, dubitamus tamen an sint substantiae vel accidentia.
Igitur etc.

185 *Metaph.* 9.10 t.22 (1051b31-32). 194-201 cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.48-55 (Vat. 3.32-38). 203-204 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.26 (Vat. 3.18). 208-214 Scotus, 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.22 (Vat. 16.232); cf. Conington (ed. Brown, 303.22-36).

185 Immo] ultimo KP 188 entis] neuter A 189 communem om. P 190 cuius] obiecti
add. K 191 autem om. A 192 praesens] prius per se P propter] analogiam et add. A
194 contra] semper P 195 imperfectus K 196 erit P 197 impossibile² om. P
198 causare] creaturae P conceptum] -tu A 199 naturale K 200 simillimo] simili modo
K 203 Ideo] item P substantiae] subiecto P 204 unitas] univocatio A 205 osten-
dunt] dicunt P 208 haec om. KP 209 certus²] et add. P 210 est] erit P 212 tamen]
autem A 213 dubitatur P

215 Dicitur ad hanc rationem quod conceptus ille non est unus. Unde philosophi certi quod Deus esset ens non fuerunt certi de uno et dubii de duobus, sed fuerunt certi de duobus conceptis confuse sine distinctione et discretione, et dubii de eisdem conceptibilibus discrete inquantum huiusmodi.

220 Contra: si philosophi concipientes Deum esse ens erant certi de duobus conceptis confuse sine distinctione, ista confusio aut attenditur secundum unitatem univocationis, quod volo, aut secundum unitatem analogiae et attributionis, et tunc arguitur sic: quando aliqua non possunt concipi sub unitate nisi cum hoc concipiantur sub dualitate et distinctione, non potest intellectus esse certus de eis inquantum habent illam unitatem et dubius de eis inquantum sunt duo et distincta.

225 Sed intellectus concipiens ens dictum de Deo et creatura, si habeat duos conceptus attributionem habentes, non potest habere istos conceptus secundum aliquam unitatem attributionis nisi habeat eos prius natura vel simul sub ratione distinctionis, quia unitas attributionis includit necessario distinctionem et dualitatem. Igitur etc.

230 Dicitur quod maior est vera quando non possunt concipi sub unitate nisi simul concipiantur sub dualitate vel cum dualitate percepta. Hic autem percipitur unitas et non dualitas.

Contra: deus et creatura secundum proprias rationes sunt fundamenta unitatis ordinis et attributionis. Non potest autem cognosci relatio nisi prius cognoscatur
235 fundamentum vel simul. Si igitur ens dictum de Deo et ens dictum de creatura includit duos conceptus attributionem habentes, non possunt concipi inquantum habent unitatem attributionis nisi prius natura vel saltem simul concipiantur sub propriis rationibus quibus distinguuntur.

Confirmatur ratio: cognitio relationis praesupponit cognitionem extremorum.
240 Igitur distincta cognitio relationis praesupponit distinctam cognitionem extremorum. Igitur cognitio qua cognoscitur Deus et creatura secundum ordinem analogiae sive attributionis praesupponit cognitionem Dei in se et creaturae in se. Et per

215-218 Conington (ed. Brown, 306.23-26). 222-224 Conington (ed. Brown, 306.27-307.2). 225-229 cf. Scotum, 1 *Add. magn.* d.3 q.1 n.5 (Vivès 22.94a).
230-232 Conington (ed. Brown, 307.5-8). 233-238 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.62 (Vat. 4.181).

217 discretione] distinctione *P* 218 conceptibus *P* discrete] distincte *A* 219 concipientes Deum] accipientes *K* 222 arguo *A* sub unitate] secundum unitatem *P* 225 Sed] quia *P* de *om.* *A* 226-227 non ... habeat *om.* *K* 227 eos] ens *P* 228 unitas] non potest habere istos conceptus secundum aliam unitatem attributionis nisi habeat prius natura vel simul sub ratione distinctionis quia unitas *propter omissionem supra ad ll. 226-227 add. K* 230 quando] quod *K* 231 vel *om.* *P* 234 nisi *om.* *K* prius cognoscatur] praecognoscatur *corr. ex -citur P* 235 vel *A*: vel cognoscitur *K*: cognoscitur *del. P* 236 inquantum] nisi quantum *K* 239 relationis] realis *K* 240-241 Igitur ... extremorum *om. per hom. A* 242 cognitionem *om.* *K* in¹ se *om.* *K* et¹ ... se² *om.* *P*

consequens non potest cognosci unitas istorum nisi etiam praecognoscatur eorum dualitas.

- 245 Item ad idem Philosophus II *De anima* arguit quod sensus communis cognoscens differentiam albi et dulcis cognoscit extrema differentia. Sed si posset cognoscere ista extrema, scilicet album et dulce, sub ratione huius respectus qui est differentia absque hoc quod cognosceret ea sub propria ratione, argumentum suum non valeret. Igitur similiter in proposito non possunt simul cognosci Deus et
250 creatura sub ratione istius relationis, scilicet unitatis ordinis nisi cognoscantur sub propriis rationibus, cum per te nihil sit eis commune. Et per consequens quandocumque intellectus concipit istos sub unitate ordinis, concipit eos ut distinctos in se.

- Item intellectus concipiens aliquod obiectum potius concipit ipsum secundum
255 rationem simpliciter sibi convenientem quam secundum quid sibi convenientem. Si igitur non significet ens aliquid unum simpliciter sed duo simpliciter quae sunt secundum quid unum, intellectus intelligendo ens magis percipit dualitatem simpliciter quam unitatem secundum quid.

- Item secundo arguit sic: nullum obiectum praeter conceptum sibi proprium
260 potest facere conceptum simplicem et proprium alterius obiecti nisi contineat illud essentialiter vel virtualiter. Sed obiectum creatum non continet Deum nec essentialiter nec virtualiter cum sit imperfectus. Igitur obiectum creatum non potest facere in intellectu nostro proprium conceptum simplicem de Deo. Si igitur non faciat aliquem conceptum communem sibi et Deo, sequitur quod per cognitionem
265 creaturae nullam cognitionem poterimus habere de Deo.

- Item attribuens aliquam perfectionem Deo ex creatura abstrahendo ipsam ab omni imperfectione creaturae capit aliquid quod est eiusdem rationis in eo cui attribuitur et in eo a quo abstrahitur. Alioquin non magis attribueretur talis perfectio Deo ex consimili perfectione in creatura quam ex alia perfectione, ut si
270 sapientia attributa Deo esset alterius rationis a sapientia creata, non magis sapientia

245-253 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.63 (Vat. 4.181); cf. Conington (ed. Brown, 307.2-4). 245 *De An.* 2.2 t.144-45 (426b8-15). 259-265 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.35 (Vat. 3.23-26). 266-276 Scotus, 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.30 (Vat. 16.235); cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.40 (Vat. 3.27).

243 unitas istorum] unitas attributionis istorum K: eorum unitas A praecognoscatur corr. ex-citur P: cognoscatur A 245 quod sensus] consensus K communis] distinguens add. P 247 scilicet om. P ratione om. K huius] et illius add. P 249 valet P simul om. A 250 ratione ... ordinis] ista relatione quae est unitas ordinis A cognoscatur K 251-252 quandoque P 255 quid ... convenientem] convenientem sibi secundum quid A 256 Si] sibi P 257 praecipit P 259 arguunt A nullum] simpliciter add. P obiectum] bonum K conceptum del. et obiectum add. P sibi om. P 260 et om. A 262 imperfectus K 264 faciet K aliquid K 265 creaturae] quod add. P 266 attribuens om. K abstrahendo] extrahendo P 267 imperfectione creaturae] perfectione P 268 attribueretur] -itur KP 269 simili P in ... perfectione² om. per hom. P 270 sapientia² om. A

attribueretur Deo ex sapientia creata quam ex lapide. Numquam etiam ex ratione propria eorum quae sunt in creaturis posset concludi aliquid de Deo, quia omnino est alia et alia ratio istorum et illorum. Cum igitur cognoscendo Deum ex creaturis multas perfectiones simpliciter attribuimus Deo considerando rationes formales
 275 earum <et> auferendo ab eis omnem imperfectionem, sequitur quod perfectiones simpliciter dictae de Deo et creaturis sunt secundum se eiusdem rationis.

<Articulus secundus opinionis Scoti>

Quantum ad secundum articulum dicunt quod ens non est univocum dictum in quid de omnibus per se intelligibilibus, quia non de differentiis ultimis nec de
 280 passionibus propriis entis; est tamen univocum dictum in quid de omnibus generibus et speciebus et individuis et differentiis mediis.

Primum istorum, scilicet quod non sit univocum dictum in quid de differentiis ultimis, probatur dupliciter. Primo sic: si differentiae ultimae includant ens univoce et non sunt omnino idem sed diversae, igitur sunt diversa aliquid idem entia. Sed
 285 talia sunt proprie differentia ex v *Metaphysicae*. Igitur illae differentiae ultimae essent proprie differentes, et per consequens aliis differentiis differunt. Quod si illae aliae includant ens univoce, arguatur de eis sicut de prioribus, et ita erit processus in infinitum in differentiis, vel stabitur ad aliquas omnino non includentes ens univoce et quiditative, quod est propositum.

290 Item secundo sic: sicut ens compositum in effectu per se unum componitur ex actu et potentia quae sunt in rebus, ita ens compositum in conceptu per se unum, cuiusmodi est conceptus compositus per se unus, componitur ex conceptu potenciali et formali sive actuali, sive ex conceptu determinabili et determinante. Sicut igitur resolutio entium compositorum stat ultimo ad simpliciter simplicia, ut
 295 ad actum ultimum et potentiam ultimam, quae sunt primo diversa, ita quod nihil unius includit aliquid alterius — alioquin non hoc primo esset actus nec illud primo esset potentia; quod enim includit aliquid potentialitatis non est primo actus et quod includit aliquid actualitatis non est primo potentia — ita oportet in conceptibus omnem conceptum non simpliciter simplicem, et tamen per se unum, resolvi
 300 in conceptum determinabilem et determinantem, ita quod ista resolutio fiat ad

278-335 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.131-36 (Vat. 3.81-84). 285 *Metaph.* 5.9 t.16 (1018a12-13).

271 ratio *K* 274 attribuimus *mut. in* -buamus *A* 276 dictae *om. A* et] a *K* 278 univoce *P* 279 quia] et *P* 280 entis *om. et spat. rel. P* 281 et¹ *om. A* 283 includunt *A* 284 aliquid *mut. in* -qua *P* 285 differentia] -tiae *P* 287 arguitur *A*: -guat *P* erit *om. P* 288 omnino *om. et spat. rel. P* includente *K* 289 et quiditative *om. A* 290 sicut] secundum *K* 292 cuiusmodi *om. et spat. rel. P* conceptus] per se *add. K* 293 et determinante *om. P* 294 igitur *om. A* resolutio] solutio *K*: differentiae *P* ultimo stat *K*: stant ultimo *P* 296 nec] et *codd.* 297 esset *om. A* 299 non simpliciter *om. P* et tamen] rationi *K* 300 determinantem] -te *K*

conceptus simpliciter simplices, scilicet ad conceptum determinabilem tantum, ita quod nihil determinativi includat, et ad conceptum determinantem tantum, qui non includat aliquem conceptum determinabilem. Ille autem conceptus tantum determinabilis est conceptus entis et determinans tantum est conceptus ultimae differ-
 305 rentiae. Igitur isti erunt primo diversi ita quod unum nihil includat alterius.

Secundum vero, scilicet quod ens non praedicetur in quid de passionibus suis probatur primo sic: passio praedicatur per se secundo modo de subiecto suo ex I *Posteriorum*. Igitur subiectum ponitur in definitione passionis sicut additum ex eodem I et VII *Metaphysicae*. Ens igitur in ratione suae passionis cadit ut additum.
 310 Igitur non est quiditative de ratione earum. Quod autem ens habeat passiones patet per Philosophum IV *Metaphysicae* ubi vult quod sicut linea inquantum linea habet passiones et numerus inquantum numerus, ita sunt aliquae passiones entis inquantum ens.

Confirmatur ratio per Philosophum I *Posteriorum* capitulo de statu principiorum
 315 ubi vult quod praedicationes per se non convertuntur, ut si praedicatum dicatur de subiecto per se, non e converso erit praedicatio per se sed per accidens. Igitur si ista est per se secundo modo 'ens est unum', haec 'unum est ens' non est per se primo modo sed quasi per accidens, sicut ista 'risibile est homo'.

Item secundo sic et est confirmatio rationis prioris, quoniam si unum includat
 320 ens quiditative, non includit praecise ens, quia tunc illud ens esset passio suiipsius. Igitur includit ens et aliquid aliud. Sit illud A. Igitur A includit ens aut non. Si sic, unum bis includet ens et esset processus in infinitum, vel ubicumque stabitur, illud ultimum quod est de ratione unius et non includit ens vocetur A. Unum tunc ratione entis inclusi non est passio, et per consequens illud aliud inclusum quod
 325 est A est primo passio, et est tale quod non includit ens quiditative. Et ita quidquid est primo passio entis, ex hoc non includit ens quiditative.

Item tertio sic: ens non habet plura dividencia ipsum quiditative quam ens increatum et decem genera et principia essentialia decem generum. Si igitur unum vel verum includat quiditative ens, continebitur sub aliquo istorum. Sed non est
 330 aliquod decem generum ut patet. Nec ex se est ens increatum, quia convenit entibus

307-308 *APo.* 1.4 (73a37-b5). 309 *Metaph.* 7.5 t.19 (1031a2-14). 311 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.5 (1004b10-17). 314 *APo.* 1.22 (83a1-25).

302 includit determinativi A et om. P ad in marg. mut. in aliquem P tantum] ita add. K: om. A 303 Ille ... conceptus] conceptus autem A 304 et] conceptus autem A 305 includit A 306 scilicet] quod ens K 308 subiectum] obiectum K sicut] secundum K 309-310 igitur ... est om. P 309 ut] ad add. et a.m. mut. in aliquid K 310 quiditativum K 311 inquantum linea om. A 316 se¹] et in marg. add. P Igitur] quoniam P 321 A¹] aut add. K 322 includet] -dit A: -ditur K et] quod P 325 est³ om. P quod ... quiditative om. P ita] ideo K 326 ex hoc om. P 327 plura om. K 328 decem¹] 2 K essentialia decem] essentialium K 329 verum mut. in bonum K 330 aliquod decem] aliud secundum K

creatis. Igitur esset species vel principium essentielle alicuius generis. Sed hoc est falsum, quia omne tale includit limitationem, et ita quodcumque transcendens esset de se finitum, et per consequens repugnaret enti infinito nec posset dici de eo formaliter, quod falsum est, quia omnia transcendentia dicunt perfectiones simpliciter et conveniunt Deo in summo.

Sic igitur dicunt quod ens est tantum univocum ad genera et species et ad individua et ad differentias medias quae non habent conceptus simpliciter simplices; non autem respectu differentiarum ultimarum nec respectu passionum entis propter rationes praedictas.

340 <Impugnatio opinionis Duns Scoti>

Ista opinio quamvis sit vera quantum ad primum articulum, non tamen quantum ad secundum. Unde contra secundum articulum arguo primo per rationes factas pro primo articulo, quia videtur quod aequaliter concludant contra secundum articulum, quod patet de primo argumento sic, quoniam sicut philosophi erant certi de primo principio quod erat ens, et dubitaverunt an esset hoc ens aut illud, et ideo concluditur ens esse univocum primo principio et principiatis, ita erant philosophi certi de ultima differentia rei quod erat ens et non nihil, et tamen non erant certi an esset substantia vel accidens, quia aliqui posuerunt materiam esse totam substantiam rei. Et secundum istos formae rerum a quibus sumuntur differentiae forent accidentia. Platonici etiam posuerunt numeros esse substantias rerum. Igitur per eandem rationem ens est commune univocum dictum in quid de differentiis ultimis sicut de aliis.

Dicitur ad hoc quod bene sequitur per rationem illam conceptum entis esse alium a conceptibus ultimarum differentiarum, et esse univocum respectu illarum, sed tamen non sequitur quod sit in quid dictum de eis. Unde non potest aliquis esse certus de ultima differentia quod sit ens quiditative, licet sit certus quod sit ens dictum univoce de eis, sicut determinabile de determinante vel sicut denominabile de denominante.

344 supra, ll. 208-214. 346-347 cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.138 (Vat. 3.86). 353-358 *ibid.*, n.149 (Vat. 3.92).

331 hoc *om.* K 332 et ita] ita quod P 333 repugnat P 334 omnia *om.* P 336 et ad²] et K: *om.* P 337 ad *om.* A 338 respectu¹ *om.* P nec *om.* K passionis P 339 praedictas] prius dictas K 341 quamvis] licet A quantum¹ *om.* K articulum] argumentum *fort.* PA 343 pro] a K aequaliter] essentialiter P 344 primo *om.* P 345 ens^{1,2} *om.* K aut] vel K: an P 346 concluditur] hoc *add.* P primo] pro P ita] sic K 348 esse *om.* A 349 differentia P 350 Plato P posuit P substantiam P 354 alium a] aliquem de P 357 eis] vel *add.* K de¹ *om.* A 357-358 denominabile de denominante *om.* et *spat. rel.* P 358 de *om.* A

Contra: sit ultima differentia hominis rationalitas. Illa est quaedam entitas, quia
 360 non est nihileitas. Sed omnis praedicatio in abstracto est essentialis, quia est
 secundum ultimam abstractionem a conditionibus accidentalibus. Igitur entitas
 praedicatur univoce et quiditative de ultimis differentiis. Et sic reddit propositum,
 quod aliquid univoce et quiditative praedicatur de ultimis differentiis.

Confirmatur ratio. Quidquid essentialiter praedicatur de praedicato praedicatur
 365 et de subiecto essentialiter. Sed entitas essentialiter et non per accidens est ens,
 quia non per aliud, et rationalitas per essentiam suam est entitas. Igitur rationalitas
 essentialiter est ens.

Item omne univocum, licet per te non per se praedicetur de univocato,
 praedicatur tamen secundum se, quia praedicatur quod natum est praedicari et
 370 subicitur quod natum est subici. Igitur haec est secundum se 'rationalitas est ens'.
 Sed denominabile non praedicatur secundum se de denominante sed secundum
 accidens. Haec enim 'album est lignum' est secundum accidens ex 1 *Posteriorum*,
 licet e converso sit secundum se. Neque etiam secundum se praedicatur determina-
 bile de determinante ut 'rationale est animal', quia non subicitur quod natum est
 375 subici. Igitur sic dicendo 'rationalitas est ens' est praedicatio univoca non sicut
 denominabile de denominante, nec sicut determinabile de determinante, sed sicut
 superius de suo per se inferiori.

Item secunda ratio eorum videtur esse contra secundum articulum. Arguo sic
 sicut ipsi arguunt. Nullum obiectum praeter conceptum proprium facit conceptum
 380 proprium simpliciter simplicem alterius obiecti nisi contineat ipsum virtualiter,
 sicut subiectum continet passionem suam, vel essentialiter, sicut inferius continet
 suum per se superius. Sed ultima differentia concepta non solum facit conceptum
 proprium, sed etiam conceptum entis, si habeat proprium conceptum, ut ipsi
 ponunt, alioquin non esset transcendens. Concipiens enim quodcumque obiectum
 385 ex ipso potest concipere ens. Igitur ultima differentia continet ens aut virtualiter,
 quod non convenit, cum ens nullius sit passio. Igitur continet ipsum essentialiter
 et formaliter.

359-363 cf. *ibid.* n.159 (Vat. 3.97-98); d.8 n.127 (Vat. 4.216:20-21). 372 *APo.* 1.22 (83a1-25). 378 *supra*, ll. 259-265.

359 hominis] haec P Illa om. KP quia] quae P 360 abstracto] -tis P 361 ultimam
 K 364 praedicato praedicatur] ultimis differentiis P 366 per¹] est P 366-367 Igi-
 tur ... essentialiter] essentialiter (ergo in marg.) P 368 univocum] secundum se add. KP
 praedicatur] -catur KP: ante per² transp. A univocato] -voco P 369 praedicatur¹ ... se
 om. KP 371 de om. K 373 sit om. K sit ... etiam om. P 374 de om. K est²
 bis A 375 dicendo] dicto KP 376 denominabile] -bilis A determinabile] -bilis A
 378 secunda] contra P 379 conceptum¹] obiectum P 380 ipsum] illud A 381 subiectum]
 obiectum K continet² om. A 382 suum per] sub se suum P concepta om. P 383 sed]
 et add. P 385 ipso] primo P 386 ipsum] virtualiter add. P

Item tertia ratio pro primo articulo concludit contra secundum articulum. Arguo sicut ipsi arguunt: attribuens aliquam perfectionem Deo ex creatura abstrahendo
 390 eam ab omni imperfectione capit aliquid quod est unius rationis in eo cui attribuitur et in eo a quo abstrahitur. Sed ultima differentia includit aliquam perfectionem simpliciter, ut unitatem, et intellectivitatem in homine, veritatem, et etiam bonitatem et entitatem. Igitur intellectus noster abstrahendo huiusmodi perfectionem ab omni imperfectione ultimae differentiae et attribuens eam Deo capit aliquid unius
 395 rationis in Deo et in ultima differentia. Et sic illa ratio aequaliter probat quod ens et alia transcendentia sint univoca Deo et ultimis differentiis, sicut Deo et conceptibus quiditativis.

Contra secundum articulum arguo aliter sic: unumquodque per eandem rationem formalem qua distinguitur a non ente includit ens non enti oppositum. Sed
 400 unaquaeque res positiva, sive sit res habens quiditatem sive ultima differentia sive transcendentia quae sunt quasi passionis entis, per suam rationem formalem distinguitur a non ente. Igitur unaquaeque res positiva ex sua ratione formali includit ens, et per consequens ens includitur per se in conceptu ultimae differentiae et in conceptu unius et boni, sicut in conceptibus specierum et generum.
 405 Item quidquid est obiectum primum adaequatum alicui potentiae, vel includit alia obiecta illius potentiae virtualiter, vel praedicatur de eis formaliter sive essentialiter, quia secundum sic opinantem, dupliciter dicitur aliquid esse primum obiectum alicuius potentiae primate adaequationis: vel secundum virtutem, ut quando virtualiter includit alia obiecta illius potentiae, quomodo essentia divina est
 410 primum obiectum adaequatum intellectui divino, vel secundum communitatem, quomodo sonus est primum obiectum auditus. Sed ens est primum obiectum adaequatum intellectui nostro secundum sic opinantem. Ens autem non includit omnia alia obiecta virtualiter, quia non genera nec species nec differentias ultimas. Igitur oportet quod sit primum obiectum intellectus nostri dictum in quid de
 415 omnibus per se intelligibilibus. Et per consequens ens per se praedicatur de illis quae sunt quasi passionis suae et de differentiis ultimis.

388 supra, ll. 266-276. 407 sic opinantem, sc. Scotum. De duplici primate adaequationis vide 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.137, 151 (Vat. 3.85, 93) et *QQ De an.* q.21 n.2 (Vivès 3.612b-13a). 412 sic opinantem, sc. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.137 (Vat. 3.85-86).

388 Item ... articulum] Praeterea per tertiam rationem A 390 aliquid *om.* A cui *om.* et *spat. rel.* K 392 etiam et A: et boni P 394 unius] eiusdem A 395 in² *om.* A sic illa ratio] ita ratio ista A 398 secundum] tertium P eandem *om.* A 402 posita P 404 et² *interl.* A: *om.* K et³] at K: aut P 407 quia] et P 408 primate] praemitate (?) P vel] scilicet A 409 includit] omnia *add.* A alia] ea P essentia divina] esse divinum K 410 primum *om.* K 411 obiectum¹] adaequatum *add.* A 412 nostro] etiam *add.* K 413 alia *om.* P ultimas] medias A 415 ens *om.* P praedicatur per se A 416 de *om.* P

Item quod ens essentialiter conveniat ultimae differentiae specialiter probatur sic: si aliquid inest alicui subiecto per aliqua duo quibus inest, magis inest illi per quod magis inest tali subiecto. Exemplum: esse distinctum a non sensato inest
 420 homini per animal et per rationale, quibus etiam inest. Sed potius inest homini per rationale quam per animal. Ideo esse distinctum a non sensato magis convenit rationali quam animali. Sed species composita ex genere et differentia est ens tam ratione generis quam differentiae, quibus etiam convenit esse ens. Sed species magis est ens per ultimam differentiam quae est complementum rei quam per genus
 425 ex vii *Metaphysicae*. Igitur magis essentialiter est differentia ultima ens quam genus.

Item differentia sumitur a forma sicut genus a materia sive a potentia, et ultima differentia sumitur ab ultima forma sive ab ultimo gradu formae. Sed forma est magis ens et natura quam materia ex ii *Physicorum* et vii *Metaphysicae*. Forma etiam secundum ultimum gradum suum sive secundum ultimam formalitatem suam
 430 est magis ens quam secundum alium gradum suum vel aliam perfectionem suam. Igitur differentia ultima sumpta ab ultima forma vel ab ultimo gradu formae est magis ens quam differentia media.

Praeterea illud est per accidens cognoscibile a potentia cognitiva cui primum et per se obiectum illius potentiae accidit. Sed quantumcumque ens esset idem
 435 differentiae ultimae, si non per se clauderetur in eius intellectu, perinde esset quantum ad formalem rationem obiectivam, ac si accideret ei. Igitur cum ens sit primum obiectum intellectus, differentia ultima esset per accidens intelligibilis, quod falsum est.

Item unumquodque quanto plus participat de actualitate tanto plus de entitate,
 440 quia actus est prior potentia perfectione. Sed ultima differentia plus participat de actualitate quam genus vel differentia media, aliter non esset ultima differentia. Igitur ens verius et essentialius praedicatur de ultima differentia quam de genere vel de differentia media.

Item per rationem Commentatoris iv *Metaphysicae* qua probat contra Avicennam quod ens et unum non praedicant dispositiones rerum sed essentias.
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425 *Metaph.* 7.12 t.43 (1038a19-20, 25-26). 428 *Ph.* 2.1 t.12 (193b7). *Metaph.* 7.3 t.6 (1029a6-7). 433-438 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.6 Additio (Vivès 7.148b). 444 *In Metaph.* 4 t.3 (Iunt. 8.67B).

418 subiecto] obiecto *P*: om. *A* 418-419 illi ... inest¹ om. per hom. *P* 419 tali] illi *A* subiecto] obiecto *P* sensitivo *A* 420 rationale] -lis *K* 421 sensitivo *A* convenit] ostendit *P* 422 Sed] secundum *P* compositas *P* tam] tamen *P* 423 quam] ratione add. *K* differentiae] -tia *P* 424 completivum *K* per²] ipsum add. *K* 427 sumitur ut vid. *K* 428 natura quam] numquam *P* II *Physicorum*] I *Posteriorum* *P* 430 aliam ... suam] perfectionem aliam *A* 432 differentia om. *A* 433 illud est] idem *K* ante primum transp. accidit *A* primo *K* 434 Sed] secundum *P* 435 differentia ultimo *P* si] et *P*: sive *K* per] propter *P* claudetur *P* perinde] idem *A* esset bis *P* 436 accidere *P* cum] cui *P* 437 per accidens om. *P* 439 plus¹] et add. *A*: om. *K* 442 essentialius] realius *A*

Probatur etiam quod essentialiter praedicatur de ultima differentia sicut de aliis, quia cum differentia ultima sit ens, aut per se aut per additum. Si per additum, quaero de illo addito, cum sit ens, aut per se aut per additum. Si per se, eadem ratione standum fuit in primo. Et similiter cum differentia ultima sit simpliciter
 450 simplex, non habet aliquid sibi additum extra naturam suam per quod sit ens. Si illud additum sit ens per additum, quaero de illo addito. Et sic vel erit processus in infinitum vel stabitur primo quod differentia ultima per essentiam suam sit ens. Haec etiam ratio concludit quod ens per se praedicatur de aliis transcendentibus quae dicuntur passionibus eius.

455 Item ultima differentia speciei substantiae est per se substantia, cum sit per se pars essentialis substantiae compositae. Substantia autem est ens essentialiter. Cum igitur illud quod per se inest superiori per se inest inferiori, licet non primo, sequitur quod ens per se praedicatur de differentia ultima, et non per se secundo modo, igitur per se primo modo.

460 Item quaecumque simul addita faciunt nugationem, unum est de per se intellectu alterius. Sed ultima differentia addita enti facit nugationem sicut differentia media. Ita est hic nugatio 'ens rationalitas' sicut hic 'ens corporeitas'. Igitur etc.

Item Philosophus III *Metaphysicae* probat quod ens et unum non sunt genera, quia genus non praedicatur de differentiis, sed ens et unum praedicatur de eis.
 465 Igitur etc. Quaero igitur quomodo accipit 'non praedicari' in maiori: aut absolute, et tunc falsum capit, quia genus praedicatur de differentia absolute et simpliciter, licet non per se. Igitur accipit 'non praedicari' per se. Si igitur non sit variatio, oportet quod similiter accipiatur in minori quod ens per se praedicatur de differentiis. Et per consequens cum differentia ultima sit potissime differentia, ipsa
 470 erit per se ens. Nec valet dicere quod ratio Philosophi est particularis, quia ens praedicatur per se de differentiis mediis de quibus per se non praedicatur genus, et ideo ens non est genus. Hoc, inquam, nihil est, quia expresse dicit Philosophus ibi quod quaelibet differentia generis est ens et una. Ait enim sic: 'non est possibile

463 *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b21-28). 470-472 Hic opinionem Scoti A. allegat. Vide Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.158 (Vat. 3.96-97); cf. 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.115 (Vat. 16.267-68). 473 *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b21-25).

446 differentia ultima A: differentia P 447 differentia] dicitur K aut¹] alia add. P 447-448 additum² ... per² om. per hom. K 448 aut¹] alia add. P 449 fuit] erat A similiter om. A 451 quare K 452 stabitur] in add. A ultima] et ultima add. K 453 concludit] probat A 454 dicuntur] sunt quasi A 455 substantiae] sub P cum] ut P 456 pars] et add. K 457 inest²] inest A primo] modo add. K 458 differentia] substantia K 460 simul] sint K nugationem] mutationem P unum om. K per se de A 461 nugationem] mutationem P 462 Ita] enim add. A nugatio] immo P: modo K 463 *Metaphysicae*] quarto capitulo in marg. add. P 466 falsum capit] accipit falsum A 471 per ... mediis] de differentiis per se in eis K non praedicatur per se A 473 Ait enim] attamen K possibile] quod add. K

genus existentium unum esse neque ens, nam necesse est differentias cuiuslibet
475 generis esse et unam esse quamlibet' etc.

Quod etiam ens per se praedicetur de uno probatur per Philosophum ibidem ubi
concludit sic: 'quare si unum genus aut ens, nulla differentia nec unum nec ens.'
Sed ista consequentia non valet negando unum et ens de differentia absolute, quia
nec sit genus negatur absolute a differentia. Igitur consequentia tenet negando per
480 se unum et ens de differentiis. Habet igitur pro inconvenienti quod unum non
praedicetur per se de differentia, sicut et quod ens non per se praedicetur. Et per
consequens unum essentialiter praedicatur sicut ens, quod non esset verum nisi
unum esset essentialiter ens.

Praeterea quaecumque significant unam naturam et essentiam differentia sola
485 ratione praedicantur per se de se invicem. Sed huiusmodi sunt ens et unum dicente
Philosopho iv *Metaphysicae*, 'ens et unum idem et una natura sicut principium et
causa, sed non una ratione ostensa', quorum identitatem probat Philosophus
ibidem tripliciter: tum quia illa sunt una natura quaecumque addita tertio nullam
afferunt diversitatem; sed ens et unum addita tertio nullam afferunt diversitatem,
490 quia idem est 'ens homo' et 'unus homo' et 'homo' nec aliquid diversum ostendunt
secundum dictionem repetitam, palam quia nec separantur in generatione nec in
corruptione; tum quia quaecumque praedicantur de substantia uniuscuiusque, non
secundum accidens sed per se, sunt una natura; sed sic praedicantur ens et unum
de substantia uniuscuiusque, quod dictum Philosophi probat Commentator per
495 rationem supra positam; tum quia illa sunt una natura quae habent easdem species;
sed quaecumque sunt species entis sunt et species unius. Sunt igitur una natura.
Igitur unum non praedicatur de ente per se secundo modo sed primo.

<Ad rationes Duns Scoti>

Rationes etiam pro isto secundo articulo non concludunt. Prima non: non enim
500 sequitur quod si differentiae ultimae includant ens univoce quod sint proprie

476 *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b26-27). 486 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.3 (1003b23-25). 494 Argu-
mentum Averrois contra Avicennam, qui posuit unum esse dispositionem rei additam, A. hic
allegat. Cf. Averroem, *In Metaph.* 4 t.3 (Iunt. 8.67b). 499 supra, II. 282-289.

474 unum in marg. P: om. A 475 etc. om. A 476 probatur] etiam add. P 477 con-
cludit corr. excludit A: dicit P quare] quod P: om. A unum¹] est in marg. add. P
478 neganda P 479 tenet] per add. P 481 et quod] quod K: si P 482 praedicatur] pro-
batur P quod om. P non om. K 482-483 verum ... esset om. per hom. P 482 nisi]
non K 484 solum P 485 per se om. A 487 ratione om. K 489 addita ... diversi-
tatem] sunt huiusmodi A 490 ens ... homo³] homo et ens homo et unus homo A ostendunt]
significat P 491 quia om. P 491-492 in corruptione] intentione P 492 praedicatur P
uniuscuiusque] unius cuiuscumque P 492-494 non ... uniuscuiusque om. per hom. K
494 uniuscuiusque] unius cuiuscumque P 495 supra] superius K: super P tum quia] cum P
499 Rationes] responsiones P non² om. KP 500 si om. K

differentes, quia prima genera includunt ens univoce, ut ipsi concedunt, et tamen non sunt omnino idem sed diversa. Igitur per rationem illam essent proprie differentia, et sic essent species proprie et haberent differentias. Dicendum est igitur quod ad hoc quod aliqua sint proprie differentia, requiritur quod includant
 505 actualitates quae sunt extra rationem illius in quo sunt idem, quibus actualitatibus sunt diversa. Nihil autem est extra rationem entis. Et ideo propter identitatem in ente et diversitatem aliquorum inter se non dicentur aliqua differentia proprie.

Ad secundum, quando arguitur quod sicut ens compositum resolvitur in simplicia quorum unum nihil alterius includit, ita conceptus compositus resolvitur
 510 ultimate in conceptus simpliciter simplices quorum unus non includit alium, dicendum quod non est simile de ultimata resolutione rerum compositarum et conceptuum compositorum, quia ultimata resolutio rei compositae stat ad simplicia secundum disparationem, sed ultimata resolutio conceptus compositi stat ad simplicia secundum abstractionem. Illud autem quod ab omnibus abstrahitur
 515 secundum communitatem de omnibus praedicatur. Et ideo ultimata resolutio conceptus compositi stat ad conceptum simpliciter simplicem indifferentem ad omnia, qualis est conceptus entis.

Ad tertium, cum arguitur quod passio praedicatur de subiecto per se secundo modo, dicendum quod ens non potest habere passionem realiter differentem a se,
 520 quia illa passio tunc esset nihil. Unde loquendo de passione quae causatur ex principiis subiecti, sic entis non est passio. Et ideo passio entis sola ratione differt ab ente. Sicut enim secundum Damascenum, bonitas, sapientia et huiusmodi perfectiones in Deo non dicunt naturam sed quae circa naturam quasi accidentia, cum tamen sint idem cum natura et substantia divina, sic unum, verum et huiusmodi
 525 sunt quasi passionem circumstantes conceptum entis, et tamen quiditative idem cum ente. Propter quod dicit Avicenna 1 *Metaphysicae* suae, 'quod sunt quasi passionem entis sicut substantia et quantitas sunt quasi species entis.'

Ad confirmationem, quando dicitur quod praedicationes per se non convertuntur, dicendum quod verum est quando subiectum et praedicatum non sunt

501 ipsi, sc. Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.163 (Vat. 3.100:15-19). 508 supra, ll. 290-305.
 518 supra, ll. 306-313. 522 *De fide orthodoxa* cc.4, 9 (*Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert [St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1955], pp. 21.41-45, 50.34-36). 526 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.13:38-39). 528 supra, ll. 314-318.

501 ipsum *K* tamen *om.* *KP* 502 sunt *om.* *P* Igitur] ens (?) *P* essent *om.* *P*
 505 sunt¹] sint *A* actualitatibus *om.* *P* 506 autem] aut *K* 508-510 quando ...
 alium *om.* *A* 510 unus non] unum *in marg.* *P* 513 disparationem *corr.* ex desparationem *K*:
 dispositionem *PA* ultimata resolutio] ultima resolutio *A*: resolutio ultima *P* 515 praedicatur]
 probatur *P* ultima *KA* 515-516 Et ... stat] quantum *in marg.* *P* 518 tertium] secundum
P cum] quando *P* arguitur] dicitur *A* praedicatur] primo *P* se *bis* *P* 519 dicendo *P*
 521 entis¹] ens *K* 522 Damascenum] differentiam *K* 523 quasi] circa *P* 524 sint idem]
 sunt idem *P*: idem sunt *K* verum] bonum *P* 527 quantitas] quantum *P*

530 praecise idem. Tunc enim si praedicatum per se praedicatur de subiecto, e converso
 subiectum non praedicabitur per se de praedicato, quia tunc non subicitur quod
 natum est subici nec praedicatur quod natum est praedicari. Sed quando subiectum
 et praedicatum sunt praecise idem, ibi praedicatio per se convertitur, nam definitio
 per se praedicatur de definito et e converso. In proposito autem ens et unum unam
 535 naturam significant secundum Philosophum. Ideo utrumque praedicatur de altero
 per se, licet magis proprie unum praedicetur de ente quam e converso, quia est
 quasi passio eius.

Ad aliud, cum arguitur quod unum, si includat ens, non includit ens praecise,
 quia tunc ens esset passio suiipsius, dicendum quod unum includit ens praecise
 540 nihil positivum addens supra ens. Et ideo non est vera passio entis tamquam
 causatum ex principiis entis, sed est passio sola ratione differens a subiecto suo.
 Propter quod potius dicitur unum esse passio entis quam ens suiipsius.

Ad ultimum, cum arguitur quod ens non dividitur quiditative in plura quam in
 ens increatum et in decem genera, et sic unum, si includat ens quiditative, erit
 545 contentum sub aliquo istorum, dicendum quod ens non dividitur in unum, immo
 unum dividitur eadem differentia qua dividitur ens, quia secundum Philosophum
 iv *Metaphysicae*, quot sunt species entis tot et eadem sunt species unius.

<OPINIO PROPRIA>

Respondeo ad quaestionem duo declarando: primum est quod conceptus entis
 550 est simpliciter unus respectu entis increati et creati et respectu substantiae et
 accidentis; secundo declarabitur qualis est communitas entis.

<Articulus primus>

Primum autem istorum non solum probatur rationibus factis contra aliam
 opinionem, sed etiam aliis rationibus communibus quae ab adversariis non solvun-
 555 tur, quarum una est, unius potentiae formaliter est aliquod obiectum primum

538 supra, ll. 319-326. 543 supra, ll. 327-335. 546-547 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.3 (1003b34-35).
 555-558 cf. Scotum, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.5 (Vivès 7.148a).

531 subiectum *om. P* praedicabitur] -catur *A* 532 subiectum *om. K* 533 sunt] per
 se *add. P* ibi] sibi *P* 535 Philosophum] 4 *Metaphysicae add. A* 536 e *om. P*
 538-539 cum ... suiipsius *om. A* 538 cum] quando *P* unum] bonum *K* includat] -dit *P*
 540 est *om. K* entis *om. P* 541 causatum] tantum *K* 542 esse] sua *add. K* entis]
 eius *P* 543-545 cum ... istorum *om. A* 543 cum] quando *P* 544 includit *K* 545 istorum]
 illorum *K* 546 eadem] ea *P* differentia] divisione *K* dividitur²] dicitur *P* 547 tot
om. P 549 Respondeo] Dico *A* quod *om. P* 551 secundo declarabitur] secundum *A*
 553 autem istorum] autem *K: om. A* 554 rationibus *om. A* 555 quarum una est] quorum una
 est *P: primo sic A*

simpliciter unum. Sed intellectus noster est una potentia formaliter, licet sint plures virtualiter. Igitur ipsius erit aliquod obiectum primum simpliciter unum. Sed tale non potest esse aliud quam ens. Igitur ens habet conceptum simpliciter unum.

Maiores vero, quia ab aliquibus negatur dicentibus quod non est vera de potentia
560 quae est respectu totius entis, cuiusmodi est intellectus, sed solum de potentia quae est respectu determinati generis entis, probatur sic: inter potentiam et obiectum est naturalis ordo motivi et mobilis vel perfectivi et perfectibilis sive determinativi et determinabilis. Sed impossibile est unum formaliter primo ordinari ad plura ut plura; immo si ordinetur ad plura, hoc erit sub ratione unius. Igitur obiecta
565 intelligibilia ab intellectu habent unum primum obiectum adaequatum intellectui.

Secundo probatur illa maior sic: intellectus noster refertur ad obiectum intelligibile ut mensuratum ad mensuram ex v *Metaphysicae*. Sed unius mensurati formaliter est una mensura prima ex x *Metaphysicae*. Quod si plures sint mensurae per se, hoc erit sub ratione unius simpliciter. Igitur omnia intelligibilia per se ab
570 intellectu nostro habent unum primum intelligibile quod est primum obiectum et mensura intellectus nostri.

Minor etiam praemissae rationis, scilicet quod nullum aliud obiectum ab ente potest esse primum obiectum adaequatum intellectui nostro, quia ab aliquibus negatur aliis dicentibus Deum esse primum obiectum intellectus nostri, aliis vero
575 quiditatem materialem, ideo probatur sic: constat quod nullum aliud ab ente potest esse primum obiectum intellectus nostri ei adaequatum secundum praedicationem vel communitatem, quia nihil aliud dicitur de omnibus intelligibilibus. Nec etiam Deus vel substantia potest esse primum obiectum intellectus nostri secundum virtutem, quia primum obiectum intellectus secundum virtutem movet intellectum
580 ad notitiam sui et ad notitiam aliorum, ita quod alia non movent propria virtute, sicut essentia divina dicitur primum obiectum intellectus Dei, quia ipsa sola movet

559-561 Auctorem huius opinionis non invenimus. 567 *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b30-35).
568 *Metaph.* 10.1 t.2-3 (1052b19-35). 573-575 Henricus Gandavus et eius discipulus Richardus de Conington Deum esse primum obiectum nostri intellectus pro statu isto posuerunt; S. Thomas quiditatem materialem. Utramque opinionem Scotus impugnat: Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.108-28, 189-201 (Vat. 3.69-80, 115-123); *QQ De an.* q.21 (Vivès 3.612b-13a).

556 sint] sit K 557 Igitur om. K erit] est A 558 ens² om. P 559 vero om. A
quia om. K ab aliquibus negatur] negatur a quibusdam A vera] una K 560 cuiusmodi] cuius
bis sed corr. P 560-561 quae est] inest K 562 motivi] -tui K determinativi] de-
clarativi A 563 determinabilis] declarabilis A primo om. P ordinari] determinari P
563-564 ut plura om. K 564 ordinetur] ordine P erit] est A 567 ut] sicut A
569 ratione unius] ratione una A: unius ratione P 570 intelligibile] intellectum A et] prima
add. A 572 etiam om. A praemissae] praedictae A nullum aliud obiectum] nihil aliud A
574 negatur om. P 575 quiditatem materialem] si natura esset tale P: si natura est tale K
constat] enim add. A aliud] obiectum add. A 576 adaequatum secundum bis K 578 post
nostri del. ei adaequatum secundum praedicationem K: sibi adaequatum add. A 579 secundum
virtutem om. P 580 sui et ad notitiam] sui et A: om. per hom. P 581 Dei] sui K: om. P

intellectum Dei ad notitiam sui et aliorum. Sed Deus pro statu isto non movet intellectum nostrum ad se et alia cognoscibilia cognoscenda, sed potius e converso, quia invisibilia Dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur. Nec etiam
 585 substantia movet ad notitiam sui et accidentium, sed potius e converso, quia accidentia magnam partem conferunt ad cognoscendum quod quid est. Accidentia etiam habent propriam virtutem motivam intellectus nostri, quia habent propria phantasmata. Igitur nullum aliud obiectum ab ente potest esse obiectum adaequatum intellectui nostro secundum virtutem.

590 Item probatur illa minor sic: illud est primum obiectum potentiae cognitivae sub cuius ratione cetera cognoscuntur. Et universaliter illud est primum obiectum potentiae sub cuius ratione cetera obiciuntur potentiae, ut patet de visu respectu sui primarii obiecti. Sed omnia quae ab intellectu cognoscuntur, cognoscuntur sub ratione entis. Ens igitur est primum obiectum intellectus nostri.

595 Item secundo arguitur sic: unius scientiae est unum obiectum, quia ab eodem habet unumquodque suam unitatem a quo et distinctionem. Habitus autem distinguuntur per obiecta, scientiae enim secantur quemadmodum et res, ex III *De anima*. Igitur scientia habet suam unitatem ex obiecto. Sed ens inquantum ens est obiectum unius scientiae, scilicet metaphysicae, prout nota reduplicationis specificat formalem rationem entis in se non in comparatione ad substantiam vel ad
 600 aliquid inferius, dicente Avicenna I *Metaphysicae* suae capitulo 2, 'ens inquantum ens est commune omnibus; ergo debet poni subiectum huius magisterii.' Igitur etc.

Et hoc est sic arguere: quidquid est obiectum unius habitus scientialis est unum obiectum potentiae intellectivae, quia non maior unitas requiritur ad unitatem
 605 obiecti potentiae cognitivae quam ad unitatem obiecti alicuius scientiae, cum potentia cognitiva intellectiva se extendat ad plures habitus scientiales. Cum igitur ens sit obiectum unius scientiae, ipsum erit unum obiectum intellectus. Sed quidquid est unum obiectum intellectus secundum unum conceptum ei obicitur. Igitur etc.

584 Rom 1:20. 586 cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.139 (Vat. 3.87). 590-594 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.5 (Vivès 7.148a). 595-602 cf. Scotum, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.2 (Vivès 7.146a-b). 597-598 *De An.* 3.8 t.38 (431b24-25). 601 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:31-32).

582 et] ad K 583 et] ad add. P 584 quia] quasi P intelligenda P 586 quid] quidquid A 588 nullum] nihil P: nostrum K obiectum aliud A: obiectum K 590 illa] ista P 592 obiciuntur] -citur P ut om. A 593 intellectu] nostro add. K 594 Ens igitur] ens ergo P: inv. A 595-596 ab ... unitatem] unumquodque ab eodem habet unitatem suam A 596 Habitus autem] sed habitus A 597 enim om. et ante scientiae add. quia A quemadmodum] enim add. P ex] quibus sunt in marg. add. P: om. A 598 est] subiectum vel add. A 600 non om. P 602 ergo in marg. P: om. KA 603 quidquid] unum P unius] rationes om. P 604 potentiae] scientiae P 605 quam] quod K unitatem] alicuius subiecti vel add. A scientiae] sensitivae K 607 unius scientiae] alicuius scientiae unius A: scientiae P 607-608 Sed ... intellectus om. per hom. et in marg. et suppl. P

610 Haec videtur ratio Avicennae i *Metaphysicae* capitulo 5 dicentis, 'postquam una intentio est ens quam sequuntur accidentaliter quae sunt ei propria, egebit aliqua scientia in qua tractetur.'

Dicitur ad hanc rationem quod sicut significata entis sunt simpliciter plura, unum autem secundum quid, scilicet secundum proportionem, sic metaphysica est
615 plures scientiae simpliciter, una tamen secundum quid, scilicet secundum unitatem ordinis et proportionis. Quot enim sunt demonstrationes in aliqua scientia totali tot sunt habitus scientiae particulares.

Contra: non obstante ista responsione adhuc prior ratio habet efficaciam, quia accipitur aliqua una demonstratio et prima in metaphysica. Illa demonstrabit de
620 primo subiecto metaphysicae aliquam passionem primam ut unum vel multum. Tunc sic: scientia quae est habitus conclusionis una demonstratione demonstratae est simpliciter una, quia in una specie qualitatis. Igitur subiectum ipsius est simpliciter unum. Cum igitur una demonstratione possit demonstrari aliqua passio de ente, ens erit subiectum simpliciter unum. Probatio consequentiae: quicumque
625 habitus scientiae unus virtualiter includitur in subiecto illius scientiae, quia subiectum virtualiter includit principium et principium conclusionem, et per consequens totus habitus virtualiter includitur in subiecto. Igitur unitas habitus virtualiter includitur in unitate subiecti. Si igitur habitus alicuius conclusionis sit simpliciter unus, subiectum eius erit simpliciter unum.

630 Item tertio arguitur sic: quae sunt prima intelligibilia sunt communissima, quia communiora sunt a nobis prius intellecta ex i *Physicorum*. Sed transcendentia ut ens et unum sunt a nobis primo intellecta. Non autem Deus substantia vel accidens, tum quia secundum Avicennam i *Metaphysicae* capitulo 5, haec statim imprimuntur in anima nostra prima impressione quae non acquiritur ex aliis notioribus se; sed
635 nec Deus nec substantia nec accidens prima impressione nobis imprimuntur, immo eorum notitia acquiritur ex aliis notioribus se; tum quia primum intelligibile a nobis est nobis notissimum; huiusmodi autem est ens et non Deus nec substan-

610 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.40:50-51). 613-617 Hic opinionem Cowton A. allegat. Vide Cowton (ed. Brown, 34). 630-647 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.5 (Vivès 7.147b-48a); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown, 12). 631 *Ph.* 1.1 t.1 (184a22-25). 633 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.31:2-32:4).

610 Haec] secundo *P* Metaphysicae] scilicet *add. P* 611 accidentia *A* egebunt *P* 612 tractentur *P* 614 autem *om. KP* 616 scientia] particulari *in marg. add. P* 617 particulares] partiales *K* 618 ista *om. P* ratio prior *P*: prima ratio *A* 619 aliqua] natura *add. P* Illa] ita *P* 620 subiecto] sub posito *K* 621 sic *om. P* post habitus *spat. rel. P* conclusionem *P* demonstratae] -ta *P* 622 subiectum] obiectum *P* ipsius] eius *A* 623 potest *KP* 624 subiectum] obiectum *KP* 630 arguitur *om. A* primo *A* intelligibilia] a nobis *add. K* 632 primo] prius *A* 634 acquiritur *K* 635 prima ... imprimuntur] imprimuntur nobis prima impressione *A* 636 eorum notitia] notitia ipsorum *A* se] et *add. P* primum] ipsum *P* 637 autem *om. KP*

tia nec accidens. Igitur ens est primum a nobis intelligibile, et non Deus nec substantia nec accidens. Igitur ens est communissimum, et non Deus nec substantia
 640 nec accidens, et per consequens est communius quam aliquod generalissimum genus.

Confirmatur ratio. In via cognoscendi procedendo a confuso ad determinatum, quod primo occurrit debet esse confusum respectu cuiuscumque secundo occurrentis. Sed nullum genus generalissimum est confusum respectu alterius generis
 645 secundo occurrentis. Igitur nullum genus generalissimum primo occurrit intellectui nostro. Sed constat quod ens primo nobis occurrit. Igitur ens est magis confusum quam aliquod generalissimum. Igitur etc.

Item quarto sic: si non sit aliquis conceptus quiditativus communis substantiae et accidenti ut conceptus entis, sequitur quod nullum conceptum quiditativum
 650 habere poterimus de substantia. Consequens falsum, quia sic, omnino ignoraremus substantiam quid est. Igitur antecedens est falsum. Probatio consequentiae: omnis conceptus quiditativus substantiae aut est sibi proprius aut communis sibi et accidenti. Sed nullum conceptum proprium simplicem possumus habere de substantia, quia ad illum aut immediate movet substantia aut accidens. Non
 655 substantia, quia quidquid praesens immutat intellectum nostrum, illius absentia potest naturaliter cognosci ab intellectu quando non immutatur, sicut patet per Philosophum II *De anima* de luce et tenebra respectu visus. Quia enim lux praesens visui immutat ipsum, ideo eius absentia quae est tenebra cognoscitur quando non immutat visum. Si igitur substantia quando est praesens immutaret intellectum
 660 nostrum ad notitiam sui, quando non est praesens nec intellectum immutans, posset naturaliter cognosci non esse praesens. Et sic naturaliter posset cognosci in hostia altaris consecrata non esse substantia panis, quod est falsum, quia hoc sola fide tenemus sine rei evidentia. Nec etiam aliquod accidens potest immutare intellectum nostrum ad determinatum conceptum substantiae, quia illud quod
 665 aequae repraesentat rem quando non est sicut quando est non potest facere notitiam eius determinatam. Sed accidens aequae repraesentat substantiam quantum est ex parte sui quando non est substantia, ut patet in sacramento altaris, sicut quando

648-670 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.139-140, 145 (Vat. 3.87-88, 90); cf. *QQ De an.* q.21 n.3 (Vivès 3.613b). 657 *De An.* 2.2 t.138 (425b21).

638-639 non ... et *om.* A 639 et non Deus *om.* P 640 est] communissimum et ita A
 642 ratio] quia *add.* A 644-645 est ... generalissimum *om. per hom.* A 646 ens¹ *om.* P
 occurrit] ens *in marg.* *add.* P 647 aliquod] genus *add.* K 649 accidenti] nec *add.* P
 conceptus entis] convenit enti P 651 antecedens] accidens P 652 substantiae *om.* P
 653 Sed] si P 654 quia ad illum] aut illum *del.* P aut¹ *om.* K moveret A 655 praesens]
 prius P 656 quando non immutatur] quia non immutat P: nostro A 657 praesens *in marg.*
 A: prius P 658 quando] quia P 659 quando est praesens] quae est species K 660 est *om.*
 K 661 esse] esset K 661-662 naturaliter ... consecrata] in hostia consecrata posset naturaliter
 cognosci A 662 consecrata] ibi *add.* K: ubi *add.* P esse] est P 665 quando¹] quae K

est. Igitur per conceptum accidentis non potest haberi conceptus determinatus substantiae. Si igitur a conceptu accidentis non potest abstrahi conceptus communis substantiae et accidenti, nullam notitiam omnino haberemus de substantia.

Item hoc probatur per auctoritates. Philosophus II *Metaphysicae* probat principia sempiternorum esse verissima sic: unumquodque est maxime tale quod est causa univoce aliis ut sint tale. Exemplum suum: ignis est maxime calidus, quia est causa caloris in aliis. Sed principia sempiternorum sunt causa veritatis in principiatis sicut et causa entis. Igitur principia sempiternorum sunt verissima. Quae ratio non valeret nisi principia sempiterna haberent veritatem univoce cum aliis. Si enim veritas aequivoce inesset his et illis, essent quattuor termini in ratione Philosophi. Unde ista propositio Philosophi, 'unumquodque propter quod et illud magis', solum vera est respectu proprietatis quae univoce inest causae et causato. Unde non sequitur quod sol sit maxime calidus, licet sit causa caloris in aliis. Veritas igitur univoce inest primo principio et principiatis. Igitur similiter et ens iuxta illud ibidem, unumquodque sicut se habet ut sit, sic ad veritatem et e converso. Vel secundum aliam translationem et communem expositionem, causa et causatum, cum conveniunt in nomine et in intentione, causam dignius est habere illud nomen et intentionem et suo proseguendo, sequitur quod veritas secundum nomen et unam intentionem conveniat primis principiis et principiatis.

Item Commentator IV *Metaphysicae* commento secundo, manifestum est quod una scientia considerat de ente. Et subdit rationem, quia dispositio in hoc genere est sicut dispositio in genere quod dicitur univoce, quia praedicabilia essentialia inveniuntur in hoc genere sicut inveniuntur in genere quod dicitur univoce; sed hoc non invenitur in genere quod dicitur aequivoce. Ex quo apparet quod ens praedicatur univoce et non aequivoce.

671-677 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.79 (Vat. 4.188). 671 *Metaph.* 2.1 t.4 (993b23-31). 678 *APo.* 1.2 (72a29-30). 682 *Metaph.* 2.1 t.4 (993b30-31). 683 cf. 'Et est manifestum per se quod unumquodque principiorum in unoquoque genere est proprie causa eorum, quae dicuntur de aliis collocatis in illo genere de dispositionibus, in quibus conveniunt illae res nomine et definitione Et cum ita sit manifestum est quod primum in quolibet genere magis est dignum habere hoc nomen esse et eius definitionem quam ea quorum est causa ...' (Averroes, *In Metaph.* 2 t.4 [Iunt. 8.30A-B]). Aliam translationem Aristotelis quam A. allegat non invenimus. 687 *In Metaph.* 4 t.2 (Iuct. 8.66A-B).

668 per *om.* K potest *om.* K 669 a conceptu] conceptus P accidentis *mut.* in entis P abstrahi] qui sit in *marg. add.* P 669-670 communis] entis *add.* K 670 habemus P 671 Philosophi P *Metaphysicae*] ubi in *marg. add.* P 673 ut sint tale] ut sint idem K: essendi tale A 674 in¹ *om.* A principiatis] -patis P sicut] sed K 675 entis] entitatis A 676 haberent *om.* et post aliis in *marg. suppl.* P veritatem] in unitate P 677 inesset] esset in P et] in *add.* P essent *om.* K 678 propositio] probatio A: ratio P Propter quod unumquodque A: unumquodque *om.* K 681 Igitur] ita K 682 veritate K 684 cum] cui P in² *om.* A illud] istud P 685 suo] sic KP 686 primis *om.* A 687 manifestum *om.* et *spat. rel.* P 688 subdit *om.* et *spat. rel.* P 690 sicut ... genere *om.* per *hom.* P

Item univocationem entis videtur expressius Avicenna sensisse. Ait enim I
Metaphysicae suae capitulo secundo, 'substantiae, quantitates et alia praedicamenta
 695 non possunt habere communem intentionem qua certificentur nisi intentionem
 essendi. Ens igitur inquantum est ens est commune omnibus, quorum quaedam
 sunt ei quasi species ut substantia, quantitas et qualitas; quaedam sunt ei quasi
 accidentia propria sicut unum et multum, potentia et actus' etc. Item ibidem
 capitulo 6, quamvis ens, sicut scisti, non sit genus respectu eorum quae sub eo sunt,
 700 tamen est intentio in qua conveniunt secundum prius et posterius. Postquam autem
 una intentio est ens, sequentur illud accidentia quae sunt ei propria, etc.

Ex quibus omnibus apparet ens et alia transcendentia, quae dicunt perfectiones
 simpliciter, importare unum conceptum enti creato et increato, substantiae et
 accidenti communem. Et hoc quidem potest quilibet ad se conversus intellectua-
 705 liter experiri. Experimur enim quod scimus aliquid, ut lumen, esse ens et tamen
 ignoramus utrum sit forma substantialis per se subsistens an accidentaliter alteri
 inhaerens. Sic etiam de potentiis animae cum circa hoc sint opiniones. Ideo cum
 concipimus aliquid esse ens, concipimus aliquid indifferens ad substantiam et
 accidens, ad ens creatum et increatum. Et haec est expresse ratio Avicennae I
 710 *Metaphysicae* suae capitulo 5 vel 6 ubi ait sic: 'quae proniora sunt ad imaginandum
 per se sunt ea quae sunt communia omnibus rebus, sicut res, ens et unum. Et non
 potest manifestari aliquod horum per probationem quae non sit circularis. Unde
 quisquis voluerit discutere de illis incidet <in> involucrum, sicut ille qui dixit quod
 ens est agens vel patiens; quamvis haec divisio sit entis, tamen ens notius est quam
 715 agens vel patiens. Omnes enim homines imaginant certitudinem entis, sed ignorant
 an debet esse agens vel patiens etc.'

<Articulus secundus>

Secundo est videndum qualis est univocatio sive universalitas entis ad sua
 inferiora. Ubi est sciendum quod si omne quod praedicatur univoce de multis
 720 praedicatur de eis secundum rationem alicuius universalis, oportet ens praedicari
 de omnibus entibus secundum rationem alicuius universalis, si praedicatur univoce.

693-694 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:15-18, 13:38-44). 698-699 ibid. 1.5 (AvL 1.40:46-52). 705-709 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.6 (Vivès 7.148b). 709-710 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.33:25-33). 718-729 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.9 (Vivès 7.150a-b).

693 Ait om. K enim om. P 694 substantiae] et add. A 697 et om. A 699 sicut ... non] sit et spat. rel. P 700 est om. P qua] quo K 702 omnibus om. P quae] de eo add. K 704 communem om. KP 704-705 intellectualiter] ad (corr. ex a) se add. P 707 etiam] et P sunt A 708 indifferens] in differentiis K substantiam] differentiam K 710 ubi] ut A proniora] per nota corr. ex per mota P imaginando K 711 communia mut. in omnia P et¹ om. K 713 quisquis] quisque K involucrum] in volutivum K 714 quamvis] enim add. K 715 imaginantur A 721 praedicetur] -atur P

- Non autem praedicatur secundum rationem sive modum differentiae, quia differentia praedicatur in quale. Ens autem praedicatur in quid. Nec etiam praedicatur secundum rationem proprii vel accidentis, quia sunt extra essentiam illius de quo dicuntur. Ens autem praedicat substantiam cuiuslibet entis. Nec etiam praedicatur secundum rationem generis, quia ens per se praedicatur de differentia. Genus autem non. Relinquitur igitur ut ens praedicetur aliquo modo secundum rationem et modum speciei specialissimae, ita quod comparando ens ad inferius videtur habere modum speciei specialissimae, si non sint plura universalialia quam quinque.
- 730 Ad cuius intelligentiam est sciendum quod secundum Boethium in *Commento super librum Porphyrii* aliter species praedicat substantiam individuorum et genus substantiam speciei. Genus enim, secundum ipsum, est pars substantiae speciei, ut hominis animal. Reliquae enim partes rationale atque mortale. Sed species est tota substantia individuorum, ut homo Socratis atque Ciceronis tota substantia est.
- 735 Nulla enim additur differentia substantialis ad hominem ut Socrates fiat aut Cicero, sicut additur animali rationale atque mortale ut homo integra definitione claudatur. Unde totum illud quod dicit Socrates singulariter, dicit homo universaliter. Ens autem praedicat totam essentiam cuiuslibet de quo praedicatur, eo quod nihil est extra rationem entis quod est positivum. Ideo ens per nullas differentias positivas
- 740 descendit in sua inferiora, sicut nec species specialissima descendit in individua per differentias substantiales. Propter quod ens videtur praedicari magis ad modum universalitatis speciei specialissimae quam ad modum generis. Unde haec definitio generis, 'quod praedicatur de pluribus differentibus specie in eo quod quid', debet intelligi partialiter, non autem totaliter, quia genus dicit partialiter quod quid speciei. Sed species praedicat totaliter quod quid individui. Et ideo verius convenit
- 745 enti universalitas speciei specialissimae quam generis. Omnia enim in comparatione ad intensionem entis se habent quasi differentia numero, quia non eget differentiis positivis ad hoc ut descendat in ea, sicut nec species eget differentiis substantialibus ad hoc ut descendat in individua. Propter quod dicit Aristoteles VIII
- 750 *Metaphysicae* suae quod 'ens statim est quid quale quantum', quia per nullum positivum additum descendit in haec.

730-731 *In Isagoge* 3.5 (CSEL 48.215:16-216:2; PL 64.106b-c). 743 *Isagoge*, De genere (ArL 1 pt.6-7 6.24-7.1). 745-762 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 nn.3, 9 (Vivès 7.147a, 150b); cf. *QQ De an.* q.21 n.11 (Vivès 3.617b). 749-750 *Metaph.* 8.6 t.16 (1045a35-b8).

722 sive] secundum add. A 723 quali K autem om. P etiam praedicatur om. A
724 secundum om. K 724-725 quia ... dicuntur bis P 725 etiam praedicatur om. A
727 ut] quod A 729 universalialia] ultima K 730 Boethium] rationem K 731 librum] -bro
K: om. A 734 atque] aut A 736 atque om. K homo om. A 737 illud om. K 739 quod
est om. A nullas] multas (et corr. fort.) P positivas] non in marg. add. P 742 quam] quod
K 743 differentibus om. K debet] dicitur P 744 partialiter¹ om. A dicit partialiter]
partialiter praedicat P 746-747 comparatione] compositione K 747 se habent] sunt P
749 substantialibus] specialibus P Aristoteles] Philosophus A 750 suae] scientiae K
751 positivum] tantum add. K

Vel potest dici quod communitas intentionis entis non est solum univocationis sed potius superunivocationis, quoniam est universale transcendens eo quod ad nullum praedicamentum pertinet. Et secundum hoc sunt duo universalia transcen-
 755 dentia: unum quod praedicatur in quid, scilicet ens, et aliud quod praedicatur in quale, ut unum, verum, bonum et cetera huiusmodi. Nec hoc repugnat doctrinae Porphyrii ponentis tantum quinque universalia, quoniam ipse ordinavit librum suum ad librum *Praedicamentorum* Aristotelis, prout ipse testatur in prooemio suo. Et ideo loquitur de universali prout pertinet ad lineam praedicamentalem, et sic
 760 sunt tantum quinque. Et ideo praeter illa potest poni sextum, quod potest dici universale transcendens quod praedicatur in quid, immo et septimum universale, scilicet transcendens, quod praedicatur in quale.

<Ad rationes Conington>

Ad primum argumentum pro alia opinione de definitione aequivocationis, dicendum quod ad hoc quod sit aequivocatio alicuius termini, non sufficit quod intentio significata sit diversa simpliciter in diversis secundum esse extra animam quod habet in eis. Sic enim intentio generis esset aequivoca, quia est simpliciter diversa in diversis speciebus, sicut intentio animalitatis est simpliciter diversa in homine et asino secundum esse quod habet in eis, quia animalitas hominis
 770 inquantum huiusmodi est animalitas humanitas. Animalitas vero asini inquantum huiusmodi est animalitas asinitas. Et ideo sicut humanitas et asinitas sunt alterius rationis, sic et animalitas in eis secundum esse quod habet in eis est alterius rationis. Et ideo apud naturalem considerantem intentionem generis secundum esse eius in speciebus genus est aequivocum. Et sic sub intentione generis prout
 775 est in rebus latent aequivocationes, ex VII *Physicorum*, quia genus nihil est in rebus praeter generis species, ex VII *Metaphysicae*. Ad hoc igitur quod sit aequivocatio simpliciter oportet ut intentio significata per vocem sit diversa in intellectu abstrahente et concipiente eam, ita quod intellectus in abstrahendo talem intentionem inveniat diversitatem in ea. Et ideo, quia intentio animalis ut abstracta per
 780 intellectum non est nisi animalitas tantum non determinando aliquam differentiam sed eam exspectando, et vox significat intentionem ut intellectam, haec vox

757-758 *Isagoge*, prooem. (ArL 1 pt.6-7 5.2-10). 764-788 cf. Conington (ed. Brown, 305.10-23). 764 supra, ll. 78-84. 775 *Ph.* 7.4 t.31 (249a22-23). 776 *Metaph.* 7.12 t.43 (1038a5-6).

756-757 doctrinae ... ponentis] Porphyrio ponenti (*corr. ex -tis*) P 758 prout] ut A 760 poni] exemplum *add. K* 761 quod praedicatur] praedicatum K: praedicamentum P septimum] quantum P 762 scilicet *om. A* 764 pro alia opinione] alterius opinionis A de] pro P 767 enim *om. P* esset aequivoca] esse aequivoce K 768 diversa¹] est *add. K* 769 asino] equo A 769-770 hominis ... Animalitas *om. per hom. K* 771 ideo] non K sunt *ut vid. P* 773 apud] propter P naturalem] philosophum *add. A* 778 in *om. K* 779 in ea *om. A* 780 determinando] eam per *add. A* 781 et] ut P intellectam] ideo *add. A*

'animal' est univoca. Sic in proposito. Licet intentio essendi sit simpliciter diversa in Deo et creatura, in substantia et accidente, prout est extra considerationem intellectus, quia tamen apud intellectum abstrahentem intentionem essendi non est
 785 talis diversitas sed est entitas tantum, dicente Avicenna I *Metaphysicae* suae capitulo 2, 'quia substantiae, quantitates et qualitates et alia praedicamenta non possunt communem intentionem habere qua certificentur nisi certificatione intentionis esse', ideo haec vox 'ens' est univoca. Et sic patet quod Deus et creatura non sunt primo diversa in conceptibus licet sint primo diversa in rebus, sed conveniunt
 790 in conceptu licet non conveniant in effectu.

Et si arguatur conceptus entis est unus, aut igitur est conceptus realis, et tunc habet pro fundamento proximo aliquid reale, et sic si Deus et creatura conveniant in uno conceptu, conveniunt in aliqua realitate; aut est conceptus logicus, et tunc solum habet pro fundamento proximo secundam intentionem, et tunc nihil ad
 795 propositum, quia non quaeritur an sit aliqua secunda intentio communis Deo et creaturae, sed an aliqua realitas vel conceptus realis sit eis communis:

Respondeo quod conceptus entis est unus conceptus realis, sed non dicitur conceptus unus realis propter unitatem realem obiecti extra animam, tum quia conceptus generis non esset unus conceptus realis, quia nulla una realitas est in
 800 diversis speciebus; tum quia si unitas conceptus realis esset secundum unitatem realem obiecti concepti, conceptus generis non esset ita unus conceptus sicut conceptus speciei, quod falsum est, nam ita conceptu simplici immo simpliciori concipitur genus sicut species.

Sed ideo dicitur aliquis conceptus unus realis, quia est conceptus unius nominis
 805 sive vocis primae intentionis, sicut dicitur aliquis conceptus logicalis, quia est vocis significantis secundam intentionem. Non igitur sequitur si est conceptus unus realis, igitur habet pro fundamento proximo aliquid unum reale, immo conceptus non habet pro fundamento aliquid subjective nisi ipsum intellectum in quo est. Habet autem pro fundamento obiectivo, si ita licet dicere, diversa obiecta formalia
 810 primo diversa quae in una intentione intelliguntur, licet utrumque imperfecte. Unde ad hoc quod vox sit univoca sufficit quod sit aliqua intentio intellecta praeter

785-786 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:15-18). 788-790 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.82 (Vat. 4.190). 791-796 Cowton (ed. Brown, 22). 809-810 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti' (Vat. 4.221).

786 substantia *P* quantitate et qualitates *K*: quantitas et qualitas *P*: qualitates quantitates *A*
 787 communem intentionem *om. P* nisi] non *K* 788 univocum *KP* 789 in¹ ... diversa
om. per hom. P 791 entis] si *add. K* est¹ in *marg. A* 792 conveniant] -unt *K* 793 conveniunt] -ent *P* 794 solus *A* ante habet *transp.* secundam intentionem *A* 795 post intentio *transp.* sit *A* 798 quia] sic *add. K* 799 generis *om. P* 801 realis *A* concepti
om. P ita unus conceptus] ita conceptus unus *P*: unus *K* 802 ita] in *K* 804 Sed] et *P*
 aliquis] talis *K* unius] unus *KP* 805 aliquis conceptus] conceptus aliquis *K*: conceptus unus *P*
 808 aliquid] -quo *KP* 809 dicere] loqui *A* diversa ... formalia] obiectiva essentialia *K*
 810 quae in] quoniam *K* intelligitur *P*

univocata. Sic hic, quia intelligendo ens prout distinguitur contra non ens, nec intelligitur ens per se nec in alio, sicut patet de illo qui scit lumen esse ens, ignorat tamen an sit substantialis forma vel accidentalis.

- 815 Ad secundum, cum arguitur ab illis quae distinguuntur per contradictoria vel per formas convertibiles cum extremis contradictionis non potest abstrahi intentio neutra sive intentio communis quae neutra est, respondeo primo quantum ad primam partem distinctionis. Aut enim intelligunt in maiori de illis quae praecise distinguuntur per contradictoria, et tunc minor est falsa. Deus enim et creatura non
820 praecise distinguuntur per contradictoria neque quaecumque positiva, quia alterum contradictorium est pura negatio. Negatio autem non est praecise aliquod affirmativum nec e converso, cum negatio pura aequaliter dicatur de non ente sicut de ente. Unde Deus non est praecise haec negatio 'non ab alio', quia 'non esse ab alio' convenit etiam chimaerae. Nec etiam creaturae convenit precise 'non necesse
825 esse', quia et hoc convenit chimaerae. Et ideo Deus et creatura non praecise distinguuntur per ista contradictoria 'necesse esse' 'non necesse esse' nec etiam per ista 'ens ab alio' 'non ens ab alio'. Verumtamen tam Deus quam creatura est aliquid cui convenit alterum extremum contradictionis. Si autem intelligant illam maiorem non cum praecisione, tunc est falsa, quia sic quaecumque sunt talia quibus
830 conveniunt extrema contradictionis, ipsa non univocarentur in aliquo, quod falsum est, quia omnia per se dividuntur aliquod commune sunt talia quod de ipsis dicuntur extrema contradictionis, et tamen possunt habere aliquid substratum illis extremis contradictionis quod est commune ambobus, sicut animal abstrahitur ab homine et non homine quia ab asino.
- 835 Ad probationem, cum arguitur omnis conceptus communis est neuter respectu illorum quibus est communis; sed nullus est conceptus neuter respectu contradictoriorum, quia sic esset medium inter contradictoria; igitur nullus est conceptus communis respectu contradictoriorum; et per consequens a contradictoriis non potest abstrahi conceptus communis, respondeo quod conceptus communis

815 supra, ll. 85-96. 818-834 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.80 (Vat. 4.189-90). 835 supra, ll. 86-90. 839-850 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.81 (Vat. 4.190).

812 univocata] -voca KP quia om. K 813 nec] ens add. A qui scit] sit K 814 tamen] tantum P substantialis forma vel] substantia vel forma A vel] an K 815 distinguitur P per² om. K 817 quantum] probatio K 818 primam] ipsam P partem om. K maiori] via KP 819 est om. K Deus enim] quia Deus A 820 distinguitur K 821-822 aliquod affirmativum] affirmatum K: affirmatio P 823 Deus om. P alio] esse in marg. add. P 824-825 necesse esse] esse inesse K 825 et hoc] hoc etiam A 826 etiam om. A 828 intelligunt K: -gat P 829 cum (non del.) P cum praecisione] tamen praecise K 831 quod] et P dicuntur] videntur P 832 contradictionis] esse add. P aliquid] -quod P substratum] abstractum K 834 non] ab add. K 835 conceptus om. K communis om. P 836-839 sed ... communis¹] etc. A 838 contradictoriorum] -torum K 839 respondeo] dico P

840 duobus est neuter illorum praecise et formaliter, et sic concedendum est quod
 aliquis conceptus est neuter contradictoriorum. Unde conceptus animalis non est
 praecise et formaliter conceptus hominis nec praecise conceptus non hominis. Sic
 etiam conceptus animalis non est praecise conceptus rationalis nec etiam
 conceptus irrationalis. Sic etiam conceptus entis non est praecise et formaliter
 845 conceptus entis creati nec conceptus entis increati. Si tamen intelligatur quod
 omnis conceptus communis aliquibus est neuter illorum absolute, ita quod neutrum
 contradictoriorum dicatur de illo, falsum est, quia licet non oporteat quemlibet
 conceptum esse formaliter et praecise alterum conceptum contradictoriorum, est
 tamen vere alterum illorum. Unde licet animal non sit praecise et formaliter homo
 850 nec non homo, omne tamen animal est homo vel non omne animal est homo.

Quantum vero ad aliam partem illius maioris, cum dicitur quod ab illis quae
 distinguuntur per formas convertibiles cum extremis contradictionis non potest
 abstrahi intentio communis, dicendum quod implicatur falsum, quod aliqua
 positive distincta convertantur cum extremis contradictionis, quia alterum contra-
 855 dictoriorum est pure negativum, quod non convertitur cum ente, cum etiam dicatur
 de non ente. Sic etiam est minor falsa quod Deus et creatura distinguuntur per
 formas convertibiles cum extremis contradictionis. Deus enim non convertitur cum
 isto negativo 'non ab alio', quia si omne non ens ab alio esset Deus, chimaera esset
 Deus. Sic etiam 'non necesse esse' non convertitur cum creatura quia tunc
 860 chimaera, quae est non necesse esse, esset creatura. Concedo tamen quod quidquid
 habet esse et non ab alio sit Deus et e converso, sed haec non est contradictoria
 huius 'ens ab alio'. Non enim contradicunt 'ens ab alio' et 'ens non ab alio', sed
 'non ens ab alio'.

Ad tertium dicendum quod Philosophus non arguit ostensive contra Parmeni-
 865 dem et Melissum cum arguit quod si omnia sunt unum ens, aut igitur hoc unum
 ens aut illud, — sed de forma est figura dictionis descendendo sub praedicato stante
 confuse tantum, et est fallacia consequentis arguendo a superiori non distincto ad
 inferius — sed arguit contra eos ex hypothesi. Imponit enim eis Philosophus quod

851 supra, ll. 85-86. 864 supra, ll. 96-102. 864-871 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.166 (Vat. 3.103).

841 contradictorium *K* 842-843 et ... praecise *om. A* 842 praecise conceptus] conceptus hominis (nec conceptus *in marg.*) praecise *K* 843 praecise] formaliter *K* etiam *om. A* 844 irrationalis] similiter nec est praecise conceptus hominis nec praecise conceptus (non *interl.*) hominis *propter omissionem supra ad ll. 842-843 add. A* 844-845 praecise ... conceptus¹] formaliter et praecise *K* 847 contradictorium *K* 847 illo] sic *add. A* oportet *KP* 848 alterum conceptum] conceptum alterius *A* contradictorium *K* 853 intentio] conceptus *A* 854 positive] positione *P* 854-855 contradictorium *K* 856 distinguantur *A*: -guitur *P* 857 convertetur *K* 861 sit] est *A* 862 Non ... alio¹ *om. A* 862-863 sed ... alio *om. A* 865 et] id est *K* quod *om. A* sint *P* 866 de forma] quoad formam *A* est *om. P* descendendo] discedendo *P* sub] sed *P* 867 tantum *om. P* fallacia] figura *K* distincto] distincte *K*: distinguendo *P* 868 arguit *om. K* eis *in marg. P*

omnia sint unum non confuse sed loquendo de uno determinato. Et tunc bene
 870 tenet consequentia, sicut 'si omne currens sit unus determinatus homo, aut igitur
 hic homo aut ille'. Unde sub singulari vago sic convenit descendere, ut si omnia
 sint unum aliquod individuum, sequitur quod omnia sint una individua substantia
 vel unum individuum accidens. Et quod ens stet pro aliquo singulari vago in
 conclusione Parmenidis et Melissi, cum dicunt quod omnia sint unum ens, patet per
 875 Philosophum ibidem quaerentem ab eis, 'quomodo dicunt dicentes unum omnia,
 utrum substantiam omnia, aut quantitatem omnia, aut qualitatem omnia, ut hoc
 album aut hoc calidum, aut aliquod aliorum talium.' Haec Aristoteles. Ecce quod
 Philosophus arguit quod si omnia sint qualitas, aut igitur hoc album aut hoc
 calidum, quae consequentia non valet si qualitas stet confuse tantum. Oportet igitur
 880 ut stet pro singulari vago. Et ideo cum Philosophus arguit, 'quomodo dicunt
 dicentes unum omnia, utrum substantiam omnia, aut quantitatem omnia', non
 dividit Philosophus ens vel unum in substantiam et accidens in communi, sed prout
 accipiuntur pro aliquo singulari vago, alioquin non valeret argumentum Philosophi
 ulterius cum arguit quod si omnia sint qualitas, aut igitur hoc calidum aut hoc
 885 album.

Sed dicetur quod Philosophus ait contra Parmenidem et Melissum quod,
 'principium maxime proprium omnium est quod multipliciter ens dicitur.'

Respondeo quod ad opinionem Parmenidis et Melissi destruendam, principium
 maxime proprium est quod ens dicatur multipliciter non multiplicitate aequivoca-
 890 tionis, sed multiplicitate suppositorum, hoc est, quod cum ens dicatur de multis,
 inquirendum est, 'quomodo dicunt dicentes omnia esse unum aut substantiam
 omnia', etc. sicut si dicerentur omnia esse unum animal. Contra eos est acci-
 piendum quod animal dicitur de multis, et quaerendum est de quo animali
 intelligunt: aut intelligunt omnia esse unum hominem aut unum equum.

895 Ad auctoritatem Philosophi iv *Metaphysicae* dicentis quod ens dicitur multiplici-
 ter, et tamen metaphysica est una scientia, quia omnia de quibus considerat
 dicuntur ad unum, licet non secundum unum, sicut est una scientia de omnibus
 sanis, licet sanum non dicatur de omnibus sanis secundum unam intentionem, sed

875 *Ph.* 1.2 t.13 (185a22-26). 886 supra, II. 103-104. 886-887 Conington (ed. Brown, 303.14-21). 888-894 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.166 (Vat. 3.103). 895 supra, II. 104-105.

869 sint] sunt *K* de uno determinato] determinate de uno *A* Et tunc] Et tamen *K*:
om. *P* 870 si *om.* *P* 871 sic *om.* *K* 872 sint¹] sunt *K* 873 stet pro] fiet ab *K*
 874 conclusione] cognitione *P* 875 unum] esse *add.* *P* 876 utrum ... omnia¹ *om.* *per hom.* *A*
 877 Ecce] igitur *add.* *A* 878 Philosophus] Aristoteles *A* 880 ut] quod *A* 881 substantia
A 882 dividit] dicit *P* in²] et *P* 883 accipitur *P* aliquo] omni *P* 884 qualitas
 contrarietas *P* aut² *om.* *A* 886 Sed dicitur] si diceretur *K* ait] arguit *A* 887 post
 omnium *transp.* contra ... Melissum *A* 888 opinionem] oppositionem *P* destruendam]
 quod *add.* *K* 889 multiplicitate] mutiplice *P* 890 cum *om.* *P* 892 dicerentur] differuntur
K 894 intelligunt¹] -git *A* aut¹] enim *add.* *A* intelligunt²] -git *A* 895 auctoritatem Philo-
 sophi] illud *A* dicentis *om.* *A* 897 de *om.* *P*

quia omnia sana dicuntur ad primum sanum quod est in animali; igitur secundum
 900 Philosophum ens sic dicitur multipliciter quod non secundum unum; tale autem
 non est univocum:

Respondeo quod ens dicitur aequivoce non quantum ad logicum secundum
 diversitatem conceptuum, sed quantum ad realem philosophum propter diversita-
 tem naturarum. Sic enim dicit Philosophus VII *Physicorum* quod, 'in genere latent
 905 aequivocationes', propter quas non potest esse comparatio secundum genus, et
 tamen genus habet unum conceptum. Dicitur igitur genus aequivoce apud realem
 philosophum, quia non dicit unam naturam in suis speciebus. Sic dico quod apud
 metaphysicum, propter diversitatem realem entium in quibus est attributio, ens non
 dicitur univoce sed multipliciter, cum qua tamen attributione stat unitas conceptus
 910 abstrahibilis ab eis. Quod igitur dicit Philosophus, quod ens dicitur non secundum
 unum, debet intelligi quod dicitur non secundum unam naturam, cum quo tamen
 stat quod dicitur secundum unam intentionem, ut patet de genere respectu suarum
 specierum. Et quod sic intelligat satis innuit littera sua. Ait enim, 'ens dicitur multis
 modis sed ad unum et ad unam naturam aliquam.' Et cum non sit nugatio, ly 'et'
 915 debet teneri non copulative sed expositive sic, 'ens dicitur ad unum et (pro 'id est')
 ad unam naturam', sicut etiam ait postea quod, 'non solum eorum quae dicuntur
 unum est unius scientiae speculari, sed etiam dictorum ad unam naturam. Et enim
 haec modo quodam secundum unum dicuntur.' Intelligit igitur quod omnia entia,
 cum dicantur ad unam naturam et non secundum unam naturam, dicuntur tamen
 920 quodam modo secundum unum, quia secundum unam intentionem abstrahibilem.

Contra: si omnia entia dicuntur secundum unum, tunc accidens attributionem
 habet ad substantiam et creatura ad Deum. Sed ubi est unitas attributionis sive
 analogiae non est unitas univocationis, quia distinguuntur istae unitates. Igitur non
 est aliquid unum univoce Deo et creaturae, substantiae et accidenti.

925 Respondeo quod ubi est sola unitas attributionis non est unitas univocationis,
 quia unitas attributionis minor est quam unitas univocationis, et sola minor unitas
 non ponit maiorem. Et ideo attributio sola non ponit univocationem, sicut sola

902-910 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.163 (Vat. 3.100-101). 904 *Ph.* 7.4 t.31 (249a22-23).
 913 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.2 (1003a33). 916 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.2 (1003b12-14). 921-924 Scotus, 1 *Ord.*
 d.8 n.48 (Vat. 4.172). 925-936 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.83 (Vat. 4.191).

900 autem *om. KP* 902 *post* Respondeo *del.* quod dicitur *et in marg. add.* quod genus *P*
 ens *om. P* 905-906 et ... habet] cum dicit *P* 907 non] cum *K* 908 metaphysicum]
 medicum *K* 909 attributione] et multiplicitate *add. A* 910 ens *om. P* 911 naturam]
 rationem *P* 913 innuit] et *add. K* Ait] aut *K* ens *om. K* 914 unam] unum *P* aliquam]
 etc. *add. A* sit] ibi *add. A* ly] ibi *A*: licet *K* 916 sicut] sic *K* eorum *om. K* dicuntur]
 secundum *add. K* 917 natura *K* 918 quodam] quidem *K* dicuntur] dupliciter *K* igitur
 quod] et etc. *P* 919 et ... naturam *in marg. A*: *om. P* 920 unum quia] unam et *P*
 intentionem unam *P* 922 Deum] creaturam *P* sive *om. K* 923 distinguitur *P*
 926 unitas¹ ... univocationis] illa est minor ista *A* 927 ponit^{1, 2}] potest *K* ponit] potest *K*
 sicut] sed *K*

unitas generis non ponit unitatem speciei. Minor tamen unitas potest stare cum
maiore, sicut unitas generis stat cum unitate speciei, eadem enim aliqua sunt unum
930 genere et unum specie. Et sic haec unitas attributionis compatitur secum unitatem
univocationis, licet haec non sit formaliter illa. Nam Philosophus x *Metaphysicae*
vult quod species eiusdem generis habent essentialem ordinem sive attributionem
ad primum illius generis, et tamen genus respectu omnium specierum suarum habet
unitatem univocationis. Sic in proposito: licet in ratione entis sit unitas attribu-
935 tionis, tamen attributa cum eo cui attribuuntur possunt habere unitatem univoca-
tionis.

Ad auctoritatem Porphyrii dicendum quod ipse allegat Aristotelem in sua
auctoritate, 'si quis omnia entia vocet, aequivoce in quid', scilicet Aristoteles,
'nuncupabit.' Non autem invenitur ubi hoc Aristoteles dicat in logica, sed hoc dicit
940 in metaphysica, prout expositum est. Eo igitur modo exponendum est dictum
Porphyrii, quod aequivoce nuncupabit apud realem philosophum, et adhuc magis
aequivoce quam in genere, eo quod minor est unitas omnium entium quam
specierum in genere.

Si dicas quod logicus hoc dixit et quod in logica est hoc dictum, et sic apud
945 logicum ens est aequivocum, dicendum quod multa dicuntur in logica non logice,
sicut in metaphysica non metaphysice, sicut illud II *Metaphysicae*, in omni re mota
est materia, cum tamen ad metaphysicum non pertineat de motu considerare.

Ad auctoritatem primam Lincolniensis, dicendum quod ipsa magis est ad
propositum quam ad oppositum. Ait enim quod, 'prius non tempore sed prioritate
950 non convertendi consequentiam est ipsum esse secundum se consideratum a
praeente Deo. Et consequenter est ens particulatum aliqua differentia, ut pote ea
quae est non in altero ens vel in altero ens, non quod ens sit genus, cum sit de
diversis dictum non omnino univoce sed homonyme.' Ecce quod primo dicit quod
ens est prius Deo prioritate non convertendi consequentiam. Prius autem a quo
955 non convertitur consequentia est univocum et non aequivocum. Secundo etiam

931 *Metaph.* 10.1 t.2 (1052b18). 937 supra, II. 105-106. 937-940 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3
n.165 (Vat. 3.102-103). 939-940 *Metaph.* 7.4 t.15 (1030a32-34). 944-947 Scotus, *QQ*
Metaph. 4.1 n.3 (Vivès 7.146b). 946 *Metaph.* 2.2 t.12 (994b23-26). 948 supra, II. 107-110.

928 ponit *om. K* 929 stat] potest stare *P* aliqua] qua *K* 930 sic haec] ita hic *A*
931 Nam] item *K* 932 essentialem] specialem *A* 933 ad *in marg. mut. in et P* illius]
ipsius *P* et ... suarum *om. P* suarum] illius generis *K* 937 auctoritatem] illud *A*
938 entia *om. P* vocat *A* 940 Eo] eodem *K* dictum] est *add. P* 942 eo quod] quia *A*
quam²] qua *A* 944 quod² *om. K* 946 metaphysica] -co *P* sicut] secundum *P*
947 cum] est *P* pertinet *KP* 949 Ait] aut *K* prius non] prior est non *K* prioritatem *P*
950 esse] ens *K* considerabilis *P* 951 consequenter] per consequens *K* aliqua] qua *K*
952 quae] quod *P* 953 homonyme] a nomine *in marg. corr. ex omenime P* quod *om. A*
954-955 Prius ... consequentia] tale autem prius *A* 954 autem *om. K* 955 etiam *om. A*

dicit quod ens est particulatum sive divisum et contractum differentiis. Tale autem est univocum. Ait ergo ens esse dictum non omnino univoce sed homonyme, quia sua univocatio compatitur secum maximam analogiam, maiorem quam sit in aliquo genere.

- 960 Ad aliam auctoritatem Lincolniensis, dicendum est quod Deus non ordinatur cum aliquo sub eodem et in eodem univoco in linea praedicamentali, sed est extra omne praedicamentum, solum unitatem conceptus habens cum aliis.

<AD ARGUMENTA PRINCIPALIA>

- Ad primum argumentum principale, dicendum quod consequentia non valet,
 965 nec aliquod consequens illorum trium sequitur ex antecedente, quia illa quibus descendit ens in Deum et creaturam vel in decem praedicamenta, sive illa quibus ens contrahitur vel distinguitur, non sunt differentiae, sed sunt modi intrinseci ipsius contracti vel divisi, qui non dicunt aliquam realitatem perficientem realitatem ipsius contracti, sed modum intrinsecum ipsius realitatis. Differentiae vero non
 970 dicunt modum intrinsecum realitatis alicuius generis, quia in quocumque gradu intelligitur animalitas, non propter hoc intelligitur rationalitas vel irrationalitas esse modus intrinsecus animalitatis, sed adhuc intelligitur animalitas in tali gradu vel ut perfectibilis a rationalitate vel irrationalitate. Exemplum: ens contrahitur ad Deum et creaturam per infinitum et finitum. Finitum autem et infinitum non dicunt
 975 aliquas realitates perficientes entia quorum sunt, quia circumscripta a re omni alia perfectione adhuc est finita vel infinita. Et ideo dicunt modos sive gradus intrinsecos perfectionis Dei et creaturae. Istos modos intrinsecos vocat Lincolniensis ubi supra, differentias quibus ens particulatur. Istis etiam modis dividitur ens in substantiam, quantitatem etc. iuxta illud Avicennae I *Metaphysicae* suae capitulo 2,
 980 substantia, quantitas et qualitas sunt quasi species entis, quia non eget dividi in alia prius quam in ista.

Per hoc ad primam probationem, cum dicitur omne univocum ad aliqua seipso non descendit in illa, dicendum quod verum est 'seipso' in universali accepto, sed

960 supra, ll. 110-111. 964 supra, ll. 11-28. 965-973 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 (Vat. 4.221). 977-978 supra, ll. 107-108, 951. 979 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.13:38-40). 982 supra, ll. 13-17.

956 est *om.* K 957 esse] est K homonyme] a nomine *interl. corr.* ex omenime P
 958 maiorem] scilicet *add.* A sit] substantia P 960 est *om.* A 964 argumentum *om.* P
 966 et *om.* K in²] etiam A illa *om.* KP 967 vel distinguitur *om.* A differentia P
 968-969 vel ... contracti *om. per hom.* K 968 perficientem realitatem *om.* P 969 intrinsecum
 ... realitatis] intrinsecum illius realitatis P: eius intrinsecum A 970 alicuius] sui A quocumque]
 in *add.* P 972 adhuc] ad hoc P in tali *ut vid.* K ut *om.* K 973 a ... irrationalitate] ab
 utraque illarum A a *om.* K vel] et P 974 Finitum ... infinitum] haec autem A 975 a re
om. A 976 perfectione] propositione K 979 quantitate K 980 et *om.* K

vel per differentias vel per modos intrinsecos perfectionis, qui non sunt proprie
 985 aliqua addita enti sed gradus intrinseci entis.

Ad aliam probationem qua probatur quod Deus tunc non esset simplex, quia
 quaecumque conveniunt in aliquo communi et sunt diversa inter se sunt composita,
 dicendum quod verum est quando illud commune non dicit totam perfectionem
 inferioris. Tunc enim descendit per differentias contrahentes et perfectionem
 990 addentes. Non autem est vera quando illud commune dicit totam perfectionem
 inferioris. Tunc enim se totis differunt particulariter et se totis conveniunt univer-
 saliter, sicut duo individua eiusdem speciei, eodem modo enim quo conveniunt
 specie differunt numero. Et sic est de ente quod praedicat totam perfectionem
 aliorum, ut praedictum est.

995 Ad tertiam probationem dicendum quod non sequitur genera generalissima esse
 species, licet ens sit univocum ad illa. Et quando probatur per hoc, quod omne
 habens in suo per se intellectu quid et quale est definibile; si igitur esset conceptus
 dictus de Deo et creatura, substantia et accidente in quid, conceptus contrahentes
 dicerent quale; igitur etc., dicendum quod omne habens in suo per se intellectu
 1000 quid quod est genus et quale quod est differentia est definibile, sed nec iste
 conceptus dictus in quid est conceptus generis nec illi conceptus dicentes quale
 sunt conceptus differentiarum, ut praedictum est.

Sed dicetur forte quod conceptus communis contrahibilis est indeterminatus et
 potentialis ad conceptum contrahentem specialem. Sed omne tale est finitum.
 1005 Nullum autem finitum dicitur formaliter de Deo. Igitur non est aliquis conceptus
 communis Deo et aliis entibus. Et per consequens ens non est univocum.

Respondeo quod conceptus communis determinabilis per differentias est
 conceptus alicuius finiti, quia differentia perficit et addit perfectionem, tamen illud
 quod est solum indeterminatum ad omnem gradum perfectionis non est de se
 1010 finitum nec infinitum, sed indifferens ad finitum et infinitum. Huiusmodi est ens.
 Conceptus enim entis est indeterminatus ad modos sive gradus perfectionis. Et

986 supra, II. 17-21. 986-994 Scotus, *QQ De an.* q.21 n.13 (Vivès 3.618b); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.9 (Vivès 7.150b); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown, 18). 995 supra, II. 21-28. 1003-1004 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.141 (Vat. 4.223).

984 perfectionis] ipsius *P* non *om. K* 985 aliqua *om. K* intrinseci *om. A* 986 aliam probationem] secundam *A* tunc Deus *A*: Deus *P* 988 dicendum] illud *K* 990 quando *om. K* 992 modo enim] enim *A*: *om. K* 994 praedictum] per dictum *K* 995 probationem *om. A* dicendum *om. KP* quod non] quando *K* genera *om. A* 996 ad illa] ad alia *K*: *om. A* quando] cum *A* per hoc quod] quod *K*: quia *A* 997 suo] opere *add. K* se] et *add. K* intellectu] et *add. P* 997-999 si ... etc. *om. A* 997 si] sic *K* esset *om. P* 999 dicerent] differrent *P*: differunt *K* 999-1000 omne ... definibile] verum est de habente quid generis et quale differentiae *A* 1000 est³ *om. K* 1001 conceptus] entis *add. A* 1005 autem *om. KP* 1006 communis *om. P* 1010 nec infinitum *om. A* nec] vel *K* finitum et infinitum] utrumque *A* 1011 sive] ad *add. K*

ideo non est de se finitum nec infinitum. Tale autem indifferens potest praedicari de formaliter finito et de eo quod est formaliter infinitum.

Aliter potest dici ad rationem principalem quod cum unumquodque commune
 1015 descendat ad inferiora per illa quae inferiora addunt super commune, et nullum positivum est additum enti, ideo ens non descendit in Deum et creaturam per differentias positivas sed per differentias negativas. Quando enim commune dicit totum illud quod inferius, tunc inferius non addit super suum superius nisi negationem, sicut ponitur quod individuum non addit super speciem nisi negationem, quia species dicit totam substantiam individui. Sic est de ente respectu Dei
 1020 et creaturae, respectu etiam substantiae et accidentis. Ens enim non ab alio est Deus, et ens non a se est creatura. Ens etiam non in alio est substantia, et ens non per se est accidens. Et secundum hoc patet responsio ad argumentum. Non enim sequitur quod ens sit genus, quia genus dicit differentias positivas quibus descendit
 1025 in species. Nec etiam sequitur quod Deus sit compositus, quia non habet quid et quale positivum. Nec etiam sequitur quod generalissima sint species, quia non includunt quid et quale positivum.

Ad secundum argumentum, quando arguitur quaecumque in aliquo communi univoco conveniunt praedicationem nominis et rationem rei significatae per nomen
 1030 aequaliter recipiunt, dicendum quod haec propositio est universaliter falsa, quia cum univocatione concurrit unitas analogiae sive attributionis, sicut patet de speciebus eiusdem generis, quae mensurantur a prima specie illius generis ad quam habent ordinem essentialem. Et per consequens non aequaliter participant naturam illius generis, et tamen in illo genere univocantur. Sic in proposito: licet Deus et
 1035 creatura, substantia et accidens, non aequaliter participant naturam entitatis, tamen ab eis sic participantibus potest abstrahi conceptus univocus, qui per prius et perfectius convenit Deo quam creaturae. Propter quod dicit Avicenna I *Metaphysicae* suae capitulo 5, 'ens est intentio in qua conveniunt secundum prius et posterius substantia et quae sunt post eam.' Quamvis enim ex parte intentionis entis omnia
 1040 sint aequaliter entia, quia secundum se est indifferens ad omnia nullum eorum ex se determinans, tamen illa quibus inest intentio entis ordinem habent in entitate.

1014 supra, ll. 11-28. 1028 supra, ll. 29-35. 1037-38 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.40:46-49).

1012 non ... se] de se nec est A 1013 eo quod est om. A infinitum] -to A 1014 rationem] quaestionem A commune om. A 1015 descendit KP ad] in K illa] ea A 1017 differentias²] positas add. K 1018 tunc om. P 1019 sicut] sed K 1020 est om. P
 1021 enim om. K 1023 secundum om. et in marg. ex suppl. P 1024 genus²] non P dicit] habet K 1026 etiam om. A 1027 includit P 1028 argumentum om. A arguitur] dicitur A 1029 univoco om. K 1030 haec om. P universaliter om. P quia] quando KP
 1034 univocantur] unitur K 1035 participant K tamen] et non P 1036 per prius] prius proprius P 1039 quamvis] quamvi K 1040 ex] ad P

Nec aequae perfecte recipiunt praedicationem entis, licet omnia eam formaliter habeant.

Vel potest dici quod licet comparando entia inter se non sint aequaliter entia sed
 1045 ordinem habeant, tamen comparando Deum et creaturam ad intentionem entis
 prout ab eis abstrahitur aequaliter recipiunt praedicationem eius, quia ita in quid
 et per se praedicatur ens de qualitate sicut de substantia. Exemplum de speciebus
 numerorum et de speciebus animalis: licet enim non aequae perfectum animal sit
 asinus sicut homo, tamen praedicationem animalis aequae perfecte recipit asinus
 1050 sicut homo. Sic in proposito: licet non ita perfectum ens sit creatura sicut Deus,
 tamen aequae perfecte per se recipit praedicationem entis creatura sicut Deus.

Dicetur quod quando aliquid secundum aliquam perfectionem attribuitur alteri,
 illa perfectio non convenit univoce attributo et ei cui attribuitur. Exemplum: sanum
 in diaeta secundum rationem sanitatis attribuitur sano in animali, et ideo sanum
 1055 non univoce convenit eis. Et ratio est, quia praedicatum univocum praedicatur in
 quid de univocato, et per consequens praedicatur de eo secundum se. Igitur non
 secundum quod attribuitur alteri. Creatura autem inquantum ens attribuitur Deo,
 et similiter accidentia inquantum entia attribuuntur substantiae. Igitur intentio entis
 non univoce convenit eis.

1060 Respondeo. Cum dicitur quod omnia inquantum entia attribuuntur Deo, ly
 'inquantum' potest teneri specificative, sicut ibi est scientia quae speculatur ens
 inquantum ens. Et sic vera est propositio, quia creatura secundum suam entitatem
 attribuitur Deo et accidentia secundum se tota attribuuntur ad substantiam. Vel
 potest teneri reduplicative ita quod 'creatura inquantum ens praedicatur de ea
 1065 attribuitur Deo' falsa est. Sic etiam de accidentibus respectu substantiae, quia ita
 in quid praedicatur ens de uno illorum sicut de alio.

Ad tertium, quando arguitur quod si ens sit univocum, in omni definitione esset
 nugatio quia idem conceptus, scilicet entis, bis poneretur, dicendum quod nugatio
 tunc est in definitione quando idem conceptus intrans definitionem alicuius vel
 1070 pertinet ad definitionem bis actualiter habetur. Ens autem non intrat definitionem

1067 supra, ll. 36-40.

1042 eam] etiam P 1044 licet om. P 1045 Deum et creaturam] illa A 1047 et om. P
 1049 perfecte] -tionem P 1051 perfecte om. K recipit per se P entis om. KP sicut]
 et K 1052 Dicetur] dicendum quod del. et in marg. dicitur contra suppl. P secundum] per
 P 1053 attributo] -buendo P ei om. A 1054 diaeta] dicta fort. A rationem sanitatis]
 sanitatem P 1055 praedicatum] -dicamentum P 1056 univocato] -voco KP 1057 autem
 om. KP 1058 similiter] sic A 1059 convenit eis] etc. KP 1060 ly] licet A: homo K
 1061 ens bis K 1062 est om. P secundum] per K 1063 et] id est K 1064 ea del. P
 1065 attribuitur om. P falsum P accidente A 1066 illorum] illo K
 1067-68 quando ... poneretur om. A 1067 univocum] unicum K 1068-69 scilicet ...
 conceptus om. per hom. K 1069 tunc om. P alicuius om. K vel om. P 1069-70 vel
 pertinet ad definitionem om. A

alicuius naturae nec pertinet ad definitionem. Ideo propter multiplicem inclusionem entis non est nugatio in definitione. Si enim propter replicationem entis esset nugatio, haec esset nugatio 'homo albus', et ubique ubi determinatur unus conceptus per alium, quia ens est de intellectu cuiuslibet.

- 1075 Aliter potest dici quod nugatio est quando idem conceptus bis habetur secundum eandem rationem, ut quando idem conceptus ponitur bis per modum quiditativum vel bis per modum qualitativum. Sed quando ponitur semel per modum quiditativum et alias per modum qualitativum sive per modum denominativum, non est nugatio. Exemplum: hic non est nugatio 'color albus', quamvis
 1080 color bis habeatur, quia in se habetur per modum quiditativum et in albo per modum denominativum. Hic tamen est nugatio 'coloratum album' vel 'color albedo', quia bis replicatur secundum eundem modum, et ideo inutiliter. Ens autem ut est de conceptu generis dicit conceptum quiditativum et habet modum quiditatis. Ut autem exprimitur per differentiam habet modum qualitativum et denominati-
 1085 vum, quia quando duo inferiora se habent ad tertium, sic quod unum denominat alterum, illud tertium commune particulariter denominatur ab eodem, sicut albedo quae est inferior ad ens denominat animal quod est inferius ad ens. Ideo ens particulariter denominatur ab albedine dicendo 'ens album'. Sic in ista definitione 'animal rationale' includitur ens bis: in animali quiditative et rationali denomina-
 1090 tive, licet per se praedicetur de utroque. Ideo non est hic nugatio 'animal rationale', licet ens bis habeatur, quia non inutiliter replicatur, licet hic sit nugatio 'animal rationalitas', quia bis eodem modo conceptus entis replicatur.

- Ad quartum quando arguitur quod si ens esset univocum, prima genera non essent primo diversa, nego consequentiam, quia se totis differunt. Per hoc ad
 1095 probationem quod differentia proprie aliquo sui sunt diversa et aliquo sui idem entia. Prima autem genera se totis conveniunt in una intentione et se totis differunt, licet non eodem modo, quia se totis conveniunt indistincte et se totis differunt distincte, quia ens in quo conveniunt praedicat totam perfectionem eorum imperfecte. Quantum etiam ad aliam partem rationis, dico quod non sequitur illam

1072-74 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vivès 7.152a). 1075-81 *ibid.* n.10 (Vivès 7.151b). 1085-1092 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.161 (Vat. 3.99-100). 1093 *supra*, ll. 41-44. 1099 *supra*, ll. 44-49. 1099-1102 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vivès 7.152a).

1071 naturae *om. K* 1072-73 in ... nugatio¹ *om. per hom. et in marg. ut suppl. P* Si ... haec] alias *A* 1073 nugatio² *om. K* 1074 de] in *P* 1077 qualitatis *K* 1078 per² modum *om. A* 1079 Exemplum ... nugatio *om. per hom. K* quamvis] licet *A* 1081 album *om. P* 1083 generis] ignis *P* dicit *om. K* 1085 Sic] sicut *K* 1088 Sic] sicut *P* 1089 rationale] reale *K* rationali] reali *K* 1091-92 licet³ ... replicatur *om. per hom. K* 1093 quartum] secundum *K* arguitur *om. et in marg. dicitur suppl. P* 1094 Per] etiam *P* 1095 proprie *om. K* 1099-1102 Quantum ... alio *om. A* 1099 etiam] igitur *P* illam] nullam *del. et in marg. propositionem suppl. P*

1100 negativam non esse immediatam in qua negatur unum generalissimum ab alio, quia non sunt in aliquo toto quod potest esse medium removendi unum ab alio. Nullum enim potest esse medium notius removendi unum ab alio.

Ad ultimum dicendum quod sicut omne ens extra animam est finitum vel infinitum, et tamen conceptus entis non est de se finitus, quia sic non conveniret
 1105 Deo, nec de se est infinitus, quia sic non conveniret creaturae, sic licet omne ens extra animam sit absolutum vel relativum, tamen conceptus entis secundum se est indifferens ad absolutum et relativum. Et accipitur in proposito conceptus non pro actu concipiendi, quia ille est absolutus etiam respectu obiecti relativi, sed accipitur pro obiecto concepto. Tale enim obiectum est ens quod de se est indifferens ad
 1110 absolutum et relativum, quia potest aliquis scire aliquod obiectum esse ens, et tamen ignorare an sit absolutum vel relativum.

<ALIAE RATIONES PRO UNIVOCATIONE>

Item pro univocatione entis argui potest sic: determinabile alicuius comparativi est commune utrique extremo comparationis, quia si non sit commune utrique
 1115 extremo comparationis non potest esse determinabile comparativi. Non enim homo est perfectior homo quam asinus sed perfectius animal. Sed ens est determinabile comparativi Dei ad creaturam. Deus enim est perfectius ens quam creatura. Igitur etc. Unde cum dicitur quod 'hoc est perfectius illo', si quaeratur 'quid perfectius', oportet assignare aliquid commune utrique extremo compara-
 1120 tionis. Et ideo si sit ens perfectius, oportet entitatem esse communem utrique extremo.

Confirmatur ratio. Sicut comparatio simpliciter est in simpliciter univoco ex VII *Physicorum*, ita omnis comparatio est in aliquo univoco. Igitur quaecumque comparantur ad invicem, ut mensuratum ad mensuram vel ut excessum ad
 1125 excedens, oportet convenire in aliquo uno.

Eodem modo etiam potest argui de numero vel distinctione, quoniam secundum Augustinum VII *De trinitate* capitulo 7, determinabile termini numeralis semper est

1103 supra, ll. 50-55. 1113-37 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.83-84 (Wat. 4.191-92). 1122-23 *Ph.* 7.4 t.24 (248b6-7). 1127 *De trin.* 7.4 (CCL 50.257; PL 42.940).

1100 negativam] -tionem K non in marg. P: om. K 1103 extra] ex K 1104 finitus] -tum A 1105 omne om. K 1108 etiam] et P: in K accipitur] concipitur K 1109 enim om. K de] secundum K ad] et P 1111 ignorari K 1113 potest om. K 1114-15 quia ... comparationis] aliter A 1114 sit] fit K 1115 potest esse] esset A 1116 sed¹] sit P 1117 Dei om. A 1118 cum] hoc add. P: si A 1119 aliquid om. A 1120 Et ideo] termino K 1122 ratio om. A 1123 aliquo] aliter P 1124 ut² om. P 1126 modo etiam] etiam modo K: modo A 1126-27 secundum Augustinum] Avicenna K 1127 De Trinitate om. KP

- commune numeratis, ut si 'tres personae' dicantur, commune est eis illud quod est persona. Sed Deus et creatura sunt duo sive plura entia. Igitur ens est commune eis.
- 1130 Et si dicatur quod non est proprie numerus Dei et creaturae, arguatur de distincto, diverso, vel alio, quoniam determinabile distinctionis est commune utrique extremo. Patet in omnibus exemplis, quia homo non est alius homo ab asino, sed aliud animal. Et probatur illud ratione, quia in relationibus aequiparantiae extrema sunt eiusdem rationis. Alietas est talis relatio. Igitur in quibuscum-
- 1135 que aliis est alietas unius rationis mutua. Et per consequens determinabile alietatis est unius rationis. Cum igitur Deus sit alius vel aliud a creatura in entitate, oportet ens esse commune Deo et creaturae.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

1128 ut] vel *P* dicatur tres personae *A* est eis] ex et spat. rel. *P* 1131 quoniam]
quantum *P* 1133 Et probatur] patet *P* relationibus] resolutionibus *K* 1136 sit] est *KP*
aliud] alius *A* 1137 ens om. *P*

HENRY OF HARCLAY'S QUESTION ON RELATIONS*

Mark G. Henninger, S.J.

IN the late Middle Ages, a debate developed over the ontological status of relations. A large number of scholastics participated, since relations play a crucial role in a wide range of important theological and philosophical issues. The Trinity is only one outstanding example. In addition, the Greek view of the world as an eternal, necessarily existing cosmos could not be accepted by orthodox Christians. For many, theological reflection on the doctrine of creation led to philosophical inquiry into the nature of the dependence relation of all creatures on God. Reflective Christians also attempted to understand in some way the mystery of the Incarnation through the doctrine of the hypostatic union of the second person of the Trinity with Christ's human nature. This unique union is a relation,

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The following abbreviations will be used throughout for the works of Scotus and others frequently cited:

- Ord. = *Ordinatio*
- QQ Metaph. = *Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis*
- QQ Praed. = *In librum Praedicamentorum quaestiones*
- Quod. = *Quaestiones quodlibetales*
- SQO = *Summae Quaestionum Ordinariam Theologi recepto praeconio Solennis Henrici a Gandauo, cum duplici repertorio*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1520; rpt. St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1953)
- Macken = R. Macken, ed., *Henrici de Gandavo Quodlibet IX* (Opera omnia 13; Louvain, 1983)
- OT = *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera theologica*, 10 vols., ed. G. Gál et al. (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1967-85)
- Pattin et Stuyven = A. Pattin and W. Stuyven, eds., *Simplicius. Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke 1* (Louvain-Paris, 1971)
- Stewart-Rand-Tester = H. F. Stewart-E. K. Rand-S. J. Tester, eds. and trans., *Boethius. The Theological Tractates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973)
- Vat. = *I. Duns Scoti Opera omnia studio et cura Commissionis Scotisticae ad fidem codicum edita praeside Carolo Balić*, vols. 1-7, 16-18 (Vatican City, 1950-82)
- Wadding = R. P. F. Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Doctoris subtilis, Ordinis minorum, Opera omnia, quae hucusque reperiri potuerunt, collecta, recognita, notis, scholiis, et commentariis illustrata*, 12 vols. (Lyons, 1639).

and theological understanding of the mystery again prompted philosophical inquiry into relations. In sacramental theology, Christ's presence in the Eucharist was explained by some as a relational presence of the glorified body of Christ to the bread.¹ Further, Duns Scotus asked whether the 'character' conferred by a sacrament is some absolute or relative form.² Theologians also debated whether grace is an absolute or relative reality. In ecclesiology, some asked what the basis or foundation is for the community of saints or believers.

Purely philosophical problems prompted inquiry into relations. How does one explain the relatedness of the intellect and will to their objects? Are these faculties of the human soul essentially absolute or relative? Could they be both? More fundamentally, it was widely held that being could be divided into mental and extra-mental being, the latter (apart from God) divided into the ten categories of Aristotle. The scholastics inherited from Aristotle the teaching that relation is one category of accidental extra-mental being. A relation is an accident. This simple fact is crucial for understanding the debate over relations and the type of questions which arose. For example, how do the accidents in the category of relation differ from those of the categories of 'absolute accidents', i.e., quantity and quality?

The *Quaestio* edited here is extremely helpful for understanding the main issues involved in the early fourteenth-century debate on the ontological status of categorical relations. Henry of Harclay (c. 1270-1317) can perhaps rightly be called the first Scotist.³ He had read the *Sentences* in Paris around 1300, at the time when Duns Scotus was teaching there, and this early influence is seen in Harclay's own commentary on the first book of the *Sentences*.⁴ A later work, a

¹ Durand of St. Pourçain took this position. See K. Plotnik, *Hervaeus Natalis OP and the Controversies over the Real Presence and Transubstantiation* (Munich-Paderborn-Vienna, 1970).

² 4 *Ord.* d.6 q.10 (Wadding 11.617).

³ For a bibliographical note on Harclay see my 'Henry of Harclay's Questions on Divine Prescience and Predestination', *Franciscan Studies* 40 (1980) 167 note 2. In particular, for Henry's life, works and an overview of his philosophy in his Questions, see F. Pelster, 'Heinrich von Harclay, Kanzler von Oxford und seine Quästionen' in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* 1 (Studi e testi 37; Rome, 1924), pp. 307-56 and A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* 2 (Oxford, 1958), pp. 874-75. A. Maurer has done a good deal of work in editing a number of Harclay's later Questions and has helped to uncover Harclay's doctrine on a number of issues; see A. Maurer, 'Henry of Harclay's Question on the Univocity of Being', *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954) 1-18, 'Henry of Harclay's Questions on Immortality', *ibid.* 19 (1957) 79-107, 'Henry of Harclay's Questions on the Divine Ideas', *ibid.* 23 (1961) 163-93, 'St. Thomas and Henry of Harclay on Created Natures' in *III Congresso internazionale di filosofia medioevale* (Milan, 1966), pp. 542-49, and 'Henry of Harclay's Disputed Question on the Plurality of Forms' in J. R. O'Donnell, ed., *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 125-59. I have edited another Question: 'Henry of Harclay on the Formal Distinction in the Trinity', *Franciscan Studies* 41 (1981) 250-335. See also G. Gál, 'Henricus de Harclay: Quaestio de Significato Conceptus Universalis', *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971) 178-234 and R. C. Dales, 'Henricus de Harclay. Quaestio "Utrum mundus potuit fuisse ab eterno"', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 50 (1983) 223-55.

⁴ The commentary is found in two codices: Vatican Library Vat. lat. 13687, fols. 13v-97v and Casale Monferrato, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile b 2, fols. 1r-84r. See C. Balić, 'Henricus de

series of questions, has been preserved in which he shows more independence and maturity.⁵ This pattern of early dependence on Scotus and later independence is evidenced in his changing position on divine prescience and predestination.⁶ A similar pattern emerges in his handling of the problem of relations. In his *Sentence* commentary he follows Scotus in adopting a strongly realist position on real categorical relations, but in the lengthy later *Quaestio* he argues against this view and devotes much energy to defending his own position, one much closer to that of William of Ockham. What is more startling is that Harclay is not afraid to take the extremely non-traditional position that God is really related to creatures.

Harclay's later theory of relation can be contrasted with Scotus' theory in the following way. According to Scotus, if R is a real relation, then sentences of the form '*aRb*' are true if and only if (i) *a* and *b* are really distinct extra-mental things, (ii) there is a real foundation in *a* for R to *b*, and (iii) there exists an extra-mental relative thing R inhering in *a* which is really distinct from its foundation.⁷ And sentences of the form 'R-ness exists' are true if and only if there exists an extra-mental relative thing really distinct from, but inhering in, its foundation.

He had held this ontology in his *Sentence* commentary, though even there he voices reservations. But in his later *Quaestio* Harclay develops his own theory holding that if R is a real relation, then sentences of the form '*aRb*' are true if and only if (i) *a* and *b* are really distinct extra-mental things, (ii) there is a real foundation in *a* for R to *b*, and (iii) there exists a real relation R, a non-inhering condition of *a* toward *b*. And sentences of the form 'R-ness exists' are true if and only if there exists a mind-independent condition 'in' (non-inherence) one thing toward another.

Harclay is representative of a broad middle way, adopting neither a strongly realist ontology like Duns Scotus nor a conceptualist ontology of relations. This

Harclay et Ioannes Duns Scotus' in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris, 1959), pp. 93-121, 701-702.

⁵ These Questions are found in three codices: Vatican Library Borghese 171, fols. 1r-32v; Worcester, Cathedral Library F. 3, fols. 181v-215v; Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 172, fols. 125r-131v, 133r-136r, 149r-153v. For further information on these and other smaller Questions of Harclay in various manuscripts, see Gál, 'Quaestio de Significato', 178-79. V. Doucet, 'Descriptio codicis 172 Bibliothecae Communalis assisiensis', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 35 (1932) 502-504 notes that on fols. 116v-117v of this codex is found a chain of axioms dealing with relations entitled 'Fundamenta et propositiones notabiles Arcelini'. C. Balić has examined in detail whether the 'Arcelinus' in question could be Harclay; see his 'Adnotationes ... circa *Ordinationem* I. Duns Scoti' (Vat. 4.32* note 1). I hope to do a study of the Assisi text at a later date.

⁶ See Henninger, 'Questions on Divine Prescience', 167-243.

⁷ For the principal sources of Scotus' teaching on relations, see: *QQ Praed.* 25-29 (Wadding 1.156-66); *QQ Metaph.* 5.6, 11 (Wadding 4.607-15, 633-43); 2 *Lect.* d.1 qq. 4-5 (Vat. 18.51-93); 1 *Ord.* d.30 qq. 1-2 (Vat. 6.169-202); 2 *Ord.* d.1 qq. 4-5 (Vat. 7.91-146); *Collatio* 34 (Wadding 3.415-17). See also J. P. Beckmann, *Die Relationen der Identität und Gleichheit nach Johannes Duns Scotus* (Bonn, 1967).

Quaestio is evidence of his hard struggle to work his way out of his early Scotist position. The *Quaestio* is also representative of the debate over relations in the early fourteenth century. In it Harclay uses texts of authorities such as Aristotle, Augustine, Anselm and Boethius that were prominent in the debate.⁸ He also examines at length the key arguments involved: the charge of an infinite regress, the Stoic claim that nothing is changed by becoming related, and the key 'separation argument' of Scotus to which Harclay cleverly replies.⁹ Harclay has taken the bulk of texts and arguments that had grown up around the problem of relations, worked through them very carefully, and has come up with his own novel position. It is probably because of the vastness of the task and his unconventional teaching that this Question is the second longest in a list of twenty Questions that are preserved in the Vatican codex noted below.

Harclay's doctrine in the longest question, that on universals, was known by Ockham, and it is likely that he was acquainted with Harclay's teaching on relations. They share the basic ontological position that there exist no relative things besides absolute things. Ockham gives prominent place to Harclay's reply to Scotus' separation argument.¹⁰ Like Harclay, Ockham maintains that Scotus' position leads to an infinite regress, if *a* is distinct from *b* by a really distinct relative thing *c*.¹¹ Also like Harclay, Ockham teaches that relational terms are connotative.¹² As far as we know, Harclay did not systematically elaborate a semantics with

⁸ See, for example, nn.101-20 below. (References to this *Quaestio* are made by paragraph numbers [n. or nn.]).

⁹ 2 *Ord.* d.1 n.200 (Vat. 7.101-102); 2 *Lect.* d.1 n.184 (Vat. 18.61). For Harclay's reply see n.18 below.

¹⁰ William of Ockham, 1 *Ord.* d.30 q.1 (OT 4.291:21-292:2): 'Tertio sic: secundum istos Deus potest facere omne absolutum sine omni posteriori, igitur eadem ratione poterit Deus facere duo absoluta alba sine omni posteriori, igitur sine omni tali relatione. Et tamen illa erunt similia; igitur similitudo non est talis alia res.' See also William of Ockham, 2 *Rep.* q.2 (OT 5.35:1-9) and *Quod.* 6.8 (OT 9.614:73-83).

¹¹ William of Ockham, 1 *Ord.* d.30 q.1 (OT 4.292:12-23): 'Quarto arguo sic: qua ratione una relatio esset alia res ab absolutis, et alia; et per consequens qua ratione similitudo, aequalitas, paternitas, filiatio et sic de aliis essent tales res aliae, eadem ratione diversitas, distinctio et huiusmodi essent res aliae. Sed talia non sunt res aliae; igitur etc. Minorem proba: quia si distinctio vel diversitas sit res alia ab absolutis, igitur illa diversitas distinguitur ab illo absoluto, et per consequens realiter refertur ad illam rem absolutam, igitur alia relatione. Et per consequens illa relatio secunda est realiter diversa a prima, igitur per aliam relationem est diversa. Et de illa arguo quod illa erit diversa per aliam relationem, et erit processus in infinitum, ita quod in qualibet re erunt res distinctae realiter infinitae, quod est absurdum.'

¹² William of Ockham, 2 *Rep.* q.2 (OT 5.38:16-39:6): 'Ad rationes *Ioannis*: de separatione non valet, quia quando aliquod nomen significat unum principaliter et aliud connotative, destructo illo connotato tantum et nullo reali destructo in significato principali, illud nomen non denotabit principale significatum, quia non significat illud principale nisi prout coexistit connotato. Ideo destructo connotato non convenit sibi illa denominatio, et posito connotato ita quod coexistat principali significato illius nominis vel conceptus, statim sine acquisitione alicuius realis in principali significato illud nomen vel conceptus denominat utrumque, ita quod est ibi transitus a contradictorio in contradictorium propter solam mutationem connotati.'

which he could analyze relational terms in greater detail as Ockham did. Briefly, Ockham held that, according to unaided human reason, categorical relational terms signify both things related or signify one primarily and the other connotatively, and connote that the two things related exist in some way.

Finally, like most Scholastics, both believed that categorical relations are extra-mentally real. It would be extremely difficult for a Scholastic, given the pervasive Aristotelianism, to deny all extra-mental reality to relations. Not only did Aristotle explicitly teach that relation is one of the ten categories of extra-mental being, but, more fundamentally, his philosophy and that of the Scholastics is pervaded by the idea of an extra-mental order, whether this be the Greek cosmos or the medieval universe. In fact, the order of the universe was one of the central arguments for the mind-independent status of relations.¹³ Hence, for the Scholastics, the main problem was not whether relations had extra-mental reality, but rather what specific type of extra-mental reality was to be accorded them.

The Question edited below is presently known to survive in only one manuscript: Vatican Library Borghese 171, fols. 3vb-7vb. This manuscript, which contains twenty Questions of Harclay, is written in an English Gothic script approaching cursive and was dated by Pelster to the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁴ In my edition I have substituted classical orthography and introduced a system of punctuation and capitalization according to modern conventions; I have also divided the text into numbered paragraphs. Emendation has been kept to a minimum, and any words which I have supplied, including headings, are enclosed in square brackets. While I have reported scribal corrections to the text in the critical apparatus, I have not noted those marginal entries which serve as running titles.

CONSPECTUS QUAESTIONIS

- 1-2. Argumenta principalia.
- 3. Argumentum in oppositum.
- 4-8. Alia argumenta in oppositum.
- 9. Ratio prima pro opinione Harclay.
- 10-11. Responsiones contra primam rationem.
- 12-15a. Improbationes responsionum.
- 16-17. Confirmatio rationis primae.

¹³ Thomas Aquinas, *De potentia* 7, 9 corp.; Scotus, 2 *Ord.* d.1 n.224 (Vat. 7.111-12); Harclay, n.8 below.

¹⁴ Pelster, 'Heinrich von Harclay' (note 13 above), 323-24. A. Maier, *Codices burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Studi e testi 170; Vatican City, 1952), pp. 219-20 gives the date as simply fourteenth century.

18. Argumentum pro opinione Harclay.
19. Responsio contra argumentum.
- 20-21. Duo argumenta Harclay contra responsionem.
- 22-23. Responsio contra primum argumentum Harclay.
- 24-27. Responsio Harclay.
28. Responsio contra secundum argumentum Harclay.
- 29-32. Responsio Harclay.
- 33-37. Alia argumenta pro opinione Harclay.
- 38-45. Argumenta contra conclusionem Harclay.
46. Responsio possibilis.
47. Argumentum Avicennae contra responsionem possibilem.
- 48-52. Quomodo relatio est eadem res cum fundamento et quomodo non.
- 53-56. Auctoritas Boethii pro opinione Harclay.
- 57-60. Argumenta contra opinionem Harclay.
- 61-62. Responsiones Harclay.
- 63-65. Responsiones Harclay ad argumenta praedicta.
- 66-69. Responsiones Harclay ad argumenta principalia pro parte negativa.
70. Obiectio ad opinionem Harclay.
- 71-72. Responsio Harclay.
- 73-78. Auctoritates pro responsione Harclay.
79. Obiectio contra opinionem Harclay.
- 80-86. Responsio Harclay.
- 87-89. Obiectio contra opinionem Harclay.
- 90-100. Responsio Harclay.
101. Argumentum ex accidente.
- 102-105. Responsio Harclay.
- 106-110. Auctoritas Augustini.
- 111-111a. Duae obiectiones.
- 112-116. Responsiones Harclay ad obiectiones.
- 117-118. Auctoritas Anselmi.
119. Auctoritas Boethii.
120. Res praedicamenti relationis tantum convenit Deo.

UTRUM DEI AD CREATURAM SIT RELATIO REALIS^a

[ARGUMENTA PRINCIPALIA]

1. (f. 3vb) Quod sic probō:¹ relationes secundi modi² sunt reales fundatae super actionem et passionem et illae sunt in Deo respectu creaturae. Nam Deus vere est agens et creatura est patiens.

2. Praeterea³ de quo praedicatur inferius, et superius per se; sed dominus est inferius per se ad relatum; ergo cum Deus est realiter dominus, est realiter relatus.

[ARGUMENTUM IN OPPOSITUM]

3. Oppositum:⁴ relatio quae est in Deo est Deus, ergo est aeterna; sed relatio ad creaturam est temporalis, nam relatio non est sine termino; ergo talis non est in Deo.

[ALIA ARGUMENTA IN OPPOSITUM]

4. Ad quaestionem dicitur communiter quod non. Primo sic:⁵ duo suppono a parte relationis et duo a parte Dei. A parte relationis, quod ipsa est in illo quod refertur illa relatione. Secundo suppono, secundum Philosophum,⁶ quod relativa sunt aequae necessaria: posita se ponunt, perempta se perimunt. Ex parte Dei, suppono eius simplicitatem quae talis est secundum Augustinum XI *De civitate Dei*, cap. 10.⁷ Ideo simplex est [Deus] quia est illud quod habet, excepto quod relative quaeque persona ad aliam dicitur. Sic relatio Dei ad creaturam, si sit in Deo, erit

^a secunda quaestio de quolibet magistri h. in marg. sup. MS.

¹ Idem argumentum recitavit Henricus de Harclay, *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum in Deo sit aliqua relatio realis ad creaturam' (Casale Monferrato, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile MS. b 2, fol. 68ra). Videsis Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.30 nn.8, 60 (Vat. 6.171, 196-97).

² Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b25-1021b11). Harclay citat libros *Metaphysicae* iuxta divisionem antiquam, secundum quam liber 1α liber 2 numerabatur, sicut et in editionis Iunctinae octavo volumine (Venice, 1562).

³ Idem argumentum recitavit Harclay, *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum in Deo sit aliqua relatio realis ad creaturam' (MS. Casale Monferrato b 2, fol. 68ra).

⁴ Videsis Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.30 n.1 (Vat. 6.169).

⁵ Haec est ratio principalis Scoti, 1 *Ord.* d.30 nn.49-51 (Vat. 6.192).

⁶ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (7b15).

⁷ Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* 11.10.1 (CCL 48.330).

idem quod Deus. Ultra, ex parte Dei suppono eius necessitatem essendi, ita quod nihil intrinsecum sibi potest non esse annihilata tota creatura.

5. Ex istis tunc arguatur sic: per secundam suppositionem, interempta creatura desinit esse quaecumque relatio ad creaturam. Sed per ultimam suppositionem, dempta creatura nihil quod est in Deo propter hoc desinit esse. Ergo relatio talis ad creaturam non est in Deo. Sed per primam et tertiam suppositionem, relatio qua Deus refertur est idem quod Deus, quia est in Deo. Haec ratio est substantia omnium rationum pro^b parte ista, videtur mihi.

6. Alio modo arguitur et bene:⁸ omne quod est realiter relatum aliquam habet inclinationem et dependentiam ad illud ad quod refertur; Deus autem nihil tale habet respectu creaturae; ergo etc.

7. Et si dicatur ad illud quod eadem ratione corpus caeleste quod est ens necessarium et incorruptibile non haberet relationem realem activi ad passivum respectu creaturae inferioris quae est ens contingens. Nam non dependet ex ea, sed magis e converso;

7a. Item non necessario coexigit corpus caeleste corpus corruptibile; ergo non referretur ad inferiora ista;

8. Hic respondetur⁹ et bene quod corpus caeleste, immo et creatura quaecumque, habet aliquam inclinationem et dependentiam ad aliam creaturam quantumcumque infimam. Nam omnis creatura cum alia natae sunt esse partes alicuius unius totius; unde sunt materiales respectu formae ordinis universi. Nam universum

^b pro] per ms.

⁸ Henricus Gandavensis, *Quod* 9.1 ad 1 (ed. Macken, pp. 14-17). Harclay, *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum in Deo sit aliqua relatio realis ad creaturam', recitavit hoc argumentum Gandavensis, et arguit contra sic: 'Contra hoc arguitur: licet sit verum quod Deus (dicitur ms.) non ordinetur realiter ad creaturam nec dependet ex ea, illud non est sufficiens causa quare non contingit relatio realis. Probo primo sic: causa inquantum causa non dependet ad effectum, et tamen realiter refertur ad effectum; ergo relatio realis non arguit dependentiam. Ergo nec e converso negatio dependentiae arguit negationem relationis. Probatio antecedentis: quidquid dependet ab alio inquantum huiusmodi, posterius est illo. Nam prius non dependet a posteriori. Ergo causa inquantum causa saltem non sit prior effectui. Hoc est inconveniens. Praeterea perfectio fundamenti in altero vel in utroque extremo non tollit similitudinem fundatam super illud fundamentum. Ergo imperfectio non requiritur necessario ad relationem realem, ergo nec dependentia. Probatio antecedentis: esto per impossibile quod aliqua esset magnitudo in Patre et Filio, adhuc essent similes et realiter relati. Et tamen nulla esset dependentia inter eos. Praeterea si essent duo albiissima, essent maxime similia et tamen minime in dependentia. Ergo dependentia nihil facit. Praeterea non sequitur ut videtur, "Non est ordo, ergo non est relatio", et non e converso, [quia] omnis relatio non est ordo. Praeterea et ratio illa non probat nisi quod dicentes relationem realem esse Dei ad creaturam, dicerent etiam esse ordinem Dei ad creaturas, quia philosophi dicerent quod ordo ille est necessarius simpliciter causae primae ad creata' (ms. Casale Monferrato b 2, fol. 68ra). Similia argumenta recitavit Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.30 nn.22, 50-51 (Vat. 6.178, 192).

⁹ Idem argumentum recitavit Scotus, *ibid.*, n.70 (Vat. 6.199-201).

consistit in quodam ordine partium ad invicem, XII *Metaphysicae*.¹⁰ Et idem Philosophus v *Metaphysicae*¹¹ dicit quod partes sunt materiales et in potentia ad formam totius. Sed quaecumque sunt partes unius totius habent inter se ordinem et dependentiam. Ergo omnis creatura quantumcumque sublimis ad aliam habet inclinationem et dependentiam; ideo inter illas potest esse relatio realis mutua. Sed quia Deus nihil horum habet respectu creaturae,^c ideo non est realis relatio Dei ad creaturam. Ista (f. 4ra) credo est opinio cum suis rationibus magis efficacibus.

[RATIO PRIMA PRO OPINIONE HARCLAY]

9. Contra istam opinionem videtur mihi quod non repugnat Deo habere realem relationem ad creaturam. Arguo sic communibus argumentis quae nescio solvere: nihil novum repugnat Deo quod non facit aliquam mutationem nec novitatem in natura divina. Ista est certa, alioquin esset ista falsa 'Deus est de novo dilectus a creatura' vel aliquid tale. Sed relatio realis nova, si adveniret Deo, nullam mutationem [et] nullam novitatem poneret in divina natura, sicut probabo. Ergo sibi non repugnat. Probatio minoris: nam relatio realis de novo adveniens creaturae nihil mutat circa illam naturam nec^d novitatem facit in illa creatura; ergo multo minus in Deo si adveniret. Consequentia plana: illud quod natum est facere mutationem magis potest mutare illud quod aptum est natum mutari, sicut est creatura, quam illud quod non est aptum natum mutari, sicut est Deus. Modo probatio antecedentis communi medio, quod relatio nova nullam facit mutationem in creatura quae de novo refertur. Aristoteles v *Physicorum* probat quod ad relationem non est motus per se arguendo sic:¹² 'Contingit enim', ut dicit, 'altero mutante alterum nihil esse mutans.' Et tamen illud alterum novam accipit relationem; ergo nova relatio sine nova mutatione.^e

[RESPONSIONES CONTRA PRIMAM RATIONEM]

10. Hic multipliciter respondetur. Uno modo¹³ quod alterum extremum nihil mutatur^f secundum absolutam rem, sed tamen mutatur extendendo 'rem' ad

^c creaturae] et *add.* MS.

^d nec *interl.* MS.

^e mutatione] -tio MS.

^f mutatur] -tor MS.

¹⁰ Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 12.10 t.52 (1075a16-19).

¹¹ *ibid.* 5.2 t.3 (1013b19-21).

¹² Aristoteles, *Phys.* 5.2 t.10 (225b11-13). Videsis Henricum Gand., *Summae* 56.3 arg. 3 et ad 3 (ed. 1520, 2.114L, 115X).

¹³ Videsis Scotum, 2 *Ord.* d.1 nn.234-36 (Vat. 7.117-18) et *QQ Metaph.* 5.6 nn.1-2 (Wadding 4.607). Videsis etiam Richardum de Mediavilla, *Super 1 Sent.* d.30 q.4 ad 6 (Brescia, 1591; rpt. Frankfurt, 1963), 1.269.

relationem. Unde ita mutatur^g quod ad aliud se habet aliter quam prius, sed non absolute aliter quam prius; et sic intendit Philosophus.

11. Alio modo dicitur¹⁴ quod ad relationem est mutatio per accidens. Tamen sicut ibidem Philosophus dicit¹⁵ et Simplicius in cap. De relatione¹⁶ quod turbati sunt multi errantes credendo quod ad relationem non est motus per accidens. Et illud 'per accidens' sic glossatur. Nam mutatio relationis sequitur necessario mutationem in absoluto et necessario praeexigit mutationem in absoluto; et ideo est mutatio per accidens.

[IMPROBATIONES RESPONSIONUM]

12. Contra illud¹⁷ probo quod non sufficit. Suppono duo de^h demonstratione Philosophi: primum quod non accipiat falsum in sua probatione; secundo quod non petat principium. Tunc enim non demonstraret nec adversarium convinceret. 'Opus enim sapientis est non mentiri de quibus novit et mentientem manifestare posse', I *Elenchorum*.¹⁸ Modo, gratia exempli, ego ponam me ex parte mentientis, id est, adversae partis.¹⁹ Et dicam quod ad relationem est motus per se, sicut ad qualitatem, et videamus qualiter ratio Aristotelis convincit me. Dico tunc sic, quod ad relationem est motus per se, sicut ad qualitatem. Quod sic probo: omne subiectum quod est aliquando sub aliqua forma ipsum informante et sibi inhaerente et quandoque caret illa forma sicut subiectum, est quandoque sub habitu, aliquando sub privatione. Nam privatio est negatio formae cum aptitudine habendi. Sed impossibile est transire de privatione inⁱ habitum sine mutatione; nam proprium^j mutationis in generali dicit²⁰ quod omnis mutatio est a subiecto ad^k non-subiectum vel e converso. Et dicit,²¹ dico autem 'subiectum' ex affirmatione monstratum. Hic ergo supponit quod transitus a negato ad affirmatum sit mutatio. Et tunc inquit²² in quibus generibus potest esse talis transitus, et per hoc concludat in eis esse mutationem. Et ego dico per rationem iam factam quod ille transitus reperitur in genere relationis per se, supposito quod relatio nova sit nova forma inhaerens subiecto de quo dicitur.

^g mutatur] -tor MS. ^h de interl. MS. ⁱ in interl. MS. ^j proprium] -prij MS. ^k ad] et MS.

¹⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *In 5 Phys.* 3 et *De potentia* 7, 8 ad 5.

¹⁵ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 5.2 t.10 (225b11-13).

¹⁶ Simplicius, *In Praedicamenta Aristotelis* 7 (6a36-b15), cap. De ad aliquid (edd. Pattin et Stuyven, pp. 233-34).

¹⁷ i.e., contra responsiones in nn.10-11.

¹⁸ Aristoteles, *Soph. elen.* 1.1 (165a25-26).

¹⁹ i.e., Harclay fingit se esse adversarium Aristotelis et hoc modo probat quod demonstratio Aristotelis in n.9, intellecta secundum adversarium Harclay in nn.10-11, non valet.

²⁰ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 5.1 t.7 (224b35-225a11).

²¹ ibid.

²² ibid. 5.2 t.10 sq. (225b10-226b18).

13. Modo Aristoteles debet me²³ convincere per suam demonstrationem, et arguit contra me sic: altero relativorum mutato, puta Socrate, Plato non mutatur, et tamen de novo refertur. Ergo de novo referri non est de novo mutari.

14. Modo respondeo ego Aristoteli: aut intellegis tu quod relatio nova adveniens sit aliqua forma informans subiectum cui advenit, aut non. Si non, habeo propositum quod propter novam relationem realem nihil innovatur in aliquo cui advenit intra suam naturam. Et tunc non repugnat Deo, manifestum est. Si tu, Aristoteles, intellegas quod relatio nova sit nova forma inhaerens subiecto, tunc dico quod subiectum mutatur per se ad illam propter rationem prius factam.²⁴

15. Nec tu²⁵ probas oppositum, immo tantum accipis quod ego in principio negavi, quia tu accipis²⁶ contra me quod transitus a privatione ad solam formam absolutam est mutatio, et hoc est in principio negatum. Ideo non plus probas per hoc argumentum²⁷ quod ad relationem non est motus quam ego probarem quod ad qualitatem non est motus. Ego enim dico tibi quod transitus a privatione ad habitum est mutatio, ita excepta qualitate. Concedo enim quod nova qualitas venit sed sine mutatione, sicut tu dicis mihi quod nova relatio venit sine mutatione. Tu non probas mihi tamen propositum sicut nec ego tibi, sed tantum petis.

15a. Quod autem subditur²⁸ quod pro tanto est mutatio solum per accidens ad relationem, quia ita sequitur mutationem in absoluto, quantitate vel qualitate, et necessario praeexigit illam, illud videtur mihi in nullo sufficit. Nam certe eodem modo ad qualitatem non est motus per se. Omnis enim motus ad qualitatem consequitur motum localem caeli secundum Philosophum VIII *Physicorum*,²⁹ et necessario praeexigit [motum caeli]. Unde illuminatio medii, quae est alteratio, dicitur esse terminus motus localis solis ad orientem. Et tunc secundum hoc, ad qualitatem non esset motus per se eodem modo. Haec esset prima ratio quam nescio bene solvere si ponamus demonstrationem Philosophi valere.

[CONFIRMATIO RATIONIS PRIMAE]

16. Praeterea confirmatur hoc argumentum.³⁰ Nam Anselmus ex intentione facit argumentum, sicut mihi videtur. Dicit enim *Monologion*, cap. 25,³¹ quod sicut natura divina non admittit accidentia illa quae faciunt mutationem in illo cui

²³ 'me', i.e., Harclay fingentem se esse adversarium Aristotelis.

²⁴ Videsis supra, n.12.

²⁵ i.e., adversarius de Harclay in nn.10-11.

²⁶ Videsis supra, nn.10-11.

²⁷ i.e., argumentum in n.13.

²⁸ Videsis supra, n.11.

²⁹ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 8.7-9 t.54 sq. (260a20-266a9).

³⁰ Videsis supra, n.9.

³¹ Anselmus, *Monologion* 25, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Opera omnia 1; Edinburgh, 1946), pp. 43-44.

adveniunt, ita non respuit illa accidentia quae adveniunt sine ulla mutatione. Et quae sunt illa accidentia ille ostendit, sicut multae relationes, aequalitas, similitudo et huiusmodi, secundum eum. Nam modo non sum similis homini (f. 4rb) nascituro hinc ad annum, ipso nato ero ei similis sine mei aliqua mutatione. Haec Anselmus.

17. Unde Anselmus ibidem in illo capitulo vult ostendere Deum non esse subiectum accidentibus, sicut ipse dicit in titulo illius capituli.³² Et arguit contra seipsum: quomodo non est subiectum accidentium cum sit maior creaturis, dissimilis creaturis, et maioritas et minoritas et dissimilitudo sunt accidentia? Respondet secundum quod dictum est³³ quod huiusmodi accidentia nullam mutationem faciunt circa rem cui adveniunt.¹ Ideo Deus licet incommutabilis non respuit illa accidentia. Tamen tandem subdit Anselmus, ut excludat omne accidens a Deo, dicens quod huiusmodi relationes quae adveniunt sine mutatione non sunt proprie accidentia. Et intellegendum est quod ipse intendit quod non sunt formae inhaerentes subiecto. Unde inhaerere subiecto vocat accidere. Et illo modo non sunt accidentia, non quin sint de aliquo congenerum. Unde concludit quod qualitercumque sit 'de proprietate nominis accidentium', illud sine dubio verum est, quod de summe incommutabili natura nihil potest dici, unde ipsa mutabilis possit intellegi.' Haec ille. Patet ergo manifeste quid intellegit nomine accidentis quando dicit illa, scilicet relationes, non esse accidentia. Unde planissime de intentione Anselmi est quod relatio realis ad creaturam non repugnat Deo.

[ARGUMENTUM PRO OPINIONE HARCLAY]

18. Praeterea probo quod relatio non addit aliquam rem super suum fundamentum. 'Addit' dico ita quod sit nova res inhaerens subiecto vel fundamento. Et per consequens non repugnat Deo per rationes praedictas duas.³⁴ Probo assumptum sic: nam tunc³⁵ Deus posset facere duo alba et non similia; consequens falsum. Probatio: potest facere hoc album sine sua similitudine, et hoc quia album est prius secundum naturam sua similitudine; et eodem modo posset facere illud album sine sua dissimilitudine vel similitudine; ergo sine suis similitudinibus.

¹ adveniunt] -nit MS.

³² 'Quod nullis mutabilis sit accidentibus'.

³³ Videsis supra, n.16.

³⁴ Videsis supra, n.9 sq. et nn.16-17.

³⁵ i.e., si relatio addat aliquam rem super suum fundamentum.

[RESPONSIO CONTRA ARGUMENTUM]

19. Dicitur ad^m illud quod non sequitur. Nam aliquid est necessarium in hoc albo quando ponitur aliudⁿ album, quod non est necessarium in eo illo albo non posito.

[DUO ARGUMENTA HARCLAY CONTRA RESPONSIONEM]

20. Contra illud: causa praecisa quare albedo potest esse sine similitudine est quia est prior secundum naturam illa, vel^o saltem causa sufficiens. Nam omne prius absolutum non dependet in esse ab aliquo posteriori secundum naturam. Ergo illud quod non tollit ab hac albedine prioritatem suam respectu alterius, non tollit ab eo quin possit esse sine illo. Sed album iam causatum non tollit ab hoc albo quin albedo sit prior relatione, id est, similitudine. Ergo per hoc non tollitur quin albedo potest esse sine similitudine etiam posita alia albedine.

21. Praeterea distinctio est relatio realis quia est in re ex natura rei. Modo quaero utrum distinctio qua distinctum refertur ad aliud sit aliqua res alia^p a re distincta. Quod si non, habeo propositum quia nec alia relatio. Similiter, si sit res alia, contra: accipio aliqua distincta. Tu dicis quod distinctio qua distinguitur hoc ab illo est res alia. Ergo potest hoc intellegi sine illo quia distinctio posterior est^q re quae distinguitur. De illo priori quaero utrum ipsum sit formale principium quo distinguendi an non. Si sic, ergo cum non est principium distinguendi nisi distinctio, adhuc illud prius est distinctio. Et sic vel erit processus in infinitum vel tandem erit dare distinctionem non realiter differentem a re distincta. Si tu dicas quod illud quod est prior distinctione non est principium distinguendi, contra: eodem formaliter quo est idem sibi, distinguitur ab alio. Sed hoc est idem sibi^r per seipsum, non per aliud realiter ab eo. Ergo seipso distinguitur ab alio.

[RESPONSIO CONTRA PRIMUM ARGUMENTUM HARCLAY]

22. Dicitur ad ista duo argumenta.³⁶ Ad primum,³⁷ quod Deus posset facere alba duo sine relatione reali, et tamen essent similia; unde non oportet quod omnia similia sint realiter relata. Contra hoc: relatio realis in hoc distinguitur ab aliis accidentibus respectivis, quod illa^s consurgit necessario in re ex natura rei positis extremis. Ergo^t posito albo [et] posito alio albo consurgit relatio.

^m ad *interl.* MS. ⁿ aliud *ex ad corr.* MS. ^o vel *interl.* MS. ^p alia] aliqua MS. ^q est *interl.* MS. ^r sibi] si MS. ^s quod illa *perperam del.* MS ^t ergo ... (n.23) relatio consurgit *in marg.* MS

³⁶ Videsis supra, nn.20-21.

³⁷ Videsis supra, n.20.

23. Dicetur contra:³⁸ relatio consurgit ita de lege communi, sicut posito igne et applicato ad lignum calefactibile, sequitur calefactio de lege communi. Tamen virtute divina potest esse ignis dispositus applicatus ad lignum dispositum sine calefactione, sicut in fornace Babylonis. Ibi ergo posita fuerunt extrema relationis realis de secundo modo relativorum, et tamen non fuit relatio quia nec actio. Eodem modo, ut videtur, potest esse in primo modo qui est secundum numerum, quo differuntur simile [et] dissimile, aequale et inaequale. Ita quod extremis illarum relationum positis, non necessario consurgit relatio nisi de communi lege. Secundum confirmatur: relatio de secundo modo est tam necessario consequens positionem extremorum sicut relatio de primo modo. Cuius probatio est: nam realis relatio est sicut de primo modo, et proprie relatio et de capitulo 'ad-aliquid' sicut et relatio primi modi. Et per conditionem illam distinguitur capitulum 'ad-aliquid' ab aliis accidentibus respectivis, quod illa consurgit positis extremis. Ergo illa convenit secundo modo.

[RESPONSIO HARCLAY]

24. Contra illud: non potest negari quod duo alba sunt similia, ita enim oportet dicere necessario. Modo videtur esse absurdum quod similitudo non sit relatio, quia similitudo est species relationis.

25. Praeterea probo quod est impossibile.³⁹ Nam positis duobus albis, non potest Deus facere quin sint similia. Modo quaero a te de illa similitudine: aut est [forma] absoluta, vel relatio. Si relatio, habeo propositum. Si forma absoluta, contra: ergo potest esse similitudo sine correlativo vel sine alio extremo; hoc est impossibile simpliciter.

26. Praeterea eadem ratione posset Deus facere quanta et non essent relata secundum aequalitatem [vel inaequalitatem]. Essent autem in eis aequalitas et inaequalitas, magnum et parvum, et sine relatione reali, contra Aristotelem. In *Praedicamentis*⁴⁰ dicit quod magnum et parvum sunt relativa. Per hoc enim solvit argumentum probans [quod] quantitati est aliquid contrarium, quia magnum et parvum sunt relationes et non quantitates. Modo illud non valeret si non repugnaret magno esse sine relatione. Sed Deus non posset facere unam (f. 4va) quantitatem simul cum alia^u quin esset maior vel minor alia vel aequalis. Ergo non sine relatione.

^u alia] aliqua MS.

³⁸ i.e., contra responsionem Harclay in fine n.22.

³⁹ i.e., quod sint duo alba sine relatione similitudinis.

⁴⁰ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6b9).

27. Argumentum⁴¹ autem quod fit pro responsione data non valet. Cum dicitur quod relatio realis de^v secundo modo potest non esse etiam positis extremis, quia ex agente et patiente dispositis non sequitur necessaria actio, illud non sufficit. Nam relatio activi ad passivum vel agentis ad passum non est actio vel passio; immo est alterius generis et posterioris,^w fundata super actionem et passionem vel saltem secundum passionem, ita quod relatio illa necessario praesupponit actionem et passionem iam positam in esse super quam fundetur vel secundum quam fundetur, ita quod saltem actio posita in esse est conditio necessaria fundamenti relationis inquantum fundat relationem. Etsi ergo potest Deus facere agens et patiens non faciendo actionem, tamen posita actione agentis et passione patientis impossibile est esse sine relatione agentis et passi. Modo ad relationem de primo modo non plus requiritur praeivium relationi nisi fundamentum absolutum in utroque extremo, sicut ad relationem de secundo modo non requiritur nisi quod agens et patiens approximetur et quod ponatur actio in esse, et tunc consurgit necessario relatio.

[RESPONSIO CONTRA SECUNDUM ARGUMENTUM HARCLAY]

28. Ad secundum argumentum de distinctione⁴² dicitur quod sicut substantia non est extensa nisi per quantitatem formaliter, ita quod quantitas realiter differat a substantia, sic et distinctum non refertur nisi distinctione, et tamen distinctio realiter distinguitur a distincto. Et cum arguitur,⁴³ eodem distinguitur ab alio quo est idem sibi, respondeo eodem fundamentaliter, non formaliter eodem. Illud enim quod est idem sibi, illud est distinctum realiter, et tamen distinctione ab eo differente. Et tamen identitas qua hoc est idem sibi non est alia res ab eo cuius res est.

[RESPONSIO HARCLAY]

29. Contra: accipio unam propositionem immediate et primo veram negativam ut istam 'Nulla quantitas est qualitas'. Secundum Aristotelem^x i *Posteriorum*,⁴⁴ in omni tali propositione subiectum per propriam rationem suam est causa inhaerentiae praedicati ad subiectum si sit propositio affirmativa, vel causa negatio-

^v de *in marg.* MS.
interl. MS.

^w posterioris ex posterior *corr.* MS.

^x Aristotelem ex Augustinum *corr.*

⁴¹ Videsis supra, n.23.

⁴² Videsis supra, n.21.

⁴³ Videsis ibid.

⁴⁴ Aristoteles, *APo* 1.13 (78b20-23).

nis si sit propositio negativa. Ergo in proposita propositione quantitas per propriam rationem quantitatis, et non per aliud, est causa negationis qualitatis ab eo. Sed veritas propositionis negativae fundatur super distinctionem realem extremorum. Ergo quantitas per propriam rationem suam, et non per aliquam aliam, distinguitur a qualitate formaliter. Ergo cum distinguatur [quantitas] distinctione, distinctio non erit alia res ab eo.

30. Praeterea accipio distinctionem vocetur *a* et res distincta vocetur *b*. *a* per te realiter distinguitur a *b*, quia non est res eadem et est res; ergo realiter distincta a *b*. Tunc quaero de distinctione qua distinguitur *b* ab *a* et e converso, utrum sit idem cum *a* an non. Si idem, ergo distinctio [est] eadem res cum fundamento, [et] eadem ratione in aliis. Si tu dicas quod distinctio qua distinguitur *a* a *b* est alia res, et tunc quaero de illa per quid distinguitur, utrum seipso vel alio. Et erit necessario processus in infinitum vel erit tandem devenire ad fundamentum quod est idem cum sua distinctione, id est, cum sua relatione.

31. Dicetur forte quod sicut^y est identitas sine relatione, ita est distinctio sine relatione. Identitas est sine omni relatione, certum est, et reali et rationis, quia non oportet ad hoc quod aliquid sit idem sibi quod referatur ad se nec realiter nec secundum rationem.

32. Contra illud arguo sicut de similitudine supra.⁴⁵ Illa distinctio est in re ex natura rei et non est aliquid absolutum, quia tunc posset esse eiusdem ad se; ergo est relatio realis. Illud autem quod adducitur de identitate non est ad propositum. Nam verum est quod identitas realis non est relatio realis, quia deficit una conditio relationis quae est necessaria relationi et impossibilis eidem et identitati, videlicet, distinctio realis extremorum. Et est illa⁴⁶ in distinctis et non in eodem et uno. Ideo distinctio est relatio et non identitas.

[ALIA ARGUMENTA PRO OPINIONE HARCLAY]

33. Praeterea ad principale, quod Dei ad creaturam posset esse relatio realis, probro semper ut prius:⁴⁷ illud quod adveniens Deo non facit in eo aliquam alteritatem non repugnat sibi. Illud enim non derogat nec simplicitati nec necessitati eius. Sed nova relatio realis est huiusmodi. Ergo etc. Probatio minoris: Boethius ex intentione in libro *De Trinitate*, cap. ultimo⁴⁸ probat quod relatio non facit alteritatem rei de qua dicitur. Unde utitur eisdem verbis et de hoc magis

^y sicut] idem MS.

⁴⁵ Videsis supra, n.25.

⁴⁶ i.e., distinctio realis extremorum.

⁴⁷ Videsis supra, n.9.

⁴⁸ Boethius, *De Trinitate* 4-5 (ed. Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 16-28).

dicetur infra.⁴⁹ Ergo nova relatio non repugnat Deo quia nullam facit in eo alteritatem.

34. Praeterea^a nulla relatio rationis tantum exigit necessario extremum reale, sed tantum rationis. Probatio: relatio realis est ens nobilius quam relatio rationis; sed relatio realis ex parte extremi non plus requirit nisi quod sit ens reale; ergo relatio rationis hoc non exigit. Dominium autem in Deo coexigit necessario realem terminum in creatura. Ergo non est relatio rationis. Confirmatur: nam modo est relatio rationis Dei ad animam Antichristi.^{a50}

35. Praeterea argumento communi Deus est realiter dominus, ergo relatus, ab inferiori ad superius affirmando.⁵¹ Probatio antecedentis: nam intellego quod 'realiter' sit determinatio extremi non compositionis, ut quidam dicunt.⁵² Si enim esset determinatio compositionis, non valeret argumentum, sicut cum dicitur 'Socrates est realiter dilectus; propter hoc nulla res nova inesset Socrati'.⁵³ Sed arguo sic: reale dominium inest Deo nunc et non prius. Probatio: illud quod convenit Deo si nullus intellectus consideraret, illud est reale sibi conveniens. Sed si nullus intellectus consideraret, Deus modo esset dominus, creatura iam in esse producta. Ergo est dominus realis, ergo reale relativum. Nam dominus est per se inferius ad relationem.

36. Confirmatur illud excludendo quandam responsionem^b vanam.⁵⁴ Nam Deus non potest denominari dominus propter aliquam relationem quae est in servo

^z infra ex vel corr. in marg. MS.
ex exceptionem corr. interl. MS.

^a praeterea ... antichristi in marg. inf. MS.

^b responsionem

⁴⁹ Videsis infra, nn.53-56.

⁵⁰ Videsis Harclay, *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum nova relatio creaturae ad Deum coexigat necessario novam relationem rationis in Deo' (MS. Casale Monferrato b 2, fol. 69ra).

⁵¹ Videsis supra, n.2.

⁵² i.e., quidam dicunt quod 'realiter' sit determinatio compositionis. Videsis Harclay, *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum in Deo sit aliqua relatio realis ad creaturam': 'Ad ultimum, cum dicitur "est realiter dominus", dicendum quod haec est distinguenda secundum amphibologiam; quia "realiter" potest esse determinatio compositionis, et ita est de virtute sermonis quia est adverbium, et "realiter" idem est quod "vere". Unde non arguit realitatem a parte extremi sed realem compositionem. Unde et haec etiam est vera, "Socrates est realiter intellectus". Sed non sequitur quod [Socrates] sit realis propter hoc. Vel "realiter" potest esse determinatio extremi, et tunc esset acceptum in significatione nominis et nominaliter. Et tunc erit secundum causas veritatis vel acceptiones. Nam si est realis dominus, et hoc est duplex, non secundum sensus multiplices sed secundum causas veritatis vel acceptiones. Nam si intellegatur "realis" de realitate domini, hoc est falsum, quia dominium nullam ponit in eo realitatem. Vel potest dici realis dominus a realitate servi (secundum MS.), et tunc est vera, quia habet realem servum. Nec sequitur: si servitus sit realis, ergo dominium reale, quia non est relatio mutua realis; nec propter hoc sequitur quin sit verus dominus, ut dictum est' (MS. Casale Monferrato b 2, fol. 68vb). Simile argumentum recitavit Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.30 n.73 (Vat. 6.201-202).

⁵³ Videsis Harclay, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Harclay, *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum nova relatio creaturae ad Deum coexigat necessario novam relationem rationis in Deo' (MS. Casale Monferrato b 2, fol. 69ra), attribuit hanc responsionem Richardo de Mediavilla.

tantum. Nam relatio servitutis est^c in servo tantum, et non relatio dominii. Sed dominium necessario est in domino. Si ergo dominium sit relatio in Deo, erit relatio nova realis.

37. Praeterea ego probo quod hoc sit de intentione Augustini, quod dominium sit in Deo relatio realis. Arguit enim v *De Trinitate*, in fine⁵⁵ (f. 4vb) quod Deus ex tempore refertur ad creaturam, quia creatura^d de novo refertur ad eum. Dicit enim haec verba: 'Quod ergo temporaliter dici incipit Deus quod antea non dicebatur, manifestum est relative dici'. Ergo plane vult quod necesse est esse relationem novam in Deo propter novam relationem in creatura.⁵⁶ Quaero tunc utrum illa sit relatio realis, et habetur propositum, aut relatio rationis. Sed contra: non est necesse relationem rationis novam esse in Deo ad creaturam propter realem relationem creaturae ad Deum. Nam propter relationem realem scientiae ad scibile non oportet ponere relationem rationis scibilis ad scientiam. Cuius probatio est: nam relatio rationis dependet ab intellectu nostro vel divino, non curo. Et relatio realis nulla dependet ab intellectu nostro vel divino.

[ARGUMENTA CONTRA CONCLUSIONEM HARCLAY]⁵⁷

38. Contra ista, praeter argumenta principalia, arguo primo contra^e conclusionem in se. Primo per auctoritatem Magistri libro primo, distinctione 30, in fine.⁵⁸ Dicit enim sic expresse: 'Et appellatio qua creatura^f relative dicitur ad creatorem relativa^g quidem est, sed nullam notat relationem quae in creatore sit.' Ecce Magister expresse dicit quod nulla est relatio.

^c est *interl.* MS. ^d creatura] est *add.* MS. ^e contra] rationem *add. et del.* MS. ^f creatura] -rae MS. ^g relativa] -tive MS.

⁵⁵ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.16 (CCL 50.227).

⁵⁶ Hic arguit Harclay contra opinionem priorem suam *In 1 Sent.*, 'Utrum nova relatio creaturae ad Deum coexigat necessario novam relationem rationis in Deo' (MS. Casale Monferrato b 2, fols. 68vb-69rb): 'Dico ergo quod relatio [rationis Dei ad creaturam] ... est ab aeterno actualis. ... Probo quod relatio rationis quae est in Deo respectu creaturae est aeterna et non potest esse nova, quia si sit nova aut ergo facta per intellectum divinum aut per creatum. Non per divinum, ergo nulla relatio rationis nova potest esse facta nisi per intellectum de novo considerantem. Ergo etc. ... Nec potest illa relatio rationis esse facta per intellectum creatum, manifestum est. Nam relatio Dei ad creaturam praecedit omnem intellectum creatum, quia angelus primus vel saltem Deus potuit produxisse lapidem ante omnem intellectum (-tam MS.) creatum. Et tunc relatio rationis ad illud productum praecessisset omnem intellectum creatum. Ergo illa relatio non est nova' (fol. 69ra-b).

⁵⁷ i.e., quod Dei ad creaturam sit relatio realis.

⁵⁸ Petrus Lombardus, *Liber Sententiarum* I d.30 c.1 (*Magistri Petri Lombardi parisiensis episcopi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* 1.2 [Grottaferrata, 1971], p. 222, n.7): 'Et appellatio qua creatura dicitur relative ad Creatorem relativa est, et relationem notat quae est in ipsa creatura; appellatio vero illa qua Creator relative dicitur ad creaturam, relativa quidem est, sed nullam notat relationem quae sit in Creatore.'

39. Praeterea probo quod Augustinus est in oppositum in eodem loco et eisdem verbis ubi tu eum allegas.⁵⁹ Dicit enim sic:⁶⁰ 'Quod ergo temporaliter dici incipit Deus quod antea non dicebatur, manifestum est relative dici, non tamen secundum accidens Dei quod ei aliquid acciderit, sed plane secundum [accidens] eius ad quod dici aliquid Deus incipit relative.' Ergo Deus dicitur relative et hoc secundum accidens illius ad quod Deus dicitur relative. Ergo propter illud dici relatione Dei ad creaturam, nulla consurgit nova relatio realis in eo quia nullum novum accidens.

40. Praeterea tu⁶¹ fundas te totum super hoc, quod relatio non dicit novam rem aliquam super fundamentum, et ideo nova relatio non repugnat Deo quia non causat in eo novam rem nec per consequens mutationem.

41. Contra^h illud fortissime: relatio secundum suam propriam rationem est res. Hoc enim omnes philosophi concedunt. Et non est eadem res cum fundamento. Ergo alia, [ita] quod non sit eadem.

42. Probatur multis modis. Primo sic: impossibile est eandem rem simul esse et non esse; hoc est primum principium.⁶² Per hoc enim principium probat Aristoteles I *Physicorum*⁶³ quod materia differt realiter a forma, quia potest manere eadem materia sub alia et alia forma. Per hoc principium probatur ab eodem⁶⁴ quod augmentatio non est idem quod nutritio, quia nutritio manet augmentatione non manente, quia animaliaⁱ non semper augmentantur, tamen semper nutriuntur. Per illud principium probat Augustinus VI *De Trinitate*⁶⁵ et Magister distinctione 8⁶⁶ quod creatura corporalis et spiritualis composita sit et quod componi potest cum alio a se, puta, cum accidentibus. Potest enim eadem magnitudo et diminuta^k manere sub albedine primo, et post sub nigredine, et ideo concludit Augustinus quod aliud est magnitudo, aliud albedo. Item de creatura spirituali eodem modo. Potest enim anima esse quandoque artificiosa, quandoque iners. Ideo concludit quod anima est aliud a sua arte et a sua ignorantia. Ex istis ergo eodem modo sequitur quod cum fundamentum idem numero potest manere relatione existente et non existente, quod non sunt eadem res fundamentum et relatio.

^h argumenta ad probandum quod non sit eadem res cum fundamento *in marg.* MS. ⁱ eodem] 2 Topicorum *add. et del.* MS. ^j animalia] alia MS. ^k et diminuta] indiminuta MS.

⁵⁹ Videsis supra, n.37.

⁶⁰ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.16 (CCL 50.227).

⁶¹ i.e., Harclay.

⁶² Hoc est argumentum principale Scoti ad probandum relationem non esse eandem rem cum fundamento (2 *Ord.* d.1 n.200 [Vat. 7.101-102]).

⁶³ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 1.7 t.66 sq. (190b23-191a2); videsis Scotum, *ibid.*, n.204 (Vat. 7.103).

⁶⁴ Videsis Aristotelem, *De gen. et corr.* 1.5 (322a17-28).

⁶⁵ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 6.6 (CCL 50.236-37).

⁶⁶ Petrus Lombardus, *Liber Sententiarum* I d.8 cc.3-4 (ed. Grottaferrata, pp. 98-99).

43. Praeterea Avicenna III *Metaphysicae*, cap. 'De relatione'⁶⁷ dicit quod relatio habet propriam quidditatem aliam a quidditate fundamenti; ergo est alia res. Praeterea Aristoteles in *Praedicamentis*⁶⁸ dicit quod esse relativorum est ad aliud se habere. Sed esse fundamenti non est ad aliud se habere. Ergo non sunt idem. Praeterea Commentator:⁶⁹ relatio habet esse debilissimum, fundamentum non; ergo non sunt idem.

44. Praeterea probo quod nova relatio realis non potest advenire alicui sine mutatione omni, et per consequens repugnat Deo. Probo hoc primo per Aristotelem, secundo per Ambrosium. Aristoteles VIII *Physicorum*,⁷⁰ et Commentator, arguit quod si a causa antiqua procederet novus effectus immediate, ita causa antiqua mutaretur. Sed propter novum effectum non consurgeret in causa nisi nova relatio, sicut modo manifestum est. Ergo propter novam relationem solam est mutatio.

45. Praeterea Ambrosius I *De Trinitate*, cap. 6,⁷¹ et Magister libro I, distinctione 9,⁷² arguit contra argumentum quod Deus non potuit incipere esse Pater, nam tunc mutaretur. Si enim¹ ante fuit Deus, postea Pater, generationis accessione mutatus est, et tamen non adveniret nisi nova relatio.

Multis aliis modis posset argui contra praedicta.

[RESPONSIO POSSIBILIS]

46. Uno modo posset dici ad praedicta argumenta⁷³ probantia relationem esse rem differentem a fundamento. Posset enim^m dici sic: quod relatio est sola habitudo duorum ad invicem, unde primo respicit duo. Tunc ultra potest dici quod relatio bene quidem est alia res a fundamento, sed non alia res a fundamentis. Nam posito albo uno, iterum posito albo alio, ex tunc est relatio. Unde similitudo non est albedo, sed albedines simul existentes. Et duae quidem albedines sufficienter possunt constituere unam speciem in genere relationis, sicut duae unitates quantumcumque discretas tamen sufficiunt ad faciendum unam speciem numeri. In proposito eodem modo. Item sicut pluralitas vel multitudo non est res differens a

¹ enim *interl.* MS. ^m enim] non MS.

⁶⁷ Avicenna, *Philosophia prima* 3.10, ed. S. Van Riet (Louvain, 1977), p. 173: 'Si autem posuerint relationem esse, profecto erit accidens. Et hoc non est dubium, quia est res quae non intelligitur per se, sed intelligitur semper alicuius ad aliud.'

⁶⁸ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6a36-37).

⁶⁹ Averroes, *In 12 Metaph.* t.19 (1070a33-35) (Venice, 1574), 8.306b.

⁷⁰ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 8.1 t.6 (251a17 sqq.); Averroes, *In 8 Phys.* t.6 (Venice, 1562), 4.342c-h.

⁷¹ Ambrosius, *De Trinitate* 1.9 (PL 16.564).

⁷² Petrus Lombardus, *Liber Sententiarum* I d.9 c.2 (ed. Grottaferrata, p. 104, n.7).

⁷³ i.e., ad argumenta (nn.41-45) contra opinionem Harclay in n.40.

pluribus et multis, ita nec similitudo differret; ut dicit:⁷⁴ 'Putaverunt quod relatio sit inter duo habens duos respectus, et istaⁿ relatio sit una numero et subiecto.'

[ARGUMENTUM AVICENNAE CONTRA RESPONSIONEM POSSIBILEM]

47. Et arguit Avicenna⁷⁵ contra hoc⁷⁶ per naturam relationum suppositionis et superpositionis. Nam in illis est magis manifestum quam in aliis relationibus aequiparantiae. Paternitas enim est in patre tantum et non in filio (f. 5ra). Tunc enim, ut dicit, esset dispositio illius et nomen eius derivaretur ab ea;⁷⁷ eodem modo de filiatione. Ergo oportet ponere quod sint duae relationes. Et certum est quod tunc non est relatio eadem res cum fundamentis, quia non est relatio in omni eo in quo est fundamentum utriusque extremi. Et ita est de relationibus aequiparantiae, etsi non sit ita manifestum. Potest confirmari totum argumentum. Nam ex isto⁷⁸ sequeretur quod relatio patris et filii essent una, et domini et servi una, quia relatio domini est non^o aliud quam fundamenta et relatio filii similiter; et quaecumque uni et eidem sunt eadem, inter se sunt eadem.

[QUOMODO RELATIO EST EADEM RES CUM FUNDAMENTO ET QUOMODO NON]

48. Dicendum ergo ad hunc articulum quomodo relatio est eadem res cum fundamento in creaturis et quomodo non, quia videtur mihi quod in hoc consistit difficultas principalis quaestionis. Supposito enim quod nihil rei addat relatio super fundamentum cum ei advenit de novo, nullum^p est inconveniens^q relationem Deo^r novam advenire, sicut nec de relatione rationis. Et si relatio adveniens importet rem novam super fundamentum, tunc impossibile quod adveniat Deo de novo.

ⁿ ista] alia MS. ^o non *interl.* MS. ^p nullum] manifestum MS. ^q inconveniens] in consequens MS. ^r deo] dei MS.

⁷⁴ Avicenna, *Philosophia prima* 3.10 (ed. Van Riet, p. 176): '... ut sciamus an relatio una numero et subiecto sit inter duo, habens duos respectus, sicut quidam et plures ex hominibus putaverunt, quod in relatione unumquodque relativorum habeat proprietatem.'

⁷⁵ *ibid.*: 'Dicam igitur quod unumquodque relativorum in se habet intentionem respectu alterius, quae non est illa intentio quam habet in se aliud respectu illius; et hoc est manifestum in rebus diversis in relatione, sicut in patre qui habet relationem, scilicet paternitatem, quae est proprietatis cuius esse est in solo patre, sed non est patri nisi respectu alterius rei quae est <...> in alio; paternitas enim non est in filio; tunc enim esset proprietatis illius, et nomen eius derivaretur ab ea. Paternitas autem in patre est. Similiter etiam est dispositio filii respectu patris.'

⁷⁶ i.e., contra argumentum in n.46 quod relatio est alia res a fundamento sed non alia res a fundamentis.

⁷⁷ i.e., paternitas esset dispositio filii et nomen filii derivaretur a paternitate.

⁷⁸ i.e., ex isto in n.46.

49. Dico ergo sic, quod inter novem accidentia quaedam sunt quibus competit inhaerere subiecto et informare subiectum; alia sunt quibus non competit inhaerere subiecto vel informare subiectum, sed tantum esse habitudines subiecti ad aliud. Verbi gratia, ponamus relationem habere propriam inhaerentiam. Certum est quod cum hoc ipsa est ad terminum. Nam hoc est essenziale in relatione secundum Aristotelem⁷⁹ dicentem esse relativorum^s est [ad] aliud se habere. Item secundum Boethium in principio capituli de relatione in *Praedicamentis*,⁸⁰ sola praepositio 'ad'^t tenet vim relationis. Unde dicit, etsi casus accusativus sit admixtus, ut cum dicitur mons magnus, dicitur ad montem parvum, ille tamen casus non tenet vim relationis sed sola praepositio 'ad'. Hoc idem Simplicius.⁸¹ Probat enim quod relatio secundum se transmutatur, quia cum ipse per se dicatur ad alterum, sequitur necessario quod altero transmutato ipsum transmutatur. Esse ergo ad est essenziale relationi secundum omnes.

50. Modo si relatio habet initatem (ut ita loquar) propriam, tamen certum est quod sua aditas, ut [ita] dicam, alia res est quam sua initas, extendendo 'rem' ad omne illud quod non est factum ab intellectu. Nam per 'esse ad' et non per 'esse in' significatur habitudo ad alterum, et hoc est verum si intellectus non consideraret. Possimus ergo istis distinctis rebus nomina imponere ad placitum, sicut 'aditas' et 'initas', et una non est alia. Ego modo dico quod (secundum usum auctorum, quia alio modo non possumus vocis significatum probare) hoc nomen 'relatio' imponitur ad significandum rem aditatis tantum et non rem initatis, ut ita dicam. Unde Boethius in principio capituli de relatione in *Praedicamentis* dicit:⁸² 'Sive autem relativa dicamus sive, ad aliquid, nihil interest.'

51. Modo ego dico quod nova aditas potest alicui advenire sine nova initate, et hoc realiter, si nullus^u intellectus consideraret, et hoc probo. Volo loqui de Socrate absolute et voco eum nomine absoluto Socratis. Iterum volo loqui de Socrate secundum aliquam circumstantiam: verbi gratia, ponamus quod modo Socrates sit visus a bove, [et] quod bos videat eum. Certum est quod Socrates absolute et Socrates visus habent distinctionem nullo intellectu considerante. Nam neque existentia Socratis neque visio bovis qua videt Socratem dependet ab intellectu considerante. Item nec Socrates dependet a bove vidente nec a visione eius. Nam etsi nullus intellectus consideraret, Socrates desineret bene esse visus a bove et non oportet esse visus ab eo. Ergo hoc quod est visum-esse non est omnino

^s relativorum] relatiotivorum MS.

^t ad] aliud MS.

^u nullus] enim MS.

⁷⁹ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6a36-37).

⁸⁰ Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 2, cap. De relativis (PL 64.220A).

⁸¹ Simplicius, *In Praedicamenta Aristotelis* 7 (6a36-b15), cap. De ad aliquid (edd. Pattin et Stuyven, pp. 232-33).

⁸² Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 2, cap. De relativis (PL 64.217B).

eadem res quod Socrates, nullo intellectu considerante. Et tamen esse-visum non dicit in Socrate aliquam formam sibi inhaerentem, nec aliquid in eo existens^v quod prius non fuit. Nam omnes concedunt quod sensibile non refertur relatione^w reali ad sensum nec oportet quod relatione rationis referatur.⁸³ Et praeterea visio bovis est actio manens in vidente et nullam rem causat in obiecto quod videtur, et tamen Socrates esset modo visus et desineret esse visus, nullo intellectu considerante. Ergo extendendo 'rem' ad omne illud quod non dependet ab intellectu, necessarium est quod aliqua nova res potest advenire alicui et verificari de aliquo, quae res non informat ipsum cui advenit, sed tantum dicit habitudinem vel societatem vel simultatem^x vel coexistentiam vel quocumque modo voluerimus appellare. Nam 'magna prorsus inopia humanum laborat eloquium' secundum Augustinum v *De Trinitate*.⁸⁴

52. Eodem modo possem ostendere de omni conditione alia quae esset si intellectus non^y consideraret. Volo enim quod *a* significet [tam] Socratem quam [quod] lapis est Romae vel angelus vel aliquid huiusmodi, quod nihil ponit in Socrate. Certum est quod *a* et 'Socrates' non idem significant, etiam nullo intellectu considerante. Modo ego dico quod 'relatio' tantum significat huiusmodi habitudines vel simultates et societatem. Ideo relatio in fundamento nihil ponit, et tamen est res non facta ab intellectu. Tunc dico quod cum qualitas est sola, voco eam 'albedinem'; cum autem alia albedo est secum in rerum natura, eadem vocatur 'similitudo'. Et non plus differt albedo a similitudine quam differt albedo absolute dicta ab albedine quando habet sociam. Unde societas illa relatio est. Non tamen [sunt] albedo et similitudo eadem, immo primo diversa. Nam illa conditio societatis et simultatis^z est (f. 5rb) alterius naturae ab albedine. Et dico quod relatio non habet fortius esse quam habet illa simultas vel societas. Et societas illa nihil ponit in eo, sed tantum dicit habitudinem eius ad alterum.

[AUCTORITAS BOETHII PRO OPINIONE HARCLAY]

53. Modo quod ita sit, quaeramus testimonium Boethii cuius testimonium in hac parte maxime debet esse efficaciae quia ipse [est] doctor catholicus et cum hoc philosophus. Tertio, quia ipse ex intentione ad elucidandam istam naturam, quam modo tractamus, fecit specialem tractatum in ultimo et penultimo capitulo libri^a *De*

^v existens] -tentem MS. ^w relatione] -tio MS. ^x simultatem] simultaneitatem MS.
^y non interl. MS. ^z simultatis] simultaneitatis MS. ^a libri] libro MS.

⁸³ Videsis Aristotelem, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1021a27-b2) et Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.30 n.31 (Vat. 6.181-82).

⁸⁴ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.9 (CCL 50.217).

Trinitate.⁸⁵ Docet enim ex intentione naturam decem praedicamentorum, cap. penultimo. Ecce primo conclusio illius capituli. Dicit enim sic:⁸⁶ 'Iam patet quae sit differentia praedicationum, quia aliae quidem sunt quae rem monstrant, aliae sunt quae circumstantiam rei.' Et exponit se continue dicens: 'aliqua sunt quae ita praedicantur ut esse aliquid rem ostendant; illa vero ut non esse aliquid, sed potius extrinsecus aliquid quodam modo assignant.' Haec est conclusio capituli. Patet ergo manifeste, secundum Boethium, aliqua esse praedicamenta quae cum praedicantur non dicunt formam inhaerentem subiecto. Nam dicerent, hoc est hoc certum est, quod tamen negat Boethius. Modo ecce praecedentia verba eiusdem capituli. Dicit enim sic:⁸⁷ 'Dicimus enim "vestitus currit" de homine vel de Deo "cuncta possidens regit". Rursus de eo nihil quod [est] esse de^b utrisque dictum est. Sed omnis haec praedicatio exterioribus datur, omniaque quodam modo referuntur ad aliud.' Ecce quod non dicunt esse aliquid simpliciter praedicationes. Et sequitur continue sic:⁸⁸ 'Cuius praedicationis differentiam sic facilius internoscimus: qui homo est vel Deus refertur ad substantiam qua est aliquid, id est,^c homo vel Deus; qui iustus est refertur ad qualitatem qua, scilicet, est aliquid, id est,^d iustus; qui magnus ad quantitatem qua est aliquid, id est,^e magnus. Nam in ceteris praedicationibus nihil tale est. Qui enim dicit aliquem in foro esse, vel ubique, refert quidem ad praedicamentum quod [est] ubi, sed non quo aliquid est, velut iustitia iustus.' Patet ergo manifeste quod tantum substantia, quantitas, qualitas cum dicuntur vel praedicantur de aliquo dicunt quod hoc est hoc; in aliis generibus nihil tale, secundum Boethium.

54. Praeterea supra in eodem capitulo ostendit quomodo 'magnus' et 'iustus' praedicantur de homine et de Deo. Et dicit de aliis praedicamentis sic:⁸⁹ 'Reliqua vero neque de Deo neque de ceteris praedicantur. Nam "ubi" de homine et de Deo praedicari potest, de homine ut in foro, de Deo ut ubique, sed ita ut non quasi ipsa sit res illud quod praedicatur, de qua dicitur. Non enim homo ita dicitur esse in foro velut dicitur albus esse vel longus nec quasi circumfusus vel determinatus proprietate aliqua qua designari secundum se possit, sed tantum in quo loco sit illud aliis informatum rebus per hanc praedicationem ostenditur.' Sequitur parum

^b de *interl.* MS.

^c id est] idem MS.

^d id est] enim MS.

^e id est] idem MS.

⁸⁵ Boethius, *De Trinitate* 4-5 (ed. Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 16-28).

⁸⁶ *ibid.* 4 (p. 24): 'Iamne patet quae sit differentia praedicationum? Quod aliae quidem quasi rem monstrant aliae vero quasi circumstantias rei; quodque illa quae ita praedicantur, ut esse aliquid rem ostendant, illa vero ut non esse, sed potius extrinsecus aliquid quodam modo affigant. Illa igitur, quae aliquid esse designant, secundum rem praedicationes vocentur. Quae cum de rebus subiectis dicuntur, vocantur accidentia secundum rem....'

⁸⁷ *ibid.* (p. 22).

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.* (p. 20).

interposito:⁹⁰ “Quando” autem eodem modo praedicatur, ut de homine “heri venit”, de Deo “semper est”. Hic quoque non quasi esse aliquid dicitur id ipsum de quo hesternus dicitur adventus, sed quid^f ei secundum tempus accesserit praedicatur.’ Haec ille. Planissime dicit quod illa praedicamenta non dicuntur de subiecto ut hoc sit hoc, sed hoc habet hoc vel hoc est in hoc.

55. Modo descendit Boethius in sequenti capitulo, scilicet ultimo, ex istis ad relativa. Dicit enim:⁹¹ ‘Age ergo de relativis’, etc. Et ecce conclusio quam probat in illo capitulo sub his verbis:⁹² ‘Non igitur^g dici potest praedicationem^h relativam quidquam rei de qua dicitur secundum se vel addere vel minuere vel mutare. Quae tota non in eo quod est esse consistit, sed in eo quod est in comparatione aliquo modo se habere.’ Et probat istam conclusionem perⁱ rationem communem, quia de novo refertur per accessum ad alterum, ut de novo est dominus propter novum servum, et sic de aliis. Unde concludit tandem:⁹³ ‘Quare ea quae secundum alicuius rei proprietatem in eo^j quod ipsa est, non faciunt praedicationem, nihil alternare vel minuere queunt nullamque essentiam omnino variare.’ Commentator Porretanus^k dicit:⁹⁴ ‘Nam de quocumque dicuntur haec, minime conferunt ut illud^l de quo dicuntur sit aliud quam erat antequam de illo dicerentur.’

56. Concludo ergo ex his quod quia relatio realis est huiusmodi, si de novo adveniret Deo non variaret suam essentiam; ideo sibi non repugnat.

[ARGUMENTA CONTRA OPINIONEM HARCLAY]

57. Contra illud quod dicitur quod relatio proprie non est ‘in’ sed ‘ad’. Contra: accidentis esse est inesse, saltem secundum aptitudinem; relatio autem accidens est; ergo etc.

58. Praeterea Aristoteles in libro *Praedicamentorum* in antepredicamentis videtur dicere oppositum.⁹⁵

59. Praeterea in capitulo de substantia dicit sic:⁹⁶ omnia alia vel sunt in primis substantiis vel de primis dicuntur. Ita quae [de primis] dicuntur, sunt genera et species; ita vero quae sunt in primis, sunt accidentia. Ideo dicit ibi Philosophus

^f quid] quod MS. ^g igitur interl. MS. ^h praedicationem] ad add. MS. ⁱ per] pro MS.
^j eo] ea MS. ^k porretanus] porrentanus MS. ^l illud] quod add. et del. MS.

⁹⁰ ibid.

⁹¹ ibid. 5 (p. 24).

⁹² ibid. (p. 26).

⁹³ ibid.

⁹⁴ Gilbertus Porretanus, *Expositio in Boecii librum primum De Trinitate* 5 (N. M. Häring, ed., *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers* [Toronto, 1966]), p. 142, n.16.7-9.

⁹⁵ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 2 (1a17-b9).

⁹⁶ ibid. 5 (2b4-6).

quod destructis primis impossibile est aliquod aliorum remanere. Ergo relatio est forma inhaerens.

60. Et praeterea idem videtur dicere Avicenna III *Metaphysicae*, cap. de relatione⁹⁷ quod dominium est in patre vel paternitas et non in filio. Ergo etc.

[RESPONSIONES HARCLAY]

61. Respondeo [quod] ista non monstrant. Ad primum,⁹⁸ dico quod huiusmodi verba non inveniuntur a Philosopho. Sed dicit sic in principio VII *Metaphysicae*⁹⁹ de accidentibus quod sunt entia quia taliter entis, id est, substantiae. Nam primo describit entitatem substantiae dicens quod quidquid est significat substantiam, alia vero dicuntur entia quia taliter entis, id est, substantiae quae taliter est ens. Ideo omne accidens est substantiae genitive, quia omne accidens est quaedam dispositio substantiae et diversimode, secundum quod (f. 5va) patet per declarationem Boethii.¹

62. Ad secundum,² dico quod sicut accidens non dicitur omnino univoce de novem generibus, ita nec esse-in. Unde esse-in^m vario modo accipitur a Philosopho. Non omne quod est in alio est in eo per informationem. Nam regnum Graecorum est in rege, secundum Aristotelem IV *Physicorum*, cap. de loco.³ Ita omne accidens est in subiecto vel per informationem inhaerendo subiecto vel sicut in fundamento, id est, in eo a quo habent fundamentum et entitatem,ⁿ sicut effectus quodam modo in causa. Nam substantia cum forma est causa eorum quae sunt sicut materia, I *Physicorum*.⁴ Et illud sufficit ad intentionem Aristotelis in *Praedicationis*. Nam innuit quod accidentia sunt in subiecto ita quod a subiecto dependeant,^o et ideo destructis subiectis non possunt manere. Et hoc est verum sive fuerint in eo per inhaerentiam sive in aliquo alio modo, sicut in fundamento.

[RESPONSIONES HARCLAY AD ARGUMENTA PRAEDICTA]

63. Ad argumenta. Primo ad argumenta probantia relationem differre realiter a fundamento, iam ad illa quomodo relatio differt a fundamento.⁵

^m esse-in] in *add.* MS. ⁿ entitatem] -tate MS. ^o dependeant] -dant MS.

⁹⁷ Avicenna, *Philosophia prima* 3.10 (ed. Van Riet, p. 176); videsis supra, n.47.

⁹⁸ Videsis supra, n.57.

⁹⁹ Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 7.1 t.1-3 (1028a10-30).

¹ Videsis supra, nn.53-55.

² Videsis supra, n.58.

³ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 4.3 t.23 (210a21).

⁴ *ibid.* 1.7 t.65 (190b16-23).

⁵ In nn.48 sqq. respondet Harclay ad argumenta in nn.40-43.

64. Ad duo argumenta probantia quod ad relationem est mutatio, quorum primum fuit de auctoritate Aristotelis VIII *Physicorum*.⁶ Ad illud dico quod secundum intentionem Aristotelis et commenti non posset novus effectus immediate procedere ab antiqua causa sine aliquo novo absoluto. Unde Commentator⁷ dicit quod erit necessario appetitus novus, et appetitus non est sola relatio.

64a. Ad aliud de auctoritate Ambrosii,⁸ concedo quod si Deus esset de novo pater filii naturalis quod mutaretur. Sed non propter solam relationem, sed propter novam actionem, scilicet, propter novam generationem. Unde dicit, generationis accessione mutatus est, et ista mutatio est impossibilis in Deo. Nam non posset de novo generare nisi propter aliquam potentiam novam quam prius non habuit. Unde ibi aliquid absolutum necessario esset novum propter quod mutaretur.

65. Ad argumenta pro praesenti conclusione adducta.⁹ Primo ad auctoritates^p Magistri et Augustini nunc ultimo adductas. Primo respondeo ad Augustinum¹⁰ quando dicit quod dicitur relative non propter accidens quod ei accidit sed propter accidens creaturae. Respondeo, nihil ad propositum, quia^q vocat ibi Augustinus accidens illud quod advenit alicui de novo ipsum informando et perficiendo. Et quod hoc sit verum, patet per verba sua. Dicit enim:¹¹ 'quamvis temporaliter incipiat dici, non tamen substantiae Dei aliquid accidisce intellegatur, sed illi creaturae ad quam dicitur. *Domine inquit refugium factus es nobis.*'¹² Et ostendit quid novum accidit illi creaturae quia gratia. Dicit¹³ enim quod 'substantia nostra mutatur in melius cum per gratiam filii eius efficimur.' Unde nomen tale accidit Deo; tamen secundum Augustinum de novo dicitur relative, et non secundum considerationem nostram tantum; ideo relatione reali. Et ita glossandus est Magister¹⁴ ne contradicat Augustino. Et nota quod isto eodem modo accipit Anselmus 'accidens' in auctoritate supra allegata in *Monologion*, cap. 25.¹⁵ Nota etiam: isto modo [loquitur] Boethius de accidentibus libro *De Trinitate*, penultimo capitulo in fine.¹⁶ Dicit enim sic: 'illa igitur quae' esse aliquid designant, secundum rem praedicationes vocentur; [quae] cum de rebus subiectis dicuntur, vocantur accidentia secundum rem.' Patet^s ergo plane quod accidentia secundum Augusti-

^p auctoritates] -tem MS.

^q quia] quid MS.

^r quae] non MS.

^s patet bis MS.

⁶ Videsis supra, n.44.

⁷ Averroes, *In 8 Phys.* t.8 (250a28-251b5) (4.344F-G): 'Quando enim animal mouetur, postquam non mouebatur, necesse est vt in eo sit aut appetitus, qui ante non erat....'

⁸ Videsis supra, n.45.

⁹ Videsis supra, nn.38 et 39.

¹⁰ Videsis supra, n.39.

¹¹ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.16 (CCL 50.226).

¹² Ps 89:1.

¹³ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.16 (CCL 50.227).

¹⁴ Videsis supra, n.38.

¹⁵ Videsis supra, n.16.

¹⁶ Boethius, *De Trinitate* 4 (ed. Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 24).

num, apud Anselmum et apud Boethium vocantur in proposito formae absolutae inhaerentes et perficientes subiectum.

[RESPONSIONES HARCLAY AD ARGUMENTA PRINCIPALIA PRO PARTE NEGATIVA]

66. Ad primum principale,¹⁷ patet faciliter per praedicta. Nam concedo quod illa relatio est nova in Deo et desinit esse cessante creatura esse. Et cum arguitur 'illa relatio ex quo est in Deo, Deus est', hic respondeo per praedicta¹⁸ quod illud quod est in Deo tamquam forma sibi inhaerens, illud est Deus. Sic non [est] in proposito, immo nec in alio. Sed relatio Dei^t ad creaturam nihil aliud est nisi coexistentia eius cum creatura. Et illa est extrinseca ut saepe dictum est per Boethium.¹⁹ Et ideo nihil innovatur contra^u Deum propter novitatem illius nec perditur sibi propter deperditionem illius.

67. Ad secundum argumentum²⁰ de dependentia relativi ad alterum et coexigentia relativorum, illud non movet. Dependentia est aequivoca. Unde non oportet quod illud quod relatione reali refertur ad aliud debeat ad illud sicut ad causam in aliquo genere causae, nec sicut ad illud a quo capiat aliquam perfectionem, nec habeat aliquam potentialitatem ut accipit argumentum. Quod probio: nam si relatio arguat aliquam dependentiam vel potentialitatem, ergo ubi aequaliter reperitur relatio realis, aequaliter dependentia. Consequens falsum manifeste.²¹ Nam corpus caeleste aequaliter refertur ad festucam relatione^v reali de primo modo²² sicut e converso. Nam corpus solis habet respectu terrae et cuiuslibet alterius quantitatis inferius determinatam relationem inaequalitatis, maioritatis [vel] minoritatis, sicut e converso.

68. Ad illud de coexigentia,²³ dico quod Deus non coexigit creaturam, sed Deus-creator coexigit, et non [est] inconveniens quia non est necessario creator.

69. Dico ergo quod nisi esset relatio realis Dei ad creaturam, nulla creatura posset in esse subsistere, et eatenus subsistit quia Deus refertur ad eam reali relatione. Nam per relationem rationis Dei ad creaturam numquam subsisteret creatura. Illa enim relatio potest esse ad creaturam non entem sicut entem. Quando autem placet Deo quod creatura sibi coexistat, tunc respicit creaturam relatione (f. 5vb) reali.

^t dei] rei MS.

^u contra *interl.* MS.

^v relatione] -nem MS.

¹⁷ Videsis supra, n.5.

¹⁸ Videsis supra, nn.49 sqq.

¹⁹ Videsis supra, n.53.

²⁰ Videsis supra, n.6.

²¹ Simile argumentum recitavit Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.30 n.23 (Vat. 6.178).

²² i.e., secundum numerum, v.g., quantitatem; cf. Aristotelem, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b25-1021b11).

²³ Videsis supra, n.7a.

[OBJECTIO AD OPINIONEM HARCLAY]

70. Dicetur forte quare non potest esse relatio realis scibilis ad scientiam vel saltem sciti ad scientiam. Probatio quod sic per te.²⁴ Nam etsi sciam, nihil causat in scibili; tamen nihilominus potest esse in scibili vel scito relatio realis. Nam relatio per te non ponit aliquid in eo quod refertur illa relatione. Cum ergo secundum Philosophum in *Praedicamentis*²⁵ scibile vel scitum dicatur relative ad scientiam (nam omne scitum aliqua scientia est scitum, sicut e converso omnis scientia [est] alicuius scibilis scientia), unde dicuntur relative secundum Philosophum, sed non secundum eundem casum. Sed nihil prohibet secundum istam rationem quin etiam sicut dicitur relative, ita realiter secundum esse referatur. Nam licet scientia in sciente nihil imprimit in obiecto, tamen relatio nova realis potest consurgere in obiecto per te. Quare^w ergo non refertur realiter?

[RESPONSIO HARCLAY]

71. Respondeo. Concedo quod potest referri realiter; nihil prohibet. Sed non est necessarium. Verbi gratia, sicut sensus refertur ad sensatum, ita nihil prohibet sensatum referri relatione ad sensum, et hoc reali sed non eodem genere relationis.²⁶ Ideo non est minima relatio.²⁷ Nam sicut sensus ad sensatum refertur sic mensurabile ad mensuram, ita e converso sensatum in actu coexigit necessario sensum in actu, et ista coexigentia necessario est relatio aliqua, et non rationis. Nam non dependet sensus a ratione, manifestum est. Eodem modo, probo de scientia et scibili. Nam ponamus [quod] scientia tua est quoddam obiectum scibile. Volo ergo quod ego cognoscam illam scientiam per scientiam meam primo modo. Et tamen scientia mea refertur ad tuam de tertio modo, sicut mensurabile ad mensuram. Et ex isto potest haberi argumentum ad probandum quod nova relatio realis consurgit in aliquo sine aliquo novo reali in eo sibi inhaerente vel ipsum informante. Nam pone quod ego adquire mihi scientiam de tua scientia sicut de obiecto. Ego per meam scientiam non transmuto in aliquo obiectum quod intellegitur, nec causo aliquid in eo secundum omnes, et tamen consurgit nova relatio realis de primo modo, scilicet, similitudinis.

72. Praeterea suppono secundum omnes quod dextrum et sinistrum nihil ponunt in columna. Unde omnes dicunt quod dextreitas in columna relatio rationis

^w quare in marg. MS.

²⁴ i.e., secundum opinionem Harclay.

²⁵ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6b32-35).

²⁶ Tres genera relationis inveniuntur in Aristotele, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b25-1021b11).

²⁷ i.e., non est relatio rationis.

est tantum. Et Boethius in fine^{x28} *De Trinitate* hoc^x ponit exemplum de dextreitate columnae. Modo videtur mihi quod ridiculum est dicere quod animal super columnam vel sub columna positum aliquid magis causat in columna quam positum a latere columnae. Sed posito^y super^z columnam causatur relatio realis in columna, quia relatio superioritatis et inferioritatis sunt reales secundum Avicennam III *Metaphysicae*, cap. De ad-aliquid.²⁹ Per hoc enim improbat opinionem illorum qui dicunt relationem esse in intellectu. Nam secundum eum planta crescit sine intellectu et capit alimenta a parte inferiori et vadit superius.

[AUCTORITATES PRO RESPONSIONE HARCLAY]

73. Sciendum tamen quod contra istud de scibili et scientia, quod non sunt mutuo relativa, adducit Boethius auctoritatem Porphyrii in libro *Praedicamentorum*, cap. De ad-aliquid.³⁰ Dicit enim haec verba: 'Sed quidam, quorum Porphyrius unus est, astruunt in omnibus verum esse relativis, ut simul natura sint, veluti ipsum quoque sensum et scientiam non praecedere^a scibile atque^b sensibile, sed simul esse, quam^c quia brevis est oratio,^d non gravabor opponere.^e Ait enim: si cuiuslibet^f scientia non sit, ipsum quidem poterit^g remanere, scibile vero esse non poterit, ut si formarum scientia pereat, ipsae fortasse formae permaneant,^h atque in priore natura esse consistant, scibilesⁱ vero non sunt. Cum enim scientia quae illud comprehendere possit non sit, ipsa quoque sciri non potest res. Namque omnis res scientia scitur, quae si non sit, sciri non possit. Porro autem res quae sciri non possit scibilis non est. Et hoc idem de sensu [gustantis]: si gustus enim pereat, mel^j forsitan permanebit, gustabile non erit. Ita quoque omnino si sensus pereat, res quidem quae sentiri poterant sunt, sensibiles vero non sunt [sensu] pereunte. Et fortasse neque scientia neque sensus secundum sentientes speculandus est, sed secundum ipsam naturam quae sensu valeat comprehendi. Namque res quaecumque per naturam sensibilis est, eam quoque in natura sua, proprium sensum in quo sentiri possit, habere necesse est. Et quodcumque sciri potest per naturam, numquam potest addisci nisi quaedam in eius natura scientia versaretur.^k Haec Porphyrius.' Hucusque Boethius.

^x fine ... hoc] fine hoc de trinitate MS. ^y posito] -tum MS. ^z super] quid MS., incertum
est ^a praecedere] pro- MS. ^b atque] an MS. ^c quam] quoniam MS. ^d est oratio] ratio
MS. ^e opponere] ap- MS. ^f cuiuslibet] cui- MS. ^g poterit] per se add. et del. MS.
^h permaneant] pereant MS. ⁱ scibiles] -le MS. ^j mel] vel MS. ^k versaretur] verteretur MS.

²⁸ Boethius, *De Trinitate* 5 (ed. Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 26).

²⁹ Avicenna, *Philosophia prima* 3.10 (ed. Van Riet, p. 174).

³⁰ Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 2, cap. De relativis (PL 64.233B-D).

74. Praeterea Augustinus in suis *Categoriis* idem dicit de scibili et scientia. Dicit enim sic in cap. De ad-aliquid:³¹ 'Tunc vere et proprie dicitur ad-aliquid cum sub uno ortu atque occasu et illud quod iungitur et illud cui iungitur invenitur.' Sed opponit Augustinus postea contra dicens:³² 'Sunt quidam qui huic definitioni¹ volunt movere superfluum quaestionem, asserentes inveniri posse "ad-aliquid" dictum quod ante sit, et postea^m nascatur quod debeat nuncupari de ipso, quodⁿ iam videantur haec duo nec ortu nec occasu esse coniuncta. Ac dant exempla scibilis et scientiae, asserentes ante scibile fuisse, et post eius^o scientiam fuisse consecutam (verbi gratia, apud geometricos ante circulus fuit [f. 6ra], sed eorum scientia postea a sapientibus est comprehensa). Propterea ante fuisse scibile dicunt, in quo poterit scientia reperiri. Hoc igitur argumento monstrant multa esse huius categoriae, quibus non ortus neque occasus videatur esse communis. Et sensibilis et sensus exemplum monstrant, siquidem sensibilia ante fuerunt. Elementa enim quibus omne corpus constat ante fuerunt quam corpus aliquod^p ex his nasceretur in quo sensus existeret. His argumentis ostendunt definitionem categoriae, quae ad-aliquid dicitur, non recte esse defixam.' Et subdit Augustinus solutionem dicens sic:³³ 'Haec solent parum^q diligenter naturam rerum intuentes astruere, quia omnia quae sunt aut naturali potentia dicuntur esse aut operatione^r faciendi. Quas si quis separare voluerit nec ulla societate confundere, intelleget "ad-aliquid" dictum non posse esse sine altero cuius esse dicitur. Scibili enim (id est^s circulo) in ipso ortu naturae scientia sociata est. Simul namque ut scibile esse coepit, habuit scientiam sui, sed necdum operatione^t monstrata est. Non igitur iterum coepit esse scientia eius quando coepit operari, sed cum ipso scibili orta est, et operatio^u eius postea est^v consecuta. Discernere enim nos oportet operationis exordium: tunc enim possimus advertere scientiam cum scibili esse procreatam, operationem vero eius postea apparuisse indagatione sapientum. Quibus depulsis, optima definitio relativorum: semper ea vel simul nasci vel simul extingui.'

75. Praeterea cum illa sententia Boethii supra allegata in libro *De Trinitate*³⁴ quantum ad praedicamenta concordat Isidorus III *Etymologiarum*, cap. 5³⁵ de

¹ definitioni] distinctioni MS. ^m postea] non add. MS. ⁿ quod] ut corr. interl. MS.
^o post eius] postea MS. ^p aliquod] aliquid MS. ^q parum] per non MS. ^r operatione]
 comparatione MS. ^s id est] in ex id est corr. MS. ^t operatione] comparatione MS.
^u operatio] comparatio MS. ^v est] esse MS.

³¹ Revera non Augustinus, sed *Anonymi Paraphrasis themistianae* (pseudo-Augustini) *Categoriae* decem 98, cap. De ad-aliquid, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Aristoteles Latinus 1; Bruges-Paris, 1961), p. 155.12-14.

³² ibid. 100-101 (pp. 155.32-156.15).

³³ ibid. 102 (p. 156.15-29).

³⁴ Videsis supra, nn.53 sqq.

³⁵ Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae* 2.26.13, edd. J. Oroz Reta et M.-A. Marcos Casquero (Madrid, 1982).

categoriis Aristotelis, et accipitur totum ab Augustino in suis *Categoriis*, cap. 1 in fine.³⁶ Dicit enim [Isidorus] sic: 'Ex his novem accidentibus tria intra usiam³⁷ sunt: quantitas, qualitas et situs. Haec enim sine usia esse non possunt. Extra usiam vero sunt locus, tempus et habitus; intra et extra usiam sunt relatio, facere et pati.' Patet ergo quod tantum tres sunt quae sunt formae inhaerentes subiectis: quantitas, qualitas, situs quae est ordo partium in toto.

76. Augustinus continue:³⁸ 'Illud sane debemus memoria continere nomina "ad-aliquid" dicta non eisdem casibus referri ad ea quibus^w iunguntur, sed alia genetivo casu, alia dativo, alia ablativo copulari. Genetivo quidem, ut servus domini, duplum simpli. Dativo, ut simile simili, par pari. Ablativo vero, ut sensibile sensu sensibile, scibile scientia scibile, et cetera huiusmodi, quae variis casibus alterius societate nectuntur.^x Inest autem [huic] categoriae et soli et omni, ut inter coniuncta duo, quae ex se pendeant,^y sit alterna conversio, quae graece dicitur *antistrophe*.^z Duplum enim simpli dicitur, et simplum dupli, et servus domini, et dominus servi. Apparet ergo^a haec copulata vicaria in semet *b* converti *a*^b replicatione, si tamen scienter et prudenter fiat ista conversio.'

77. Praeterea Augustinus in principio capituli De ad-aliquid dicit sic:³⁹ "Ad-aliquid" vero categoriam vocamus eam, quae id quod est dicitur ex altero, sine cuius societate esse non possit, et cuius vis omnis ex alterius coniunctione descendit; ut duplum simpli dicitur duplum, etc. Claret ergo ad aliquid non sua vi sed alterius coniunctione consistere. Eodem modo accipienda sunt cetera quae eiusdem categoriae esse^c noscuntur. Haec^d Aristoteles *exin*, *dyatesin*, *epistemen*,^e *desin*, *estesin* nominavit, scilicet habitus, affectio, disciplina, positio, sensus.' Ista sunt verba Augustini.

78. Praeterea Augustinus in eodem capitulo infra ostendens qualiter ad-aliquid distinguitur ab usia et aliis praedicamentis dicit sic:⁴⁰ 'Ut ergo amoveatur universa confusio, animadvertere nos oportet quo pacto vere et proprie ad-aliquid definitum sit. Ita enim se habet eius definitio, ut dicatur "ad-aliquid" cuius id quod est pendet^f ex altero, cuique necesse est singulariter, id est, *cath ecaston*,^g vicaria in semet mutatione converti.'

^w quibus] quae MS. ^x nectuntur] utuntur MS. ^y pendeant] -dent MS. ^z antistrophe] acceptilon MS. ^a ergo] autem MS. ^b a interl. MS. ^c esse interl. MS. ^d haec] hoc MS. ^e epistemen] epismen MS. ^f pendet] -dat MS. ^g cath ecaston] catacaciton MS.

³⁶ *Anonymi Paraphrasis themistiana* 52-54 (ed. Minio-Paluello, p. 144.21-30).

³⁷ i.e., οὐσία.

³⁸ *Anonymi Paraphrasis themistiana* 103-104 (ed. Minio-Paluello, pp. 156.30-157.11).

³⁹ ibid. 95 (p. 154.16-24).

⁴⁰ ibid. 106 (p. 157.23-28).

[OBJECTIO CONTRA OPINIONEM HARCLAY]

79. Contra: tu dicis quod relatio in nullo est subiective. Ergo non est accidens, quia accidentis esse est inesse. Item ex libro *Praedicamentorum* ut supra argutum est.⁴¹

[RESPONSIO HARCLAY]

80. Respondeo quod sola accidentia absoluta sunt-in informative, alia tamen sunt-in modo suo. Probatio: idem argumentum facio tibi. Relatio rationis qua Deus refertur ad creaturam est in Deo. Nam relatio domini respectu creaturae non est in creatura sive sit relatio rationis sive realis; tunc enim creatura esset divina. Ita arguit Avicenna III *Metaphysicae*.⁴² Ergo oportet necessario relationem rationis esse in Deo qua relatione refertur ad creaturam, et hoc aliquo modo. Sed certum est quod non est in Deo subiective. Ergo alio modo. Eodem modo dico ego de relatione reali quod est in Deo quia est eius tantum, nec ponit relatio realis plus aliquid in Deo quam relatio rationis quam ego facio per intellectum meum. Unde relatio rationis non distinguitur a reali per hoc, quod realis relatio ponat rem aliquam in extremo et relatio rationis non, sed quia relatio realis requirit (f. 6rb) extrema utraque realia extra intellectum et realiter distincta, relatio rationis non.

81. Praeterea quaero a te in quo est numerus ut in subiecto? Supposito quod numerus sit ens reale extra animam, certe non potest dici quod sit in aliquo ut in subiecto. Ecce enim duo lapides. Dualitas istorum est unum accidens numero, et tamen non est subiective in hoc lapide nec in illo, certum est. Nec lapis iste et ille faciunt unum subiectum numero, impossibile. Ideo non est in duobus subiectis, sed est tantum discretio duorum subiectorum vel duarum unitatum quae nullam unitatem habent in re. Et numerus est in rebus numeratis. Ergo esse-in potest convenire alicui absque esse subiective.

82. Praeterea hoc ostendo sic aliter: omnes concedunt quod relatio est in suo fundamento. Et tamen multi,⁴³ et probabiliter, negant quod relatio est ut^h in subiecto [in] fundamento. Nam similitudo non est in albedine ut in subiecto, sed in substantia sola.⁴⁴ Ita enim multi dicunt. Nam album et musicum sic se habent quod unum non accidit alteri, sed ambo tertio accidunt. Ita de aliis, secundum multos. Ergo esse-in sicut in fundamento non est esse-in sicut in subiecto. Patet ergo quod non omne esse-in est esse-in informative.

^h est ut] non est MS.

⁴¹ Videsis supra, nn.58-59.

⁴² Videsis supra, n.47.

⁴³ Non inveni.

⁴⁴ i.e., similitudo tantum est in substantia ut in subiecto.

83. Praeterea patet per rationem Aristotelis in principio *Praedicamentorum*,⁴⁵ ubi dicit quod quaedam dicuntur de subiecto, quaedam sunt in subiecto. Et exponit se quid vocat 'esse in subiecto', dicens: 'In subiecto autem esse dico quod cum in aliquo sit non sicut quaedam pars et impossibile est esse sine eo in quo est.' Modo ergo ubi possunt reperiri conditiones huiusmodi, illud est vere in alio ut in subiecto, videlicet si sit in subiecto, et cum hoc non [sit] pars subiecti nec potest esse sine subiecto. Et istae conditiones possunt attribui soli aditati sine initate formali, etⁱ sine esse-in informative. Probatio: accipio aditatem praecise sine initate. Nam per intellectum possum separare unum ab alio. Aditas illa ita considerata adhuc est in subiecto, eodem modo quo res^j omnino extrinseca non est in subiecto. Nam aditas, in eo quod aditas, magis est in albo quam nigrum vel aliud disparatum et contrarium sit in albo. Et non est pars subiecti nec potest esse sine albo subiecto. Ergo est in subiecto sufficienter quantum requiritur ad accidens in communi.

84. Et nota. Augustinus in *Categoriis*, cap. primo post medium⁴⁶ exponit hoc dictum Aristotelis. Et dicit sic: 'Verum ne aliquid non apertum praeterire Aristoteles existimaretur et oriundis quaestionibus occasionem daret,^k de eo quod in subiecto est voluit tractare diligentius ac definire quid esset, ut calumniantibus aditus clauderetur. Definit ergo in subiecto [esse] quod in altero est aliquo, non ut pars sit quaedam, neque sine eo in quo est potest esse unquam. Haec definitio addita est propterea, quia dici posset et digitum et pedem esse in subiecto, et in corpore. Hoc igitur exclusit cauta definitione, dicendo illud esse in subiecto, quod pars eius non sit in quo est; digitum autem vel pedem partem esse corporis constat. Dehinc a^l calumniantibus dici posset [quod] aqua vel vinum^m in quodam cado est quasi in subiecto; sed illud oriri docta definitio non sinit, addens illud esse in subiecto, quod sine subiecto esse non possit. Vinumⁿ autem vel aquam sine cado in quo fuerit posse esse alibi nec potest dubitari.'

85. Praeterea dextreitas et sinistreitas sunt in re quae dicitur dextra vel sinistra, tamen non informative. Probatio: nam tunc quod dicitur dextrum modo et non prius, esset de novo aliqua forma informatum, quod est contra commenta, v *Physicorum*, commento 10.⁴⁷

86. Tu dices, nihil mirum. Nam dextreitas est tantum relatio rationis. Contra: Aristoteles et Commentator⁴⁸ volunt probare quod ad relationem non est motus, et quod nova relatio potest advenire alicui sine sui mutatione. Et ponit⁴⁹ exem-

ⁱ et interl. MS. ^j res] est add. MS. ^k daret] dare MS. ^l a] autem MS. ^m vinum] unum MS. ⁿ vinum] unum MS. ^o ponit] in add. et del. MS.

⁴⁵ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 2 (1a20 sqq.).

⁴⁶ *Anonymi Paraphrasis themistiana* 35-36 (ed. Minio-Paluello, p. 141.10-24).

⁴⁷ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 5.2 (225b11-13); Averroes, *In 5 Phys.* t.10 (4.216b-c).

⁴⁸ ibid.

⁴⁹ i.e., Averroes.

plum de dextro in columna quod causatur de novo per motum Socratis in loco. Quod si dextrum sit tantum relatio rationis, argumentum Commentatoris et Aristotelis nihil valet. Nam non sequitur 'relatio rationis potest advenire de novo sine mutatione, ergo relatio realis potest advenire sine motu'. Patet ergo quod dextrum est relatio realis. Unde male intellegitur illud exemplum de dextro in columna a multis.⁵⁰ Quando dicitur quod non accipitur dextrum nisi in comparisonem ad animal in quo est vere dextrum, quia ibi est principium motus quod non est in re inanimata, illud non valet. Nam Commentator⁵¹ intellegit de dextro et sinistro ut sunt differentiae loci sicut ante, retro, sursum, deorsum. Nam primo modo accipiendo, ut est principium motus, non est in columna nec relatio rationis neque relatio realis.^p Non est enim in columna nisi metaphorice, et ita posset dici quod columna esset homo. Unde idem argumentum posset esse si loco Socratis inter columnas ponatur lapis vel alia res inanimata in qua non est principium motus, et vertatur. Columna quae primo fuit illi lapidi dextra est modo sinistra, vel illa quae fuit ante lapidem (f. 6va) modo est retro lapidem. Et tantum valet argumentum de ante et de retro sicut de dextro^q et sinistro. Non enim plus causat Socrates in columna ante eum quam in columna a dextris eius. Et manifestum est quod ante, retro, sursum et deorsum sunt relationes reales, ut supra argutum est per Avicennam.⁵² Ergo dextrum et sinistrum.

[OBJECTIO CONTRA OPINIONEM HARCLAY]

87. Contra hoc quod dicitur⁵³ de scibili et scientia quod referuntur mutuo realiter. Primo Aristoteles v *Metaphysicae*⁵⁴ dicit quod relativa de primo modo et secundo dicuntur relativa quia ipsa referuntur ad alia. Sed de tertio modo dicuntur relativa solum quia alia referuntur ad illa, ut scibile ideo dicitur relative ad scientiam, quia scientia [refertur] ad ipsum.^r Ergo non est mutua relatio realis.

88. Praeterea Commentator ibidem commento 20⁵⁵ dicit quod relativa primi et secundi modi ita se habent quod ingrediuntur, per essentiam suam, relationem

^p realis] rationis MS.

^q dextro] dextra MS.

^r ipsum] eum MS.

⁵⁰ Videsis Thomam Aquinatem, *De potentia* 7, 10 corp.: 'Similiter homo comparatur ad columnam ut dexter, ratione virtutis motivae quae est in homine, secundum quam competit ei dextrum et sinistrum, ante et retro, sursum et deorsum. Et ideo huiusmodi relationes in homine vel animali reales sunt, non autem in re quae tali virtute caret.'

⁵¹ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 5.2 (225b11-13); Averroes, *In 5 Phys.* t.10 (4.216B-C).

⁵² Videsis supra, n.72.

⁵³ Videsis supra, nn.71 sqq.

⁵⁴ Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b25-1021b11).

⁵⁵ Averroes, *In 5 Metaph.* 15 (1020b25-1021b11) t.20 (R. Ponzalli, ed., *Averrois in Librum V(Δ) Metaphysicorum Aristotelis commentarius* [Berne, 1971]), p. 176.129-132.

eodem ordine. Nam in illis relatio est de substantia utriusque extremi, in tertio^s modo non. Nam [in tertio modo] relatio tantum est de substantia alterius extremi. Ergo non mutua relatio.

89. Praeterea Aristoteles in libro *Praedicamentorum* et Simplicius et Boethius exponentes illud Aristotelis de cap. De ad-aliquid:⁵⁶ 'Ad-aliquid sunt simul natura', excipit Aristoteles, et auctores praedicti excipiunt, scibile respectu scientiae et sensibile respectu sensus. Nam scibile prius natura scientia, sicut circulum esse aequalem trigono, illud est scibile nondum scitum. Et eodem modo de sensibili respectu sensus. Haec Aristoteles, haec Boethius, haec Simplicius. Sed illud non esset verum si scibile referretur relatione reali ad scientiam. Non enim posset esse tunc scibile sine scientia.

[RESPONSIO HARCLAY]

90. Responsionem teneo, quod scibilis ad scientiam est relatio realis. Illud probatur superius.⁵⁷ Nam quaero de Socrate scibili vel sensibili, utrum in re idem sint Socrates visus vel scitus et Socrates absolute. Certum est quod [non]; unum enim potest esse alio non^t existente. Ergo Socrates visus vel Socrates scitus^u aliquid reale addit supra Socratem. Et de illo quaero ut supra:⁵⁸ aut est absolutum aliquid aut relativum. Non absolutum, non enim coexigeret tunc videntem vel scientem. Ergo est relatio realis.

91. Item per auctoritatem Porphyrii quam allegat Boethius in cap. De ad-aliquid in libro *Praedicamentorum*, et ponitur auctoritas supra.⁵⁹ Item per auctoritatem expressam Augustini in *Categoriis* ubi movet illam dubitationem de scibili et scientia, in cap. De [ad-]aliquid, et ponitur supra.⁶⁰ Praeterea per Augustinum in eodem cap., ubi dicit sic: 'Inest autem huic categoriae',^v etc., et ponitur supra.⁶¹ Nota de vicaria conversione in semet ipsum.

92. Praeterea certum quod haec est sententia Aristotelis. Nam in cap. De [ad-]aliquid dicit⁶² quod relativa dicuntur ad convertentiam, sed non semper

^s tertio ex secundo corr. interl. MS.

^t non] modo MS.

^u scitus] terminans MS.

^v categoriae] -gori MS.

⁵⁶ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (7b15-8a12); Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 2, cap. De relativis (PL 64.229A sqq.); Simplicius, *In Praedicamenta Aristotelis* 7 (6a36-b15), cap. De ad aliquid (edd. Pattin et Stuyven, pp. 261 sqq.).

⁵⁷ Videsis supra, nn.51, 71 sqq.

⁵⁸ Videsis supra, n.25.

⁵⁹ Videsis supra, n.73.

⁶⁰ Videsis supra, n.74.

⁶¹ Videsis supra, n.76.

⁶² Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6b26-36).

secundum eundem casum. Et ponit ibidem^w exemplum⁶³ in casu genetivo et ablativo. De casu genetivo vicissim dicuntur 'pater filii' et 'filius patris' et huiusmodi, sed non sic 'disciplina' et 'disciplinatum'. Nam disciplina dicitur ad disciplinatum in habitudine casus genetivi, ut disciplina alicuius disciplinati disciplina. Sed e converso disciplinatum dicitur ad disciplinam in habitudine casus ablativi, ut disciplinatum aliqua disciplina disciplinatum. Et idem dicit Augustinus⁶⁴ exponens Aristotelem, et ponit exemplum de scibili et scientia, de sensibili et sensu.^x Ergo scibile ita dicitur relative ad scientiam, sicut e converso, etsi non secundum eundem casum. Et tu dicis, dicitur relative sed non est relative. Illud non valet. Nam tanta necessitate coexigit scibile scientiam in casu ablativo sicut scientia scibile in casu genetivo secundum Aristotelem,⁶⁵ quia dicuntur ad convertentiam, quod non esset^y verum si tantum esset relatio secundum dici vel secundum rationem^z tantum.

93. Praeterea definitio relativorum secundum esse quam dat Philosophus in *Praedicamentis*⁶⁶ convenit scibili respectu scientiae, sicut e converso. Nam esse scibilis est ad aliud se habere in habitudine casus ablativi, sicut e converso^a [in] habitudine^b genetivi. Nam contradictio [est] quod sit scibile et quod non sit aliqua scientia scibile, sicut e converso contradictio est quod sit scientia et nullius scibilis scientia. Ergo aequalis [est] respectus relationis secundum esse utrobique et non secundum dici tantum.

94. Praeterea quaecumque esse habet scibile, tale esse habet scientia. Nam scibile est scitum in aptitudine vel in potentia, quia ut communiter nomen desinens in 'bile' secundum grammaticos⁶⁷ significat aptitudinem et potentiam. Et ego dico quod tale esse habet scientia in aptitudine respectu illius scibilis. Nam si non esset apta nata esse scientia, nec in potentia, non esset scibile, certum [est]. Sed hic laboramus inopia loquelae, quia non est aliud nomen impositum ad significandum scientiam in actu et scientiam in aptitudine, sicut ex parte alia scitum et scibile. Et

^w ibidem] eundem MS. ^x sensu] scientia MS. ^y esset] est MS. ^z relationem ex rationem corr. MS. ^a converso] ca add. et del. MS. ^b habitudine] -tudo MS.

⁶³ i.e., de scientia, scilicet scientia scibilis (casu genetivo) et scibile scientia (casu ablativo); Aristoteles, *ibid.* (6b33-36).

⁶⁴ Videsis supra, nn.74 et 76.

⁶⁵ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6b26-36).

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Cf. Thomam Erfordiensem, *Grammatica speculativa* 12, ed. et trans. G. L. Bursill-Hall (London, 1972), p. 168: 'Adiectivum verbale. Vigessimus modus adiacentis est modus significandi per modum denominantis alterum sub ratione actus in habitum transmutati; et hic modus constituit nomen adiectivum verbale, ut *amabilis*, *amandus*. Nomen ergo adiectivum verbale est, quod descendit a voce verbi, significans per modum denominantis alterum sub ratione actus transmutati in habitum.'

ideo hic oportet fingere nomen (sicut docet Aristoteles⁶⁸ de remo et re remita, quia navis non sufficit ad mutuam conversionem) ut scientia in aptitudine vocetur 'scientificum' vel aliquid tale. Et tunc scibile correspondet scientifico et scitum scientiae in actu. Verbi gratia, secundum Philosophum v *Metaphysicae*⁶⁹ calefactivum ad calefactibile, et calefaciens ad illud quod calefit, et utrumque refertur realiter. Eodem modo in proposito quantum ad hoc.

95. Ad argumenta tunc in contrarium respondeo. Ad primum de v *Metaphysicae*,⁷⁰ quantum ad Philosophum, concedo quod relatio tertii modi sic differat a primo et secundo, quia illa quae referuntur de tertio [modo] ideo dicuntur ad-aliquid quia alia ad ipsum referuntur. Et hoc expono sic: in relationibus primi et secundi modi semper oritur relatio inter extrema indifferenter ex parte utriusque extremi. Et hoc est, [quia] nova dispositio vel nova qualitas quae oritur in alterutro extremorum facit novam relationem inter extrema in quocumque extremo contingat relatio nova. Verbi gratia, in quocumque extremo relationis ponatur albedo, sive in Socrate sive in Platone (f. 6vb), ex positione illius consurgit relatio nova. Si sit qualitas, similis [erit] in alio extremo. Modo in tertio modo non est ita. Nam posita quacumque dispositione in sciente, si post illam dispositionem in sciente positam ponatur alia quaecumque in scito, nulla relatio propter hoc surgit nova. Cuius ratio est, [quia] sciens non habet similitudinem cum scibili nisi mediante scientia. Nam scibile in quantum scibile in nulla qualitate sui assimilatur scienti, nisi in qualitate quae est scientia illius scibilis. Modo necessarium est quod scientia in sciente oriatur effective secundum communem opinionem a scibili et a conditione scibilis. Sed ortus ille non est ex natura rei. Nam non est necesse quod dispositione posita in scibili per quam dispositionem assimilaretur scienti si esset in sciente scientia, quod propter hoc ponatur statim scientia. Et ideo numquam oritur relatio inter extrema de tertio modo nisi propter novam dispositionem in sciente. Et tamen posita illa dispositione in sciente, puta scientia, nihil minus consequitur relatio in alio extremo realis, sed non propter novam dispositionem in re scita. Et in hoc differt a primo modo et secundo.

96. Ad Commentatorem,⁷¹ dico quod ipsemet exponit quid ipse intellegit [per] relationem esse de substantia utriusque extremi, et quid intellegit per^d hoc quod dicit, quod [in] relatis^e secundum primum modum et secundum, essentia illorum collocatur sub relatione eodem ordine, et non est ita in relatis secundum

^c Aristoteles *interl.* MS.

^d per] quod *add. et del.* MS.

^e relatis] -tum MS.

⁶⁸ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (7a5-22).

⁶⁹ Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020a15-17).

⁷⁰ Videsis supra, n.87.

⁷¹ Videsis supra, n.88.

tertium modum. Exponit se dicens⁷² quia accidens,^f propter quod fuit relativum, collocatur in utroque extremo, id est, accidit utrique^g extremo, sicut albedo est accidens propter quod fuit hoc^h simile relatum ad illud simile, et albedo eodem ordine se habet respectu utriusque extremi quantum est ex se. Non sic in tertio modo. Nam accidens illud propter quod fuit relatio, hoc est, propter cuius dispositionem sequitur relatio, non est in utroque extremo sed in altero tantum, in sciente; et illud accidens est scientia. Et ideo in tertio modo relatio non est de substantia utriusque extremi sed alterius tantum, quia illud accidens in quo fundatur relatio (quod accidens vocat Commentator accidens propter quod est relativum) illud accidens tantum ponitur in alio extremo. Nihilominus tamen in alio extremo est nova relatio realis, licet non propter novitatem dispositionisⁱ in illo, sed propter novitatem dispositionis in alio.

97. Nota pro auctoritate ista Avicennam III *Metaphysicae*, cap. De ad-aliquid, ubi dicit sic:⁷³ 'Alia sunt relativa quae non egent aliquo ex his quae solent stabilire relationem, sicut dextrum^j et sinistrum.^j In dextro enim non est qualitas nec aliquid aliud certum per quod fiat relatum nisi ipsa dextreitas. Alia sunt relativa quorum unum quodque opus habet aliquod^k per quod referatur ad aliud, sicut^l amator et amatum. In amatore^m est dispositio apprehendens quae est principium relationis et in amato est dispositio apprehensa quae fecitⁿ illud esse amatum a suo amatore. Et alia sunt in quibus haec dispositio est in una tantum partium et non in alia, sicut est scitor et scitum. In scitore enim acquiritur qualitas quae est scientia per quam fit relatus ad aliud. In scito vero nihil aliud acquiritur per quod fiat relatum nisi quod acquisitum est in alio aliquid quod est scientia.'

98. Ad illud⁷⁴ quod arguitur de libro *Praedicamentorum*, quod scibile est ante scientiam, dico quod Aristoteles accipit ibi scientiam iam actu^o existentem et scibile in potentia vel aptitudine. Et hoc modo scibile praecedit scientiam, sicut et scitum. Nam scibile praecedit scitum, sicut et scientiam. Et quia famosus modus loquendi suo tempore fuit indifferenter referre scientiam in actu ad scibile in potentia scitum, sicut et scientiam in potentia, ideo Aristoteles posuit tale exemplum quod tantum fuit famosum et non est verum. Ne illud videatur mirabile, probo. Nam Augustinus

^f accidens] sint *add. et del.* MS. ^g utrique] utrisque MS. ^h hoc ex illud *corr.* MS.
ⁱ dispositionis] *quid* MS., *incertum est* ^j dextrum et sinistrum] dextratim et sinistratim MS.
^k aliquod] aliquid MS. ^l sicut] idem MS. ^m amatore] -rem MS. ⁿ fecit] facit MS.
^o actu] accidens MS.

⁷² Averroes, *In 5 Metaph.* 15 (1021a26-30) t.20 (ed. Ponzalli, p. 176.129-134): '... omnia igitur relativa quae sunt in numeris et in potentiis sunt relativa quia essentia utriusque eorum collocatur in relatione eodem ordine, non quia alterum intrat in relatione per se et alterum non in relatione per se, sed quia alterum accidit ei, scilicet illud quod est relativum per se est accidens alterius propter quod fuit relativum.'

⁷³ Avicenna, *Philosophia prima* 3.10 (ed. Van Riet, p. 175).

⁷⁴ Videsis supra, n.89.

ex intentione vult exponere librum *Praedicamentorum* Aristotelis in suis *Categoriis* sicut praemittit in principio suarum *Categoriarum*.⁷⁵ Modo cum venit ad istum locum Aristotelis de scibili et scientia, dicit⁷⁶ illud exemplum esse illorum qui non intellegunt naturas rerum, quod nullo modo est verum de Aristotele quem in principio libri sui commendavit summe et in toto processu. Patet ergo illud exemplum esse introductum ab aliis, quod exemplum Aristoteles posuit in libro suo tamquam famosum, non tamquam verum.

99. Exemplum istius potest haberi in simili. Nam Aristoteles in libro *Praedicamentorum*, cap. De ad-aliquid in principio⁷⁷ [dicit] quod inest contrarietas in relatione, quia virtus est contraria vitio. Modo Augustinus in fine cap. De ad-aliquid exponens hoc dicit sic. Ostendens enim quod contrarietas non est in relatione, sed quod Aristoteles hoc exemplum famosum posuit, non quia verum, dicit^p sic:⁷⁸ 'Eodem modo et pacto possumus^q hanc categoriam et ab oppositorum similitudine separare. Nam et opposita quae *antecamena* Aristoteles vocat quandam huius categoriae similitudinem reddunt.^r Siquidem calidum et frigidum videntur sibi oppositionis societate coniuncta. Sed calidum non frigidi calidum, sed frigido oppositum dicimus; et iustum non iniusti iustum, sed iniusto contrarium nominamus. Aristoteles quidem, ut in principio huius *Categoriae* diximus, multa exempla proponit, quae ad hanc sub certa forma pertinere non videantur, volens de consequentibus (f. 7ra) reprehendere vitia ceterorum qui hanc secus^s definire voluerunt. Denique^t et virtutem malitiae et scientiae ignorantiam quasi ad-aliquid posuit, sed ut indocte disserentium vitia posset reprehendere.' Nota ergo, in capitulo hoc multa posuit exempla tantum secundum opinionem famosam, non veram.

100. Tu dicis, si Deus refertur realiter, ergo est in genere relationis vel^u saltem res praedicamentalis enunciat de Deo. Respondeo. Idem argumentum facio tibi: relatio rationis quae est ens [non est] minus inconveniens.⁷⁹ Dico ergo quod omnis res praedicamentalis^v quae non facit in Deo nec compositionem nec aliquam imperfectionem non repugnat Deo. Et dico quod licet^w relatio in se sit ens debilissimum, tamen in illo cui advenit sive sit Deus sive creatura nullam facit in

^p dicit] enim *add.* MS. ^q possumus] possunt MS. ^r reddunt] respondent MS. ^s secus
interl. MS. ^t denique] quia MS. ^u vel *interl.* MS. ^v praedicamentalis] -tabilis MS.
^w licet *interl.* MS.

⁷⁵ *Anonymi Paraphrasis themistiana* 70 (ed. Minio-Paluello, pp. 148.33-149.2).

⁷⁶ *ibid.* 102 (p. 156.15-16).

⁷⁷ Aristoteles, *Praed.* 7 (6b15-19).

⁷⁸ *Anonymi Paraphrasis themistiana* 108-109 (ed. Minio-Paluello, p. 158.9-21).

⁷⁹ i.e., si Deus refertur relatione rationis, ergo est in genere relationis; et non est minus inconveniens.

eo, nec perfectionem nec imperfectionem. Cetera autem praedicamenta faciunt, nota inductive secundum Boethium de omnibus.⁸⁰

[ARGUMENTA EX ACCIDENTE]

101. Unum argumentum probat quod relatio realis, si esset in Deo respectu creaturae, esset accidens, quia omne quod potest advenire alicui, sive inhaerenter sive alio modo illo non mutato, est accidens; relatio realis est huiusmodi si ponatur in Deo; ergo accidens.

[RESPONSIO HARCLAY]

102. Respondeo. Concedo conclusionem quod illa relatio accidens est Deo sicut alias frequenter dictum est,⁸¹ et confirmatum per Augustinum et Anselmum et iterare non piget.⁸² Dico tamen quod illud accidens nihil ponit in Deo, non plus quam relatio rationis ponit in Deo. Unde ita est in Deo quia est ens.^x Nec differt relatio realis a relatione rationis per hoc quod una, scilicet relatio realis, aliquid ponit in eo cuius est, relatio rationis non, sed in hoc quod una esset in rerum natura, si nullus intellectus consideraret, scilicet relatio realis, relatio autem rationis non.

103. Tu dicis, Augustinus sic:⁸³ 'Accidens autem dici non solet nisi quod cum aliqua mutatione eius rei cui accidit potest amitti.' Cum ergo nihil potest amitti a Deo cum Dei mutatione, nihil est in Deo secundum accidens.

104. Praeterea Anselmus *Monologion* cap. 25, ubi tu allegas eum pro te,⁸⁴ dicit sic:⁸⁵ 'Unde hoc concludi quoque potest, quod nullius accidentis est Deus susceptibilis.' Ergo nullum accidens in Deo.

105. Respondeo. Ad Augustinum dico quod Augustinus et Anselmus loquuntur^y de accidente dupliciter, similiter et Boethius in libro suo *De Trinitate*. Uno modo vocant accidens omne illud quod non dicitur secundum substantiam et quod potest advenire alicui, id est, enunciari de novo de aliquo quod prius non fuit verum de illo. Alio modo accipitur ab eis 'accidens' illud solum quod advenit alicui de novo per informationem illius cui advenit. Et quod ista distinctio non sit ficta a me,

^x ens] quia *add. et del.* MS.

^y loquuntur] loquitur MS.

⁸⁰ Videsis supra, nn.53-55.

⁸¹ Videsis supra, nn.49, 61, 65.

⁸² Videsis supra, nn.16, 17, 83, 84.

⁸³ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.4 (CCL 50.209).

⁸⁴ Videsis supra, nn.16 sqq.

⁸⁵ Anselmus, *Monologion* 25 (ed. Schmitt, p. 43).

probo eam per auctores praedictos, primo per Augustinum, secundo per Anselmum, tertio per Boethium.

[AUCTORITAS AUGUSTINI]

106. Per Augustinum. Nam videamus eius intentionem v *De Trinitate* ubi allegatur.⁸⁶ Augustinus ibidem intendit arguere contra Arium ponentem Filium Dei non esse Patri coaeternum, sed in tempore incepisse, et quod diversa sit substantia Patris et substantia Filii. Unde Arius fecit hoc argumentum pro parte^z sua, sicut dicit Augustinus 3 cap., v *De Trinitate*: in Deo nihil dicitur secundum accidens sed secundum substantiam. Cum ergo Pater est ingenitus, 'ingenitum' dicitur non secundum accidens sed secundum substantiam. Eodem modo 'genitum' de Filio dictum, secundum substantiam dicitur, [non] secundum^a accidens. Arguit tunc Arius diversum esse genitum et esse ingenitum; ergo diversa substantia Patris et diversa substantia Filii. Hoc est totum argumentum.

107. Modo ad hoc argumentum nititur Augustinus respondere cap. 3, 4, 5, 6.⁸⁷ Et nititur probare quod ingenitum, licet non dicatur secundum substantiam, tamen non secundum accidens dicitur. Et accipit 'accidens' primo modo, scilicet, ut illud dicatur accidens quod de novo alicui advenit; et ita non facit ingenitum, nec enim advenit sibi ingenitum ipsum de novo informans nec aliquo alio modo, quia si sic, mutaretur, sicut infert Augustinus. Et haec consequentia tenet sic. Nam si ingenitum adveniret Patri vel Deo de novo ipsum informans, planum est quod mutaretur, quia tunc aliquod novum esset in eo quod prius non fuit. Eodem modo si esset ita quod ingenitum adveniret de novo non per informationem, sicut ego pono de relatione quacumque in creatura, adhuc Deus esset mutatus, et hoc tantum tenet gratia materiae. Nam est verum quod relatio non potest advenire alicui de novo nisi vel ipsum cui advenit mutetur vel fiat mutatio in aliquo alio. Et aliquando relatio nova advenit alicui cum mutatione illius cui advenit, aliquando eadem relatio secundum speciem vel secundum numerum posset advenire alicui sine sui mutatione. Primum patet: cum Socrates est albus, si Plato deinde efficeretur albus, inciperet Plato de novo referri et cum mutatione sui. Sed si Plato esset primo albus et postea Socrates, Plato sine sui mutatione inciperet esse similis et relatus. Unde dico quod propter solam relationem de novo alicui advenientem numquam est aliquis mutatus. Modo ad propositum, ingenitum non potest advenire Deo de novo nec paternitas cum mutatione Dei, manifestum est; nec etiam cum mutatione

^z parte] una *add. et del.* MS.

^a secundum *ex non corr. interl.* MS.

⁸⁶ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.3 (CCL 50.208).

⁸⁷ *ibid.* 5.3-6 (CCL 50.208-12).

alicuius alterius, manifestum est. Nam illud aliud, ad cuius mutationem Deus esset de novo Pater vel de novo genitor vel huiusmodi, non potest esse creatura, sed oportet quod [Deus] sit terminus huius relationis vel aliquid a parte eius; et tunc sequitur mutatio Dei, manifestum est. Ideo paternitas ingenitum neutro modo est accidens, quia quocumque modo esset accidens esset mutatio.

108. Alio modo accipitur 'accidens' quod informat rem, secundum Augustinum. Hoc modo relatio realis Dei ad creaturam non est accidens secundum Augustinum. Primo tamen modo est accidens et potest advenire de novo sine aliqua mutatione Dei solum ad mutationem creaturae; et hoc non est verum de ingenito (f. 7rb) vel de paternitate.

109. Illud probo per Augustinum. Nam cum in cap. 5 et 6, *De Trinitate* libro v⁸⁸ dixisset nihil esse in Deo dictum secundum accidens, postea movet dubitationem de hoc, cap. ultimo, v libro *De Trinitate*⁸⁹ de relatione Dei ad creaturam quae est nova relatio: utrum illa dicatur secundum substantiam vel secundum accidens. Non secundum substantiam: tunc esset illa relatio aeterna et per consequens creatura aeterna, sicut Augustinus infert.⁹⁰ Non enim ille ab aeterno dominaretur nisi illa ab aeterno famularetur. Si illa relatio esset accidens, quomodo ergo, dicit Augustinus, optinebimus nihil secundum accidens dici^b de Deo, sicut dictum est in exordio huius disputationis.

110. Respondet Augustinus ad hanc dubitationem sic:⁹¹ aliquod accidens est quod etsi sit relativum, tamen non advenit alicui sine mutatione rei illius cui advenit. Ponit exemplum: si^c amicus dicitur relative et de novo, non sine mutatione voluntatis illius qui incipit de novo diligere; et tale accidens repugnat Deo. Aliquod est accidens relativum quod potest de novo advenire alicui sine omni mutatione rei cui advenit, sicut nummus de novo dicitur pretium sine omni mutatione a parte nummi. Et eodem modo Deus de novo dicitur refugium et dominus sine omni mutatione a parte sui. Unde Augustinus:⁹² 'Si ergo nummus potest nulla sui mutatione multotiens dici^d relative, ut neque cum incipit dici neque cum desinit aliquid in eius natura vel forma qua nummus est mutationis fiat, quanto facilius de illa incommutabili Dei substantia debemus accipere ut ita dicatur relative aliquid ad creaturam ut, quamvis temporaliter incipiat dici, non tamen ipsi substantiae Dei accidisse aliquid intellegatur sed illi creaturae ad quam dicitur? *Domine, refugium factus es [nobis]*',⁹³ etc. Ecce ergo expresse, ut videtur mihi, oportet dicere

^b dici] dei MS.

^c si ex sed corr. MS.

^d dici] -tur MS.

⁸⁸ ibid. 5.4-5 (CCL 50.209-11).

⁸⁹ ibid. 5.16 (CCL 50.224 sqq.).

⁹⁰ ibid. (CCL 50.225).

⁹¹ ibid. (CCL 50.226-27).

⁹² ibid.

⁹³ Ps 89:1.

secundum Augustinum quod aliquid accadat de novo Deo, et tamen quia id non informat Deum nec ponit aliquid in Deo novum sed in creatura, ideo dicit Augustinus quod nihil de novo accedit Deo sed creaturae; et patet tunc necessario quod est aequivocatio de accidente, sicut dictum est.

[DUAE OBJECTIONES]

111. Contra: tu dices, Augustinus dicit quod Deus de novo dicitur relative sicut nummus; sed hoc tantum est relatione secundum rationem nec relatione reali; ergo nihil ad propositum. Quod autem tantum relatione secundum rationem referatur, probatio: nam illa relatio quae est pretium tantum dependet ex voluntate commutantium; ergo non est realis.

111a. Praeterea relatio realis consurgit necessario in re ex natura rei positis extremis. Sed sic non est de nummo et re venali. Nam positis illis non consurgit necessario [relatio] in re ex natura rei. Nam positis^e illis non consurgit necessario relatio pretii vel pignoris. Ergo non est relatio realis.

[RESPONSES HARCLAY AD OBJECTIONES]

112. Ad primum,⁹⁴ dico quod indubitanter relatio pretii est relatio realis. Et cum dicitur 'dependet ex sola voluntate principis vel commutantis, ergo non est realis', respondeo: nego consequentiam. Nam relatio dicitur rationis, non quia dependet ex actu voluntatis, sed quia ex solo actu considerationis intellectus. Et ideo relatio rationis iam non est, cum intellectus desinat actualiter considerare. Sed hoc non est verum de relatione quae oritur ex actu voluntatis causative. Quod patet sic. Manifestum est enim quod subiectio et praelatio sunt relationes et oriuntur ex actu voluntatis frequenter. Et illae relationes non sunt tantum rationis. Sive enim intellectus actu consideraret hunc esse praelatum et illum esse subiectum, sive non, nihil minus est iste subiectus et ille praelatus, alioquin facile esset excutere subiectionem a se, videlicet, desinere a cogitatione. Et tamen illa relatio subiectionis ortum habuit a voluntate in multis, manifestum est. Eodem modo de nummo et pignore et pretio. Non enim dependet ex actuali consideratione intellectus, sed ex voluntate. Ergo non tantum sunt relationes rationis. Praeterea secundum hoc relatio totius corporis Christi mystici, id est, ecclesiae, esset relatio rationis tantum qua referretur ad Christum,^f sicut ad caput et principium. Nam illa relatio dependet ex nostra voluntate. Si enim relatio qua^g nos referimur ad Deum ut ad creatorem

^e positis] extremis *add. et del.* MS.

^f christum] exemplum MS.

^g qua] quam MS.

⁹⁴ Videsis supra, n.111.

non dependeat ex nostra voluntate, relatio tamen subiectionis et oboedientiae^h dependet ex nostra voluntate; ergo unitas totius ecclesiae dependet ex relatione rationis tantum. Et tunc ordo partium universi esset tantum relatio rationis. Nam dependet totum ex Dei voluntate, non tantum quantum ad creationem primariam, immo quantum ad gubernationem. Quod enim una pars universi regatur ab alia et subiciatur alteri est omnino secundum Dei voluntatem liberam, etiam cum illae partes iam sunt causatae in rerum natura. Ergo totum universum dependet ex relatione rationis tantum. Et ista sunt absurda, videtur mihi.

113. Ad secundum argumentum,⁹⁵ nego assumptum. Ista enim propositio non est universaliterⁱ vera, quod omne illud quod est relatio realis necessario oriatur inter extrema positis terminis, et hoc absolute loquendo. Immo frequenter posito fundamento in utroque extremo, non necessario consurgit relatio quaecumque realis, quae potest esse inter illa extrema. Immo aliquid plus requiritur in extremis fieri quam natura absoluta fundamenti. Manifestum est in multis. Distantia relatio realis est, non (f. 7va) dependens ex consideratione nostri intellectus. Item simultas et consequenter se habere et tangere et huiusmodi, de quibus Aristoteles in *v Physicorum*,⁹⁶ relationes quaedam sunt, manifestum est. Et tamen non oriuntur inter extrema necessario positis fundamentis. Posito enim hoc lapide et posito illo lapide, non necessario propter hoc sequitur quod sunt simul vel consequenter vel huiusmodi. Sed requirit aliquid aliud in illis praeter naturam absolutam fundamenti antequam consurgat relatio, manifestum est.

114. Item ego dico quod universaliter in relationibus de secundo modo,⁹⁷ sive sint relationes agentis ad patiens universaliter, sive relationes producentis et producti, generantis^j et geniti, non oportet quod oriantur in re ex natura absolute, ita quod positis fundamentis in utroque extremo, non propter hoc ponitur necessario relatio. Nam^k posito igne calido et ligno calefactibili, non sequitur necessario relatio, quia non est necessario actio.⁹⁸

115. Et si tu dicas quod fundamentum deficit, nam relatio agentis ad^l patiens fundatur super passionem et actionem iam positas in esse, [respondeo,] sed illud non valet de aliis. Nam paternitas et filiatio manent actione generationis iam non existente. Ergo oportet quod fundentur super aliquid nunc existens in Socrate genito et Platone generante. Sed modo est ita^m quod Socrates et Plato idem numero quantum ad omnia quae in eis sunt possent esse, si unus non genuisset

^h oboedientiae] -tia MS. ⁱ universaliter] universitatis MS. ^j generantis] generaliter MS.
^k nam] non MS. ^l ad] et MS. ^m ita] ista MS.

⁹⁵ Videsis supra, n.111a.

⁹⁶ Aristoteles, *Phys.* 5.3 t.21 sq. (226b18-227b2).

⁹⁷ Videsis Aristotelem, *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b25-1021b11).

⁹⁸ Requiritur aliae circumstantiae, e.g., proximitas.

aliud. Illud enim individuum idem numero quod modo generatur a Socrate, illud idem posset Deus produxisse sine actione Socratis. Tunc manifestum est quod non est relatio paternitatis et tamen idem fundamentum tunc quod modo. Ergo manifestum est quod aliquid aliud praeter fundamentum absolute oportet ponere in extremis ad hoc, quod oriantur multae relationes reales quae possunt esse in illis.

116. Quod ergo allegatur de Augustino ad oppositum, eodem v *De Trinitate*, cap. ultimo, quod Augustinus dicit:⁹⁹ 'Numquid tunc fit' aliquid in eius natura quod antequam ad eum refugeremus non erat?', patet non esse ad oppositum. Concedo enim quod nihil in eius natura est quod prius non erat, quia relatio etiam realis, ut saepe dictum, nihil ponit in eo cui advenit. Ideo nullam mutationem facit in eo cui advenit, et ita intellegit Augustinus. Unde statim continue dicit:¹ 'In nobis vero fit aliqua mutatio; deteriores enim fuimus antequam ad ipsum refugeremus, et efficimur ad eum refugiendo meliores; in illo autem nulla est mutatio.' Patet ergo quod intellegit quod nihil fit in eius natura novum unde mutetur, sed tantum aliquid accedit sibi de novo, sicut nummo pretium et pignus.

[AUCTORITAS ANSELMI]

117. Praeterea probo illud idem per Anselmum, scilicet, quod aliquando accipitur 'accidens' omne illud quod nunc inest et prius non fuit, sive informet subiectum sive non, sed tantum denominet denominatione extrinseca, sicut relatio et alia praedicamenta multa; et aliquando vocatur accidens forma aliqua inhaerens et informans subiectum. Accidens primo modo dictum potest advenire sine mutatione, sed non secundo modo dictum. Unde aliquando relatio quae est accidens primo modo dicitur non esse accidens secundum Anselmum, quia non est accidens secundo modo, id est, informans, sed adveniens sine mutatione subiecti. Dicit enim Anselmus *Monologion*, cap. 25 quod accidens quoddam est quod non potest advenire sine mutatione, [et] tale non convenit Deo. Aliud est accidens quod advenit sine omni mutatione, et tale non repugnat Deo secundum eum; et huiusmodi accidens est relatio, similitudo et huiusmodi, secundum Anselmum. Unde haec sunt verba Anselmi:² 'Palam itaque fit, quia eorum quae accidentia dicuntur, quaedam aliquatenus attrahunt commutabilitatem, quaedam vero nullatenus subtrahunt incommutabilitatem. Sicut^o igitur summa natura accidentibus mutationem efficientibus numquam in sua simplicitate locum tribuit, sic

ⁿ fit] sit MS. ^o sicut] si MS.

⁹⁹ Augustinus, *De Trinitate* 5.16 (CCL 50.226).

¹ ibid.

² Anselmus, *Monologion* 25 (ed. Schmitt, p. 43).

secundum ea quae nullatenus incommutabilitati repugnant, aliquando dici aliquid non respuit.'

118. Et quia aliquis^p possit sibi obicere quod ipse fatetur in Deo esse accidens, respondeo quod tale quid quod advenire potest alicui sine sui mutatione non dicitur proprie accidens. Unde secundum eum relatio non est accidens etiam in creaturis. Ideo aequivoce accipitur 'accidens' necessario, et ecce eius verba statim:³ 'Unde hoc quoque concludi potest, quia nullius accidentis susceptibilis est. Quippe quemadmodum^q illa accidentia, quae mutationem aliquam accedendo et recedendo faciunt, ipso suo effectu vere accidere rei quam mutant perpenduntur, sic illa quae a simili deficiunt effectu, improprie dici accidentia deprehenduntur.' Nihil tam expresse. Et concludit statim Anselmus quomodo accidens negatur a Deo dicens:⁴ 'Sed quocumque modo se habeat ratio de proprietate nominis accidentis, illud sine dubio verum est, quia de summe incommutabili natura nihil potest dici, unde mutabilis possit intellegi.'

[AUCTORITAS BOETHII]

119. Praeterea Boethius in libro *De Trinitate* est eiusdem sententiae, scilicet, quod illa non dicuntur proprie accidentia quae non informant subiectum sed denominant illud extrinseca denominatione, cuiusmodi est relatio secundum eum, secundum quod dictum est. Unde immediate ante illud capitulum ultimum quod sic incipit 'Age nunc de relativis', etc., dicit Boethius:⁵ 'Illa igitur quae esse aliquid designant, secundum rem praedicationes vocentur; [quae cum de rebus subiectis dicuntur,] vocantur accidentia secundum rem.' Modo relatio non est huiusmodi secundum eum. Nam relatio non convenit alicui secundum eum; non designat esse aliquid, et (f. 7vb) allegatum^r est supra in principio quaestionis.⁶ Patet ergo manifeste per istos tres auctores, Augustinum, Anselmum et Boethium, quod 'accidens' accipitur illo duplici modo praedicto.

[RES PRAEDICAMENTI RELATIONIS TANTUM CONVENIT DEO]

120. Si forte tu dicas, saltem aliqua res praedicamentalis convenit Deo, ad hoc respondet Porretanus in commento libri praedicti in fine,⁷ quod nulla res praedi-

^p aliquis] aliquid MS.

^q quemadmodum] quem ad MS.

^r allegatum ex allegant corr. MS.

³ ibid.

⁴ ibid. (ed. Schmitt, pp. 43-44).

⁵ Boethius, *De Trinitate* 4 (ed. Stewart-Rand-Tester, p. 24).

⁶ Videsis supra, nn.53-55.

⁷ Gilbertus Porretanus, *Expositio in Boecii librum primum De Trinitate* 5 (ed. Häring, pp. 142-43, nn.17-18.10-38).

camentalis convenit Deo nisi^s res praedicamenti relationis. Et videtur mihi quod illud est dictum rationabile. Nam omnis alia res praedicamentalis quae Deo conveniret, poneret in Deo aliquam limitationem vel praesupponeret in eo aliquam limitationem vel aliquid sibi repugnans. Verbi gratia, substantia, quantitas, qualitas cuicumque adveniunt, aliquid ponunt in illo cui adveniunt. Et ideo si sint res praedicamentales et limitatae, limitationem necessario arguunt in illo de quo dicuntur. Quaedam sunt res praedicamentales et limitatae, quae etsi nihil ponant ex natura sui in rebus de quibus ipsae dicuntur, ipsae tamen praesupponunt aliquam limitationem in illo de quo dicuntur. Verbi gratia, quando, ubi et huiusmodi secundum Boethium⁸ non significant aliquid esse in eo cui adveniunt, et nihil ponunt ex natura sua in re de qua dicuntur. Tamen praesupponunt aliquid limitatum in illo necessario, scilicet, quando [praesupponit] mutabilitatem et variationem secundum tempus in re tamquam^t data, et ubi praesupponit circumscriptionem a loco. Et per consequens limitationem praesupponunt in illo de quo dicuntur. Ideo repugnant Deo. Sed sola relatio inter praedicamenta^u non ponit aliquid in eo cui advenit et magis quam prius fuit, nec praesupponit in illo aliquid novi, sicut facit quando vel^v ubi, sed tantum praesupponit novitatem et mutationem in aliquo alio ad quod refertur.^w Ideo non repugnat Deo de novo.

Loyola University of Chicago.

^s nisi] nihil MS.

^t tamquam] quam MS.

^u praedicamenta] -tum MS.

^v vel] et MS.

^w refertur] referuntur MS.

⁸ Boethius, *De Trinitate* 4 (ed. Stewart-Rand-Tester, pp. 20 Sqq.).

THE *SENTENTIA IVONIS CARNOTENSIS EPISCOPI
DE DIVINIS OFFICIIS*,
THE 'NORMAN SCHOOL', AND LITURGICAL SCHOLARSHIP:
STUDY AND EDITION*

Ronald John Zawilla, O.P.

THE text edited below from three manuscripts of south German origin is a commentary on the canonical hours, the mass, the ecclesiastical officers, and the liturgical vestments.¹ There are three reasons why the *Sententia Ivonis carnotensis episcopi de diuinis officiis* (DDO) is of interest. First, it is a work represent-

* An earlier version of this article, entitled *The 'Sententia Ivonis carnotensis episcopi de diuinis officiis': Text and Study*, was submitted in 1982 to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies as a thesis for the Licentiate in Mediaeval Studies.

The following abbreviations are used throughout the article:

Amal., LO = Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis* in J. M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols. (Studi e testi 138-40; Vatican City, 1948-50) (vol. 2)

Clover-Gibson, Letters = H. Clover and M. Gibson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979)

DDO = *Sententia Ivonis carnotensis episcopi de diuinis officiis* (edited below, pp. 141-51)

Delamare = R. Delamare, ed., *Le 'De officiis ecclesiasticis' de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067-1079)* (Bibliothèque liturgique du chanoine U. Chevalier 22; Paris, 1923) (references are also given to the edition of the DOE in PL 147.27-62)

DOE = *De officiis ecclesiasticis* (see Delamare)

Douglas, William = D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror. The Norman Impact on England* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1964)

Gibson = M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978)

Götz = *Liber quare*, ed. G. P. Götz (CCM 60; Turnhout, 1983)

LDO = pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber de diuinis officiis* (PL 101.1173-1286)

LP = *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne and C. Vogel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1887; rpt. 1957)

LQ = *Liber quare* (see Götz)

QQE = *Quia quatuor elementis*

Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula' = R. E. Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula on the Ecclesiastical Officers', *Studia gratiana* 20 [= *Mélanges G. Fransen* 2] (1976) 309-22

Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship' = R. E. Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978) 109-24

Reynolds, 'Marginalia' = R. E. Reynolds, 'Marginalia on a Tenth-Century Text on the Ecclesiastical Officers' in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 115-29.

¹ The three manuscripts, reported by Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship', 117, are: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Theol. 8° 51 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 13105 and Clm 22273.

ative of the eleventh-century renaissance of liturgical studies, which manifests the concerns of reform-minded Church leaders like Bernold of Constance and Ivo of Chartres for authentic Roman practice and proper liturgical order.² Secondly, the *DDO* is one of several such works attributed to Ivo of Chartres, who was one of the leading churchmen of his day.³ Thirdly, the *DDO* is not an original composition but a compilation based on the *De officiis ecclesiasticis* (*DOE*) of John of Avranches and the *Liber de diuinis officiis* (*LDO*) of pseudo-Alcuin. The compiler of the *DDO* apparently employed epitomized versions of these works which he found in liturgical florilegia. Such epitomes have recently been published in the critical edition of the *Liber quare* (*LQ*).⁴

Because the *DOE* has long been thought to have had little influence beyond the lifetime of its author or outside his native Normandy, the *DDO* is a significant find. Perhaps even more noteworthy is the identification of an anonymous epitome of the *DOE* which can be found complete in nine manuscripts. The discovery of the *DDO* and the previously unknown epitome of the *DOE* on which it relies calls for a reappraisal of the place of John of Avranches in the history of liturgical scholarship.⁵ Therefore, in addition to the edition of the *DDO* presented here, it is proposed to examine carefully the liturgical florilegia that anonymously preserve the literary legacy of John of Avranches. This will enable us to see how the *DDO* was compiled, to suggest why it was attributed to Ivo of Chartres, and thus to restore to John of Avranches his rightful place in the history of liturgical scholarship. We begin, however, with some comments about the milieu in which John lived and worked.

THE 'NORMAN SCHOOL' AND LITURGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

The creative energy so apparent in eleventh-century Norman social and political life expressed itself as well in arts and letters and in the life of the Church. The

² Reynolds, *ibid.*, 116-17, classes the *DDO* together with works such as the *Micrologus* of Bernold of Constance (PL 151.975-1022) and the *Sermones de ecclesiasticis sacramentis* of Ivo of Chartres (PL 162.505-610). These works contrast with 'conservative' ones that remain exclusively in the allegorical tradition associated with Amalarius of Metz.

³ Some of the works attributed to Ivo may be genuine; see Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula', 309-22. Others, however, are of dubious authenticity. Such, for example, is an English compilation that joins the *Micrologus* with the *De officiis* of Drogo of Laon (PL 166.1557-64). See Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship', 117, and 'Ivonian Opuscula', 318, who also considers the *DDO* to be of dubious authenticity.

⁴ The *Liber quare*, an eleventh-century liturgical commentary in question-and-answer form, has been edited by Götz along with the texts that accompany it in liturgical florilegia.

⁵ Delamare, p. XLVI, concludes from the scanty manuscript evidence of the *DOE* known to him that it exercised little influence in Normandy and was unknown outside the province. J. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1949), 1.131, similarly observes that, although the *DOE* has an importance comparable to that of the *Micrologus*, it did not enjoy the same influence.

term 'Norman School' is employed here to designate the relationship existing among the churchmen who played an active role in the Norman expansion of the eleventh century. First, most of these men were, at one time or another, students of Lanfranc of Bec. Secondly, whether they are well-known figures such as Lanfranc and Anselm of Canterbury, or lesser-known figures such as John of Fécamp, John of Avranches, Maurilius of Rouen, and the so-called Norman Anonymous, all of them were involved in the task of rebuilding the Norman Church under the patronage of Duke William the Conqueror in the aftermath of the devastating Viking invasions of the preceding century. Thirdly, they all balanced, moreover, a strong commitment to Church reform with their loyalty to Duke William.⁶

Lanfranc (1010-89) influenced the Norman scene in his various roles as teacher, abbot, and archbishop. He came to Normandy about 1040 from his native Italy and taught, it is said, at Avranches, though perhaps a more likely place is a few kilometers away at Mont-Saint-Michel where he would have found a library, scribes, and students.⁷ Two years after his arrival in Normandy Lanfranc entered the newly founded abbey of Bec where he opened a school that attracted students from as far away as Germany and Italy.⁸ From 1063 to 1070 Lanfranc was abbot of Saint-Étienne at Caen, engaged in the material and spiritual construction of the abbey founded by Duke William as his ducal monastery. He spent the last twenty years of his life as archbishop of Canterbury.⁹

Though renowned in his own day as a teacher of dialectic and for his commentaries on scripture, Lanfranc is best remembered today for his *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* directed against the eucharistic doctrine of Berengar of Tours.¹⁰ He left no liturgical commentary, but his liturgical interests are manifested in the constitutions he wrote for the monks who served Canterbury Cathedral and in his letters.¹¹

⁶ On the period and the personalities see: Douglas, *William*, pp. 105-33; Gibson, pp. 105-11; and Delamare, pp. 1-xxix.

⁷ Gibson, p. 20.

⁸ In the 1050s the school at Bec provided the intelligentsia of Norman society: future church leaders and administrators for the Norman court (see Gibson, p. 38 and, for the curriculum at Bec, pp. 39-44).

⁹ William made Caen his capital and established Saint-Étienne as a symbol of his power, a source of scribes and administrators, and as the ducal mausoleum. As abbot of Saint-Étienne, Lanfranc was in a position to influence the duke; he was also an able administrator, winning a degree of independence from the local bishop, Odo of Bayeux, that he himself, as archbishop of Canterbury, would not grant to monasteries; see Gibson, p. 109.

¹⁰ Gibson, pp. 63-97. See also the study of J. de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérenger: la controverse eucharistique du XI^e siècle* (Louvain, 1971). For the *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* see PL 150.407-42.

¹¹ See Clover-Gibson, *Letters*. For the monastic constitutions see D. Knowles, ed. and trans., *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford, 1951).

The liturgical scholarship of the 'Norman School' finds expression as part of the reform program of two great Norman bishops: Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen (1054-67), and John, bishop of Avranches (1060-67) and later archbishop of Rouen (1067-79). Maurilius, a monk of Fécamp, was nominated to replace the deposed Archbishop Mauger when no candidate could be found among the aristocracy. Maurilius supported reform, concentrating, in moderate fashion, on the reform of the secular clergy.¹² John, on the other hand, manifested not only a strong reforming zeal with respect to clerical mores but also the intention to assert episcopal rights with respect to the monastic establishment.¹³

It was while he was bishop of Avranches that John wrote the *DOE*, which he dedicated to Maurilius, who had commissioned the work from his suffragan. In the dedication John offers Maurilius an exposition of divine worship (the canonical hours, the mass, the liturgical year, and the liturgical vesture) 'according to the mind of the Fathers and the ancient customs of the Church' which he can distribute throughout his province.¹⁴ The *DOE* describes in detail the liturgical life of the secular canons who served the cathedrals and important churches of the province.¹⁵ Thus the *DOE* was envisioned as part of a plan to restore liturgical unity to the province, to encourage clerical discipline, and to provide the clergy with adequate knowledge to celebrate the liturgy correctly and with understanding.

The *DOE* combines an exposition of what is to be done in the liturgy with a commentary on what is signified by the rites celebrated. Internal references make it clear that the *DOE* was meant to be read as a commentary on the official service books.¹⁶ Its style suggests a thorough knowledge of the *Liber officialis* (*LO*) of

¹² Maurilius held four councils: Caen (1061), Rouen (1063), Lisieux (1064), and Lillebonne (1066), among which acts survive for the councils of Caen and Lisieux; see F. Pommeraye, *Sanctae rotomagensis ecclesiae concilia ac synodalia decreta* (Rouen, 1677), pp. 71-72. He legislated that clergy shall not bear arms, serve as stewards of wealthy laymen, or marry (if in major orders). He was also quick to formulate a profession of faith against the teachings of Berengar; see G. Bessin, *Concilia rotomagensis provinciae ...* (Rouen, 1717), p. 49. See also Gibson, pp. 107-108; Douglas, *William*, pp. 120-22; and Delamare, pp. vii-xii.

¹³ With John the Norman Church is seen for the first time as a strictly episcopal organization: John extended his own control through the use of archdeacons and attempted to limit the immunity of monasteries (often against strong opposition). He held councils (probably all at Rouen) in 1070, 1072, and 1074 and legislated on simony, marriage, pastoral care, and clerical marriage (on account of the last he was stoned in his own cathedral); for the conciliar acts see Pommeraye, *ibid.*, pp. 84-90, 94-96. See also Gibson, pp. 108-109; Douglas, *William*, pp. 119-30; and Delamare, pp. i-vi.

¹⁴ Delamare, p. 4 (PL 147.27C): 'Hinc tua auctoritate fretus sententias sanctorum patrum aggressus, diversarumque ecclesiarum mores et consuetudines prospectans, et ea, que ad divini cultus officia pertinent, quodque in se mystice continent. ... Quod si utile et ratum tua auctoritate censetur, postquam de metropolitana sede distillare videbimus, canonum statuta sequentes, nostre propinare curabimus ecclesie.' See also pp. iv, LXVI-LXVII.

¹⁵ See Delamare, p. 4 (PL 147.28BC) where John commends the common life for canons, and pp. 8-9 (PL 147.32AB) where he describes the daily chapter.

¹⁶ Among the many references to the official service books, John says, for example: '... si

Amalarius, though there are virtually no direct citations; the mentality and the language, however, are thoroughly Amalarian.¹⁷

On the basis of the extant manuscripts presently known, it would appear that the *DOE* did not enjoy a wide circulation.¹⁸ Likewise, there is little to suggest that the *DOE* exerted direct influence on other writers. A liturgical commentary, entitled *Encheridion ecclesiasticum secundum Johannem abrincentem episcopum ab archipresule Maurilio in usum rothomagensis translatus*,¹⁹ suggests that Maurilius may have written a liturgical exposition based on the *DOE*. Despite the implication of the title, the *Enchiridion* is more dependent on the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* of Isidore of Seville and has but few citations from the *DOE*.²⁰ Another Norman work related to the *DOE* is an anonymous *Expositio diuinorum officiorum* printed with other texts related to John of Avranches in PL 147. Though the *Expositio* employs John's commentary on liturgical vestments, the two works have little more in common than a mutual dependence on Amalarius.²¹

denotatum in libris officialibus officium habuerit' (Delamare, p. 17; PL 147.39A) and 'In libro officiali' (p. 45; 147.58C); he also refers to a 'missale authenticum' (p. 22; 147.42A).

¹⁷ In his description of prime, for example, John says: '... et quicquid mali quinque sensibus corporis contraximus, precibus et lacrimis ejus misericordiam postulando delere ... et quinque sensus corporis nostri in beneplacito suo dirigere. Idcirco quinque psalmos canimus ...' (Delamare, p. 5; PL 147.29B). The connection between five psalms and the five senses comes from Amalarius' commentary on vespers (*LO* 4.7.8 [Hanssens, 2.432]), where Amalarius says: 'Propter hos videlicet quinque sensus, quia forte non fuimus digni ut dirigerentur per omnia secundum Domini placitum, quinque psalmi cantantur, ut ignoscatur nobis.' John paraphrases Amalarius, borrows ideas, but never cites directly.

¹⁸ Delamare, pp. xxxi-xxxiv, notes that the catalogue of the capitular library at Rouen (dated 1111-28) mentions a 'Breviarium Iohannis archiepiscopi de commune servicio ecclesiae', of which there is no further trace. Le Prévost, a seventeenth-century librarian of the chapter, published the text of the *DOE* in 1642 from a manuscript discovered at a priory in Sausseuse. Using the same manuscript, Le Brun des Marettes published the *DOE* in 1679 along with extracts from the medieval *Rituale* and *Ordinale* of the diocese of Rouen; this is the edition printed in PL 147. Delamare based his edition, which differs somewhat from that of the PL, on ms. Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section médecine 304 (s. XII/XIII). There is, however, another manuscript of the *DOE* unknown to Delamare: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana San Marco 653. E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica. Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), p. 299, mentions a fragment of the *DOE* in London, British Library Royal 8.D.viii, fols. 132v-133r.

Given the scarcity of manuscripts of the *DOE*, Delamare concluded (p. XLVI) that it was little known even in Normandy and that it had no impact outside Normandy, citing as the reason: 'Trop restreint, n'offrant pas à la curiosité des liturgistes une exposition assez détaillée, aux mystiques un commentaire assez abondant, il fut effacé, — on n'en connaît que deux manuscrits — au premier point de vue par le *Micrologue* ... au point de vue du symbolisme, le *De officiis* fut surpassé par Honorius d'Autun.'

¹⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 843, fols. 126r-141v.

²⁰ See Delamare, pp. XLVIII-LIX, especially pp. LVIII-LIX, where he discusses the sources of the *Enchiridion*; for the *De officiis* of Isidore see his *Etymologiae* 6.19, ed. J. Oroz Reta and M.-A. Marcos Casquero, 1 (Biblioteca de autores cristianos 433; Madrid, 1982), pp. 608-23. Delamare, pp. XLVIII-XLVIX, conjectures that Maurilius composed the *Enchiridion* because he found the *DOE* wanting.

²¹ See PL 147.201-14, especially 211-12. This work is also mentioned by A. Franz, *Die Messe*

After the death of Maurilius in 1067, Lanfranc was offered the See of Rouen, which he declined, traveling instead to Rome to argue for the dispensation necessary to permit John to be transferred from Avranches to Rouen.²² Thus John became archbishop of Rouen in 1067. He was an important model for Lanfranc when the latter became archbishop of Canterbury and their continued friendship is attested by Lanfranc's letters to John.²³

Following John's death in 1079, the See of Rouen was held by William de Bona Anima, a former student of Lanfranc and his successor as abbot of Saint-Étienne. His name has been associated with the so-called Norman Anonymous whose ecclesio-political tracts are found in ms. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 415. Whether William is actually the Anonymous or not, the sources of this spokesman for the royal prerogative in ecclesiastical matters have been convincingly linked with Rouen.²⁴

The roster of the 'Norman School' is completed with the mention of several other prominent eleventh-century figures. John of Fécamp (c. 990-1078) was one of the first to oppose the eucharistic doctrine of Berengar of Tours in his *Confessio fidei*; he also left a large body of devotional literature that includes the so-called *Oratio Ambrosii* printed in the Roman Missal of 1570.²⁵ Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), a northern Italian like Lanfranc, entered the abbey of Bec and studied with Lanfranc, succeeding him there as prior and later as archbishop of Canterbury.²⁶ Although he left no liturgical works, his prayers and meditations, which had considerable influence in his own time and beyond, reveal a piety frequently centered on the liturgy.²⁷

im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens (Freiburg i. Br., 1902), p. 426 n. 4, who also cites two manuscripts of the work: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 12512 and Clm 13088. The manuscript used in the PL edition is apparently lost; see Delamare, *DOE*, p. LXI.

²² Gibson, p. 110; Delamare, *DOE*, pp. v-vi.

²³ Gibson, pp. 108-109. The letters of Lanfranc to John are nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, and 41; see Clover-Gibson, *Letters*, pp. 83-95, 134-37. Letter 14 treats of liturgical matters, namely, the proper vesture for a bishop at the dedication of a church. Letter 41 discusses the attempts of the two men to impose celibacy on their clergy and reveals John to be the more unyielding of the two.

²⁴ See: G. H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.: Toward the Identification and Evaluation of the So-called Anonymous of York* (Harvard Theological Studies 18; Cambridge, Mass., 1951); R. Nineham, 'The So-called Anonymous of York', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963) 31-45; and Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship', 118-24.

²⁵ The *Confessio fidei* is printed in PL 101.1027-98. The eucharist is treated in part 4 (cols. 1085-98). See also: J. Leclercq and J.-P. Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle: Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946); A. Wilmart, 'L'*Oratio sancti Ambrosii* du missel romain' in his *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin: études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1932; rpt. 1971), pp. 101-25; and Gibson, pp. 67-68.

²⁶ See R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer. A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c. 1130* (Cambridge, 1963).

²⁷ For the prayers and meditations see: S. *Anselmi ... Opera omnia* 3, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946); also A. Wilmart, 'Le recueil de prières adressés par saint Anselme à la comtesse

To these names should also be added that of William of Malmesbury (c. 1090-1143), the Anglo-Norman historian whose *Abbreviatio Amalarii* has much in common with the work of John of Avranches. Dating from the later years of William's life, the *Abbreviatio*, like the *DOE*, is more than a simple abridgement. William paraphrases Amalarius, freely adding material both historical and scriptural. Though the *DOE* and the *Abbreviatio* have much in common there is no evidence that William either knew or made use of the *DOE*.²⁸

There is no evidence to link Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040-1117) to the 'Norman School'. Although it is probable that he was among those who heard Lanfranc lecture on logic at Bec, there is nothing in his writings that connects him with Lanfranc.²⁹ In only one instance, perhaps, did Ivo manifest an acquaintance with the *DOE*.³⁰

Thus we see that John of Avranches played a significant and respected role in the 'Norman School', even though his name was obscured in the shadows cast by his more famous contemporaries. Turning now to a consideration of the sources of the *DDO*, we shall see how his *DOE*, though forgotten in itself, exercised a modest influence through an anonymous epitome which found its way into the abundant florilegia of the period.

THE SOURCES OF THE *DDO*

As noted above, the *DDO* is a compilation based on epitomized versions of the *DOE* and pseudo-Alcuin's *LDO*. Each chapter of this compilation can be found (with minor alterations) among the miscellaneous and often anonymous texts that accompany the *Liber quare*. Thus it is possible to correlate the chapters of the *DDO* with the 'additiones' to the *LQ* as edited by Georg Polykarp Götz:

I. <*De horis canonicis*> = *LQ*, add. 21: '... Propheta uero Dauid septies in die laudem ... cum Christo in laude et gloria regnaturi designatur.'

Mathilde' in *Auteurs spirituels*, pp. 162-72 and (on the growth of the collection) 'Les méditations réunies sous le nom de saint Anselme', *ibid.*, pp. 173-201.

²⁸ On William of Malmesbury see H. Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's Life and Works', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 13 (1962) 39-54, especially 50-51 where he discusses the *Abbreviatio*; the *Abbreviatio* has been edited recently by R. W. Pfaff, 'The "Abbreviatio Amalarii" of William of Malmesbury', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 47 (1980) 77-113 and 48 (1981) 128-71.

²⁹ Gibson, pp. 36-37, discusses the fact that there is nothing in the works of Ivo that would connect him with Lanfranc; yet this is probably to be expected since Ivo did not leave works on logic or sacred scripture, but primarily on canon law.

³⁰ Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula', 318 n. 32, comments on the similarities between the treatment of liturgical vestments in the *DOE* (Delamare, pp. 49-50; PL 147.62) and a tract attributed to Ivo (*Sermo ad sacerdotes ordinatos*, ed. Reynolds, *ibid.*, 322).

II. <De missae hora> = *LQ*, add. 5: 'Missa iuxta sanctorum patrum instituta ... Deo Patri obtulit in odorem suavitatis.'

III. <De missae celebratione> = *LQ*, add. 23: 'Choro incipiente introitum a beato Coelestino institutum ... in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur.'

IV. <De ministris> = *LQ*, add. 37: 'Cleros Graece, Latine dicitur sors ... tabulatum dicitur, quod super aquas fit.'

V. *De uestimentis aecclesiasticis* = *LQ*, add. 29: 'Primum indumentum est ephod ... in deliciis paradisi Dei fuisti.'³¹

It would appear, then, that the compiler of the *DDO* had before his eyes a florilegium similar to the ones studied by Götz from which he selected 'additiones' 21, 5, 23, 37, and 29. Because Götz does not attempt to identify these 'additiones' to the *LQ*, we shall do so now.

LQ, add. 37 and 29 (*DDO* IV-V) are versions of chapters 39 and 36 respectively of the *LDO*. *LDO* 39 (add. 37), on the ecclesiastical officers, can be found in a variety of forms, some of them highly abbreviated. In the form represented by *LQ*, add. 37, pseudo-Alcuin's text has been reduced to a series of definitions of the terms clerics, canon, subdiaconus, diaconus, presbyter, sacerdos and pontifex; definitions of the minor orders have been omitted.³² *LDO* 36 (add. 29), which treats the liturgical vestments of the Church, is without alteration.³³

LQ, add. 21, 5, and 23 (*DDO* I-III) are epitomized versions of chapters of the *DOE* of John of Avranches pertaining to the canonical hours (21), the time of the celebration of the mass (5), and the rites of the mass (23). Only one of the manuscripts described by Götz (Cambridge, Pembroke College 111) contains all the chapters of the *DDO*. Götz catalogues the contents of the manuscript as follows:

1. fols. 79r-102r: *LQ*, add. 21-22, 5, 23-31, 34-37
2. fols. 102v-132v: *LQ*
3. fols. 132v-135r: *LQ*, add. 1-11
4. fols. 135v-160v: pseudo-Hugo a sancto Victore, *Speculum ecclesiae*³⁴

³¹ Götz, pp. 148-52, 134, 154-59, 188-89, and 174-76.

³² Reynolds, 'Marginalia', 116-17, discusses the various forms of *LDO* 39; he has also provided (p. 123) an edition of the version that corresponds to *DDO* IV.

³³ See PL 101.1242-44.

³⁴ Götz, pp. LXIX-LXX. Of the other manuscripts Götz consulted for his edition five contain parts of the *QQE*:

(1) Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale 321 (312) (s. xv) contains *LQ*, add. 5 (= *DDO* II) and 23 (= *DDO* III); see Götz, pp. LXIII-LXIV.

(2) Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 411 (387) (s. XII/XIII) contains *LQ*, add. 25, and 20-21 (*DDO* I); cf. Götz, pp. LXVIII-LXVIX.

(3) Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1250 (s. XIII) contains *LQ*, add. 5 (= *DDO* II) and 23 (= *DDO* III); cf. Götz, pp. XCVII-XCVIII.

What Götz's description of ms. Pembroke 111 fails to account for, however, is the fact that in this manuscript 'additiones 21-22, 5, 23-25' constitute a complete work. This tract, *Quia quatuor elementis* (*QQE*), although not identified as such, is, in fact, an epitome of the *DOE* of John of Avranches.³⁵

While the existence of the *QQE* has been noted before, no one has identified it with the work of John of Avranches. Hauréau listed several French and German codices containing the *QQE* in his handwritten inventory of incipits of works contained in Paris manuscripts.³⁶ Elsewhere he speculated that Eudes of Soissons might be the author of the *QQE* since in one instance it is found with his works.³⁷ In his edition of the works of Amalarius, Hanssens comments on two manuscripts in which the *QQE* is found; in one of these the work is entitled *Expositiones Amalarii in offitiis divinis*.³⁸ Altogether, the *QQE* can be found in at least eight manuscripts besides ms. Pembroke 111.³⁹

(4) Vatican Library Reg. lat. 270 (s. XIII, early) contains *LQ*, add. 5 (= *DDO* II) and 23 (= *DDO* III); cf. Götz, p. CVIII.

(5) Vatican Library Vat. lat. 5093 (s. XIV, early) contains *LQ*, add. 21 (= *DDO* I), 5 (= *DDO* II), and 23 (= *DDO* III); cf. Götz, p. CIX.

³⁵ Cambridge, Pembroke College 111 is a miscellany composed of four manuscripts; the part with the *QQE* (s. XII) contains the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* and other short pieces, the *Liber quare*, and the *Speculum de sacramentis et officiis* of pseudo-Hugh of St. Victor (in a different hand); cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 105-107. The incipit, *Quia quatuor elementis* (fol. 79r), is written as a title in capitals of alternating blue and red with a large, decorated initial 'Q'; at the bottom of fol. 90v there is an explicit. On the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* see R. E. Reynolds, 'The "Isidorian" *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 252-330, especially 313.

³⁶ The facsimile of Hauréau's inventory, published as *Initia operum scriptorum latinorum medi potissimum aevi ex codicibus manuscriptis et libris impressis alphabetice digessit*, 6 vols. and *Appendix*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, n.d.) lists: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13571, 14869, 17251, 17990 and 18108, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14051 (5.88v; *Appendix* 2.304).

³⁷ B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1893), 5.252, suggested that the *QQE* may have been composed by Eudes of Soissons, because it was copied with his works in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17990; he also discusses the text in his comments on mss. lat. 14869 (3.184) and lat. 18108 (6.38); see also Hanssens 1.56.

³⁸ Hanssens 1.56 mentions ms. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 371, in which the *QQE* is called *Expositiones Amalarii*, and ms. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo e.IV.13.

³⁹ These are:

(1) El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo e.IV.13 (s. XII). *Contents*: works of Isidore of Seville, Bernard of Clairvaux, and the *QQE*; see Hanssens 1.56 and G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1910-23), 2.100-102.

(2) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14051 (s. XII). *Contents*: a metrical penitential, a large extract of the *Moralia in Iob* of Gregory the Great, and the *QQE*; see Carlus Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis* 2.2 (Munich, 1876), p. 122.

(3) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 371 is a miscellany composed of four manuscripts; the part with the *QQE* (fols. 64r-75r) is a liturgical florilegium, s. XII. See Hanssens 1.56 and H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* 1 (Paris, 1885), pp. 233-35.

(4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13571 (s. XIII). *Contents*: homilies, excerpts from the

It would seem clear, then, that the anonymous compiler of the *DDO* copied the chapters of his exposition from a liturgical florilegium like ms. Pembroke 111. A plausible explanation for the Ivonian attribution of the *DDO* is also suggested by the manuscripts. ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13571, for example, has all the chapters of the *DDO* except *LDO* 39. In its miscellany of texts dealing with liturgical matters ms. lat. 13571 also has two liturgical sermons of Ivo of Chartres, which, as it happens, are the only pieces attributed to an author.⁴⁰ If the compiler of the *DDO* were working with such a manuscript as this, it would not have been unreasonable on his part to assume that all the texts in the collection were somehow related to Ivo, and therefore to call his text *Sententia Iuonis carnotensis episcopi de diuinis officiis*.

A COMPARISON OF THE *DOE*, THE *QQE*, AND THE *DDO*

The somewhat complicated, and possibly confusing, relationship among the *DOE*, *QQE*, and *DDO* can perhaps be best summarized by means of a table:

Remote source (<i>DOE</i>)	Proximate source (<i>QQE</i> , as in Götz)	<i>DDO</i>
Dedication		
Delamare, pp. 3-4		
Commendation of canonical life		
Delamare, pp. 4-5		
The canonical hours	I = <i>LQ</i> , add. 21	= <i>DDO</i> I
Delamare, pp. 5-9	Götz, pp. 148-52	
The mass	IV = <i>LQ</i> , add. 23	= <i>DDO</i> III
Delamare, pp. 9-16	Götz, pp. 154-59	
The hour of mass	III = <i>LQ</i> , add. 5	= <i>DDO</i> II
Delamare, p. 16	Götz, p. 134	

Fathers, and the *QQE*; see L. V. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613*, 5 vols. in 1 (separate pagination) (Paris, 1863-71; rpt. Hildesheim, 1974), 2.104.

(5) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14869 (s. XIII). *Contents*: works of Hugh of St. Victor, Anselm, and Remigius of Auxerre, as well as a tract on penance, canons, and the *QQE*; see Delisle, *ibid.* 3.55.

(6) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17251 (s. XII). *Contents*: the *QQE*, sermons of Geoffrey Babion, patristic extracts, and notes on the computation of time; see Delisle, *ibid.* 5.37.

(7) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17990 (s. XII). *Contents*: works of Eudes of Soissons and the *QQE*; see Delisle, *ibid.* 5.76.

(8) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 18108 (s. XII). *Contents*: the *QQE*, the *Ad Widonem* of Alcuin, and miscellaneous works; see Delisle, *ibid.* 5.82.

⁴⁰ These are the sermons for Advent and the Feast of the Nativity (PL 162.567A-71D).

Remote source (<i>DOE</i>)	Proximate source (<i>QQE</i> , as in Götz)	<i>DDO</i>
The liturgical year Delamare, pp. 16-49	v = <i>LQ</i> , add. 24 Götz, pp. 159-68	
Liturgical vestments Delamare, pp. 49-51	II = <i>LQ</i> , add. 22 Götz, pp. 152-54	
Addenda (on liturgical year) Delamare, pp. 51-53		
Remote source (<i>LDO</i>)	Proximate source (<i>QQE</i> , as in Götz)	<i>DDO</i>
39 liturgical vestments	= <i>LQ</i> , add. 37 Götz, pp. 188-89	= <i>DDO</i> IV
36 officers	= <i>LQ</i> , add. 29 Götz, pp. 174-78	= <i>DDO</i> v

Because the compiler of the *DDO* simply copied the texts he had selected, *DDO* I-III is faithful to the text of the *QQE* with one important exception: the opening sentence of the *QQE* is lacking in the *DDO*, and the different incipits, no doubt, explain why the relationship of these two works to each other and to the *DOE* has not previously been noted. The omission of the first sentence of the *QQE* in the *DDO* may be a deliberately intended allusion to chapter 16 in the Rule of St. Benedict.⁴¹

The textual relationship between *DDO* I-III and the *QQE* is rather straightforward; the textual relationship between the text of the *QQE/DDO* and the *DOE* is

⁴¹ The somewhat confusing relationship among the three works can be illustrated by citing the opening sentences of the *DOE* on the canonical hours (Delamare, pp. 4-5): 'Hoc igitur expedito, hore noctis et diei juxta canonicam institutionem certis temporibus observentur, et canonici ad ecclesiam devote congregentur, a quibus, ita ut scribitur, per totum anni circulum ecclesiastica officia agantur. <inc. *QQE*> Quia vero quatuor elementis subsistentes, Dominum nocte ac die offendimus, dignum est ut quater nocte et die, in hymnis et psalmis et orationibus Dei omnipotentiam, antiquorum exempla sequentes, placare studeamus. Esdras enim a captivitate Babylonica reversus populum Israeliticum quater nocte et die [Domino] psallere ad ejus misericordiam provocandam instituit. <inc. *DDO*> Propheta vero David septies in die'

The omission of the first sentence of the *DOE* in the *QQE* is perhaps to be explained, as we shall see, by the fact that the *QQE* was intended to serve a wider audience than secular canons. The incipit of the *DDO*, 'Propheta David septies in die laudem ...', calls to mind chapter 16 of the Rule of St. Benedict, which treats of the canonical hours: 'Vt ait propheta, *septies in die laudem dixi tibi*. Qui septenarius sacratus numerus a nobis sic implebitur, si matutino, primae, tertiae, sextae, nonae, uesperae completoriiue tempore nostrae seruitutis officia persoluamus, quia de his diurnis horis dixit: *Septies in die laudem dixi tibi*. Nam de nocturnis uigiliis idem ipse propheta ait: *Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi*' (*La règle de saint Benoît*, ed. J. Neufville, 6 vols. [Sources chrétiennes 181-86; Paris, 1971-72], 2.524). It may be, therefore, that the compiler of the *DDO* was a monk.

not as simple. The *QQE* lacks the opening material of the *DOE* (the dedication to Maurilius and the commendation of the common life). The other parts of the *DOE* have been revised. Because all the references to secular canons have been suppressed, because the new work is more interpretative than descriptive, and because many rubrics have been omitted, it would appear that the motive behind the *QQE* was to adapt the *DOE* to serve a wider audience than the chapters of canons in the province of Normandy.

We can get a sense of the textual relationship between the *QQE/DDO* and the *DOE* by comparing some passages from *DDO* I-III with the parallel portions of the *DOE*. The *DOE* is cited below with the portions omitted in the *DDO* placed in parentheses:

Primam vero, quia finis est noctis et initium diei. (Hec hora omni tempore, exceptis diebus tribus passionis Domini et septem diebus pasche, cum oratione dominica, et symbolo, et capitulo, et collecta completur.) In hac, quia noctem cum salute transegimus, pastori nostro gratias debemus reddere et quicquid mali quinque sensibus corporis contraximus, precibus et lacrymis ejus misericordiam postulando delere: (id insuper exorare, ut imminenti die ab omnibus malis gregem suum dignetur defendere, et quinque sensus corporis nostri in beneplacito suo dirigere.) Idcirco quinque psalmos canimus⁴²

Both omitted passages can be seen as superfluous to the point being made, namely, why five psalms are sung at prime. The first sentence omitted, because it deals with exceptions to the normal order of prime, would be most appropriately placed in a discussion of the church year, where, in fact, the *DOE* does describe exceptions to the normal order of the offices during the seasons of the year and on feast days. The second deleted passage, although it concerns symbolic interpretation, may have appeared to be redundant.

Toward the end of the discussion of prime there is an addition to the text of the *DOE* that gives a further symbolic explanation of the significance of the hour:

Haec hora merito celebratur, quia Christus summo diluculo resurrexit a mortuis, et quia, sicut narrat euangelista, sanctae mulieres cum aromatibus ad monumentum ualde mane una sabbatorum orto iam sole uenerunt.⁴³

Throughout the section on the canonical hours the text of the *QQE/DDO* differs from its source in many similar additions and omissions.

The exposition of the mass that we find in the *QQE/DDO* III represents a thorough revision of the parallel section of the *DOE*, which results in a more coherent integration of description and interpretation. John of Avranches, relating the succession of the rites of the mass in the *DOE*, frequently digresses from the

⁴² Delamare, p. 5 (PL 147.29AB); cf. *DDO* I.8-11 and *LQ*, add. 21b.12-16 (Götz, p. 149).

⁴³ *DDO* I.15-17; *LQ*, add. 21b.21-24 (Götz, p. 149). Cf. Delamare, p. 5.

order of the mass to discuss in detail the actions of the ministers and the significance of their gestures. Sometimes confusion ensues when these digressions refer to parts of the mass already discussed. As we have it in *QQE* IV/*DDO* III, John's text has been altered to avoid such confusion; much of the superfluous material has been omitted and the interpretation of each rite of the mass is given in its proper place. This can be seen, for example, in the description of what takes place at the time of the collect. Between his interpretation of the *Dominus vobiscum* and his description of what the ministers do at the time of the readings John relates in great detail what the acolytes are to do with the candles they hold. Of this only two rubrics have been retained in *QQE* IV/*DDO* III: one, which explains what the acolytes do with their candles at the time of the *Kyrie*, has been placed at the point of the narrative where the *Kyrie* is discussed; another rubric concerning the movement of the candles at the time of the collect has likewise been moved to the appropriate point in the exposition.⁴⁴ In the same way the descriptions of the entrance rites, the proclamation of the lessons, and the elevation at the end of the canon have been simplified in *QQE* IV/*DDO* III.⁴⁵ Thus it would appear that the revision of the *DOE* witnessed by the *QQE*/*DDO* aimed not merely at brevity but greater clarity as well.

THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *QQE* AND THE *DDO*

We have traced the literary legacy of John of Avranches from the *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, through the anonymous epitome *Quia quatuor elementis*, to the *Sententia Iuonis carnotensis episcopi*. We have seen that the *DDO* was most likely produced in the first half of the twelfth century by an anonymous compiler from texts he found in a liturgical florilegium. We have also suggested that the compiler

⁴⁴ We cite Delamare, pp. 10-11 (PL 147.33cd), enclosing in parentheses the passages omitted in the *QQE* and *DDO*: '(Ceroferarii vero usque ad *Kyrie eleison* ab austro ad aquilonem candelabra teneant, quo incepto ibidem dimittant. Per austrum, qui est ventus calidus, Spiritus Sancti fervor designatur [de quo in Canticis canticorum dicitur: *Veni auster perfla ortum meum*, id est corda prophetarum. Per hoc quod incepta epistola ab oriente ad occidentem collocantur, adventus nove gratie designatur] que veri solis ortu ad occidentem mundum illuminando diffunditur. Unus, secundus, tertius, in medio ponatur, per quem ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine Domini, Dominum adesse designatur.) Per hoc quod incepto *Kyrie* cerei deponuntur, nos, dum Dominum exoramus, contrito corde humiliari oportere demonstratur. (Salutante presbytero populum, iterum ibidem teneant.) Oratione finita, ab oriente ad occidentem collocent; duobus enim testamentis illuminantur quatuor partes mundi. (Septem candelabra in festis significant septem dona Spiritus Sancti.)' Cf. *DDO* III.3:32-45 and *LQ*, add. 23c.39-56 (Götz, pp. 155-56).

⁴⁵ Cf. Delamare, pp. 9-10 (PL 147.32bd) and *DDO* III.1:2-6 with *LQ*, add. 23a.1-6 (Götz, p. 154); Delamare, pp. 11-12 (PL 147.34b-35a) and *DDO* III.4:59-83 with *LQ*, add. 23d.74-104 (Götz, pp. 156-57); and Delamare, p. 14 (PL 147.36bc) and *DDO* III.6:100-106 with *LQ*, add. 23f.126-133 (Götz, p. 148).

may have attributed the *DDO* to Ivo of Chartres because the liturgical miscellany from which he selected his texts contained works of Ivo.

None of the manuscripts of the *QQE* provides any clues about the date of the work or its author. The *QQE* can be placed roughly in the period between the composition of the *DOE* (1060-67) and the appearance of the *DDO* in the first half of the twelfth century. As for authorship, we would suggest that John of Avranches revised his own work, a hypothesis which explains three things. First, if John of Avranches issued a second edition of his work, improved and more complete, this would help to explain why so few manuscripts of the *DOE* remain, especially in Normandy. Secondly, if John wrote the *QQE*, this would explain the careful reworking of the text noted above. Someone other than John might have made simple additions or omissions, or would have written a new work incorporating parts of the *DOE*; it seems unlikely, however, that anyone else would have undertaken the careful revisions observed in the section on the mass. Thirdly, if John wrote the *QQE*, this would help to explain the form of the additions to the text of the *DOE*, which are virtually indistinguishable from the original in language and style. In other words, the kind of alterations made to the *DOE* to produce the *QQE* would be best explained as the type of changes an author would make to his own text after a reconsideration of his purpose and after receiving the criticisms of others.

The *QQE*, regardless of who produced it, replaced the *DOE* and in the process of its diffusion became anonymous (one has only to recall that the same thing occurred in the case of the *Micrologus*). The fact that it is found complete in nine manuscripts, and that individual chapters can be found as well in florilegia, attests its usefulness and popularity. The *DDO* further confirms this popularity. Therefore, although one cannot attribute the *DDO* to Ivo or the *QQE* with any certainty to John, it is clear that through these anonymous works the influence of John of Avranches and the 'Norman School' was carried beyond Normandy and beyond the eleventh century.

THE EDITION OF THE *DDO*

The edition of the *DDO* presented below is based on: MSS. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Theol. 8° 51 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 13105, which contain the text of the *DDO* in its entirety; and ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 22273, which preserves only a portion of the text (I.5:1-55). The script of the three witnesses suggests that they can all be dated to the first half of the twelfth century and assigned a south German origin.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ See S. H. Thomson, *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages (1100-1500)* (Cambridge, 1969) where three facsimiles (plates 30-32), spanning a period from 1125 to 1144, show a striking

The following descriptions of the manuscripts and their contents must be based, regrettably, on what could be determined from microfilms and, where available, manuscript catalogues.

S = Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Theol. 8° 51, fols. 1r-18r. Southern Germany, s. XII (first half).

89 folios, modern numbering (1-89). 20 long lines. One hand throughout, with corrections added by a contemporary, if not the same, hand (designated S^c).

Contents:

- (1) fols. 1r-18r: *Sententia Iuonis carnotensis de diuinis officiis*
- (2) fols. 19r-51r: Honorius 'of Autun', *Ineuitabile*
- (3) fols. 51v-89r: Honorius 'of Autun', *Offendiculum*⁴⁷
- (4) fol. 89v: anonymous verses and the beginning of Bede, *De die iudicii*.⁴⁸

M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 13105, fols. 73v-82v. Southern Germany, s. XII (first half).

137 folios, modern numbering (1-137). 22 long lines. One hand throughout, with corrections added by a contemporary, if not the same, hand (designated M^c).

Contents:

- (1) fols. 1r-73r: Honorius 'of Autun', *Elucidarium*⁴⁹
- (2) fols. 73v-82v: *Sententia Iuonis carnotensis de diuinis officiis*
- (3) fols. 83r-105r: Honorius 'of Autun', *Ineuitabile*

similarity to the three manuscripts of the *DDO*. The script of all three witnesses follows Caroline models. There is little evidence of angularity, no biting of opposing curves, and the text is well spaced. Letters are frequently joined at their tops and the ascenders have serifs. All three manuscripts consistently employ *e* with a cedilla for *ae*; all three use the ampersand for *et*, although ms. Clm 22273 also uses the tironian *et*. The reverse *c* for *con* does not appear. The Stuttgart manuscript and ms. Clm 22273 prefer the straight semi-uncial *d* to the curved uncial *d*; in ms. Clm 13105 both forms are used.

⁴⁷ The *Ineuitabile* siue *De praedestinatione et libero arbitrio inter magistrum et discipulum dialogus* is printed in PL 172.1197-1222; the *Offendiculum seu De incontinentia sacerdotum* has been edited by J. Dieterich (MGH *Libelli de lite* 3; Hanover, 1897), pp. 39-57. On the identity of Honorius 'of Autun' see V. I. J. Flint, 'The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis: Some Fresh Evidence', *Revue bénédictine* 82 (1972) 63-86, 'The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis', *ibid.* 82 (1972) 215, 'The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis', *ibid.* 87 (1977) 97-127, and 'Heinricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis: Are They the Same Person?', *ibid.* 92 (1982) 148-58; in the penultimate article cited, Flint suggested that Honorius 'of Autun' and Honorius of Regensburg might be the same person. In the most recent article she has reconsidered the evidence and considers it likely that there were two men by the name of Henry of Augsburg, one of whom later came to be known as Honorius of Augsburg.

⁴⁸ *De die iudicii*, ed. D. Hurst (CCL 122; Turnhout, 1955), pp. 439-44.

⁴⁹ *Elucidarium siue Dialogus de summa totius christianae theologiae* (PL 172.1109-76); see V. I. J. Flint, 'The "Elucidarius" of Honorius Augustodunensis and Reform in Late Eleventh Century England' and 'The Sources of the "Elucidarius" of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975) 178-89 and 190-98, respectively.

(4) fols. 105v-137r: Honorius 'of Autun', *Offendiculum*

(5) fol. 137v: anonymous verses.

Mu = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 22273, fols. 89v-90r. Southern Germany, s. XII (first half).

Miscellany, saec. XII-XIII. Various hands.

Contents (part II, fols. 41v-125v):

- (1) fols. 41v-45r: *Sententia Anshelmi archiepiscopi de praescientia Dei et libero arbitrio*⁵⁰
- (2) fols. 45v-89v: theological florilegium (*inc.* 'Venerabili abbati de sancto Laurentio H. A. humilis filius laudunensis ecclesie salutem ...')
- (3) fols. 89v-90r: *Sententia Iuonis carnotensis episcopi de diuinis officiis et sacramentis altaris* (post *completorium* [1.5:55] des.)⁵¹
- (4) fol. 90v: blank except for the drawing of a man in the upper left quadrant
- (5) fols. 91r-125v: Amalarian epitome (*inc.* 'Signorum usus a ueteri testamentum sumptum est ...'); a marginal note on fol. 91v attributes the work to 'W. St. De exordiis ...', that is, to Walafrid Strabo.⁵²

Although they have separative as well as conjunctive errors, the two Munich manuscripts are clearly related.⁵³ Mu, which has the greater number of independent errors, appears to be the later of the two. S and M likewise share a number of conjunctive errors, some of which have been corrected in S (= S^c).⁵⁴ S retains a few independent errors not corrected by S^c; ⁵⁵ M, however, has about twenty-five

⁵⁰ *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio*, ed. Schmitt, 2.243-88.

⁵¹ On fol. 90r there are two marginal notes, apparently from a canonical collection, which have no obvious relationship to the text: (1) 'Gregorius I: Dominicis diebus doceant non licere omnino ieiunandum propter resurrectionis dominici sacramentum neque in festiuitatibus dominicis natiuitatis uel apparitionis siue ascensionis' (source not found); and (2) (cropped) 'Nicolaus pap<a>: Si quis inquit<t> dogmata, man<d>ata, interdicta, sanctiones siue d<e>creta a presule se<dis> apostolicę promulga<ta> contempserit, anat<he>ma sit' (cf. Ivo, *Decretum* 5.35 [PL 161.335c]).

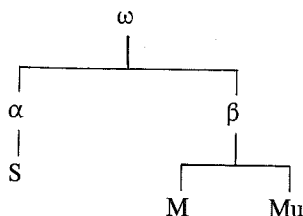
⁵² For the *Missae expositionis geminus codex* see Hanssens 1.255-81, and for the *Eclogae de ordine romano et de quattuor orationibus in missa* see Hanssens 3.229-65; see Walafrid Strabo, *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, ed. A. Knoepfler (Munich, 1899) (also PL 114.919-66).

⁵³ I 4 *Propheta Daud id eo septies*] *ideo* add. MMu 14 *inexpugnabilis*] *expugnabilis* MMu 46 *responsorium*] *responsam* MMu 51 *fragrantia*] *flagrantia* MMu. Mu also has errors independent of S and M: I 2 *et sacramentis altaris* add. Mu 18 *sextam quoque* add. Mu 48 *humilitatis*] *humilitas* Mu. This suggests that both rely on a common ancestor.

⁵⁴ I 106 *incensum*] *incendium* SM; III 24 *dilectionis DOE: discretionis* SM 29 *episcopus*¹ om. SM 32 *cum ministris DOE: om.* SM 66 *Per puluinar quod DOE: Per puluinar quem* SM; v 14 *dicitur*] *ponitur* SM. The following conjunctive errors of SM have been corrected by S^c: III 3 *indutus* S^c: om. SM 90 *nam* S^c: *postea* SM 126 *sed* S^c: *si* SM; v 21 *uidelicet* S^c: om. SM 23 *Dalmatia* S^c: *dalmatica* SM.

⁵⁵ I 7 *pre* MMu: *pro* S 23 *et*² om. S 37 *Vnusquisque* MMu: *Vnusquis* S 92 *nouem* M: *duodecim* S; v 44 *legitime* M: *legitime* S 47 *sandalis* M: *scandalis* S *sandalia* M: *scandalia* S 53 *perfectus* om. S.

readings which differ from those of S. The relationship between S and MMu may be depicted thus:



S has been chosen as the base text of the following edition of the *DDO* because it has fewer errors than M and because a number of these have been corrected by S^c. In four instances, when all the manuscripts seem to be in error, we have emended the text,⁵⁶ consulting the parallel passages of the *LQ*, additiones, in the edition of Götz and also the *DOE*; in two instances we have adopted on the authority of the *DOE* alone what seems to be a better reading.⁵⁷ Our editorial additions to the *DDO* are enclosed in angle brackets, and our deletions are placed in square brackets. The spelling of S has been reproduced along with the use of *u* for consonantal *u* and *i* for consonantal *i*; *ae* is used instead of *e* with cedilla.

The text of the *DDO* has been divided into chapters and sections so that it corresponds to the units of the *DDO* as found in Götz's edition of the *LQ*. We have reported all variants (except those of a purely orthographical nature) in the *apparatus criticus*. The *apparatus fontium* contains, at the beginning of each chapter, the parallels in the *LQ*, additiones, the *DOE* or the *LDO*. Quotations from the Bible and other works have been identified where possible, and we have also attempted to identify some of the more obvious indirect references to the works of Amalaricus, even though these pertain more to the *DOE* than to the *QQE* or *DDO*.

SIGLA

- M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 13105
 Mu = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 22273
 S = Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Theol. 8° 51
 M^c, S^c = M, S a librario ipso uel a manu coeua correcti

⁵⁶ III 24, 32, 66; v 43-44.

⁵⁷ I 87 *prophetas* SM: the *DOE* has *patriarchas* which is more correct, since, strictly speaking, the patriarchs, not the prophets, were the propagators of the people of Israel; I 106 *incendium* SM: the *DOE* has *incensum*, which makes better sense.

SENTENTIA IVONIS CARNOTENSIS EPISCOPI
DE DIVINIS OFFICIIS

<I. DE HORIS CANONICIS>

1. Propheta Daud septies in die laudem se dixisse et media nocte ad confitendum Domino surrexisse nobis indicit. Has namque horas, scilicet primam, 5 S 1v
terciam, sextam, nonam, uesperas, completorium, nocturnas <et> matutinale M 73^a
officium, ad psallendum Domino sancti patres pre ceteris elegerunt. Mu 8^a

2. Primam, quia finis est noctis et initium diei. In hac, quia noctem cum salute transegimus, pastori nostro gratias reddere et quicquid mali quinque sensibus contraximus eius misericordiam postulantes precibus et lacrimis delere debemus. 10
Idcirco in ea quinque psalmos canimus, eosque trina sanctae Trinitatis glorificatione connectimus, ut quinque sensus nostri per eius fidem muniantur. Quibus fidem catholicam a beato Anastasio alexandrino patriarcha expositam adicimus, ut contra omnia aduersa uisibilia siue inuisibilia sit nobis inexpugnabilis clipeus. S 2r
Haec hora merito celebratur, quia Christus summo diluculo resurrexit a mortuis, 15 M 74
et quia, sicut narrat euangelista, sanctae mulieres cum aromatibus ad | monumentum ualde mane una sabbatorum orto iam sole uenerunt.

3. Terciam uero, quia in ea Spiritus Sanctus super apostolos descendit; sextam, quia Saluatorem nostrum crucifixerunt Iudei; nonam, quia in ea idem Saluator noster pendens in cruce emisit spiritum. In his tribus horis bis tres 20
psalmos cum trina glorificatione sanctae Trinitatis canimus; fidem enim sanctae Trinitatis corde et corpore tenere et uenerari debemus. Has quoque horas cum ymno, antiphona, capitulo, responsorio, uersu, oratione dominica et precibus et *Miserere mei Deus*, genu flexo, et oratione complemus, exceptis festis in quibus | S 2v
oratione dominica et preces cum psalmo et genuflexione pretermittuntur. Prius 25
enim adiutorium Domini nostri in his tribus horis inuocare debemus. Postea | Mu 9
ymnum, id est laudem, nostro Redemptori reddimus. Per antiphonam in qua psalmi coniunguntur caritas intellegitur in qua uniri debemus quatinus, ut ait

I 2 *post officiis add. et sacramentis altaris Mu* 4 Daud ideo *MMu* 7 *pre]* pro *SMu*
12 connectimus *S^c: connectimus S* 14 inexpugnabilis *S^c: expugnabilis SMMu* 15 hora
add. S^c 19 sextam quia] sextam quoque quia *Mu* 22 uenerari *M^c: uerari M* 23 *et¹ om. S*

I *LQ*, add. 21 (Götz, pp. 148-52); cf. *DOE* (Delamare, pp. 5-9; PL 147.28-32). 4-5 Ps 118:164, 62; cf. *Regula Benedicti* 16 (Sources chrétiennes 182.524). 8-10 Amal., *LO* 4.7.7-8 (Hanssens 2.432). 16-17 cf. Mc 16:1-2.

apostolus, *in caritate radicati simus et fundati*. Per capitulum exhortationem boni
 30 operis, per responsorium opus bonum, per uersum complexionem siue fructum
 boni operis, per orationem diuinam misericordiam quae actiones et precedere et
 subsequi <debet> uel unitatem nostrae fidei intelligimus.

M 74v 4. Finitis his diurnalibus officiis, nocturnalibus | succedunt officia in quibus
 uespera prima hora consistit. In hac, quia finis est diei et initium noctis, sicut in
 S 3r 35 prima, quinque psalmos per quinque sensus corporis canimus, | ut quicquid per
 eos in die offendimus psalmorum deprecatione dimittatur et idem sensus nostri
 imminente nocte a Domino in beneplacito suo dirigantur. Vnusquisque psalmus
 cum antiphona cantetur, ut instituit Ignatius antiocenus patriarcha. Per quinque
 40 psalmos qui alternantibus choris cantantur, fratrum designantur opera in quibus se
 ipsos exercendos alternatim admoneant et aliis bene uiuendo exemplum prebeant
 iuxta euangelistam: *Appareant opera uestra bona hominibus et glorificent Deum*. Per
 antiphonam quae ab uno incipitur et a cunctis communiter cantatur, caritas
 exprimitur qua fidelium mentes in unum connectuntur. Deinde a sacerdote qui
 uicem Christi gerit, dicatur lectio, id est exhortatio quae capitulum dicitur, id est
 S 3v 45 quo populum hortatur | ne deficiat sed in bono opere perseueret. Quam lectionem
 responsorium, id est bonum opus exhortati populi, et ymnus, id est laus Dei,
 prosequitur. Et uersu dicto, qui fructum boni operis significat, ymnus sancte
 Mariae, id est *Magnificat*, cum antiphona incipitur in qua humilitatis et obedientiae
 M 75r exemplo roboramur et | incarnationis dominicae memoria ad excitandam nostrae
 50 fidei deuotionem reducitur. Sed incipiente uersu, iuxta quod precepit Dominus
 Moysi, incensum super altare ponitur a sacerdote et per haec fragrantia et
 exemplum bonorum operum designatur. Postea oratio cum benedictione sequitur,
 per quod nostri mysterii unitas et repromissio intellegitur.

5. Sed quia post uesperas non statim quiescimus sed terrenis operibus et
 S 4r 55 necessitatibus operum et corporum, quae absque culpa omnino exerce|ri nequeunt,
 incumbimus, et quicquid in illis delinquimus per completorium emendamus. In hac
 quippe hora Christo per quatuor elementa corporis nostri quibus Deum offendimus
 quatuor psalmos ad complacendum cantabimus, quibus post capitulum, ymno
 dicto, ymnum iusti Symeonis iterum adicimus, ut a Deo custoditi et illuminati in
 60 pace quiescamus. Postea, sicut in prima, oratione dominica et simbolo et confes-
 sione nos contra hostis insidias munientes, horam cum precibus et oratione
 dominica complemus, quia, sicut ait apostolus, orare debemus *pro inuicem* et

37 Vnusquisque S^c: Vnusquis S 46 responsorium S^c: responso S: responsam MMu
 48 humilitatis S^cM^c: humilitas SMMu 51 fragrantia MMu 56 post completorium des. Mu

29 cf. Eph 3:17. 33-37 cf. Amal., LO 4.7.8 (Hanssens 2.432) 37-38 Amal., LO 4.7.9
 (Hanssens 2.432-33); cf. Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita* 5.32 (PL 69.1009c), 10.19 (PL
 69.1179D). 41 cf. Mt 5:16. 48 Lc 1:46-55. 50-51 cf. Ex. 30:6-8 *sicut in* Amal., LO
 4.7.17 (Hanssens 2.435). 56-58 cf. Amal., LO 4.8.2 (Hanssens 2.439). 62-63 cf. Iac 5:16.

confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, ut saluemini. Sicut in aliis horis sic et in istis, non in festis, orationem dominicam et preces et *Miserere mei Deus*, genu flexo, quod humilitatem et contritionem cordis nostri signifi|cat, <dicimus>, quia, sicut 65 S 4v ait propheta, *Sacrificium Deo est spiritus contri|bulatus et cor contritum.* Vnde et M 75 Dominus in Ysaia ait: *Ad quem respiciam nisi ad pauperum et contritum spiritu et sermonem meum tremementem?*

6. Media nocte, iuxta prophetam, ad confitendum Domino surgere debemus, quia populum sedentem in tenebris et in umbra mortis Christus uenit redimere 70 natus de uirgine noctis in tempore. In quo somno dominante, quia huc usque conticuimus, Deum deprecamur ut labia ad laudem suam pronunciandam aperire dignetur. Post, ut in ceterarum primordiis horarum, ipsum in nostro opere adiutorem inuocamus iuxta illud: *Venite ad me omnis qui diligitis me.* Postquam ymno ad eum placandum dicto duodecim psalmos canimus, ut per duodecim horas 75 noctis a Domino ab omnibus malis liberemur. | Et quia haec custodia per sex S 5r aetates mundi necessaria fuit, eosdem psalmos sex antiphonis coniungimus. Per antiphonam quippe, ut dictum est, caritas exprimitur. Versu autem ad excitandos animos dicto et oratione dominica ad mundanda corda nostra finita, necnon benedictione a sacerdote uicem Christi gerente accepta, tres lectiones leguntur. 80 Harum unamquamque sequitur suum responsorium. Lectionibus itaque predica-mus; responsoriis bona opera, quae subsequi debeant, designantur. Sex enim aetates | tribus temporibus, id est naturalis legis, legis literae et legis gratiae, M 76 concluduntur, quod inde in dominicis diebus et festis per tres nocturnas figuratur. Quod uero in dominicis diebus in prima nocturna duodecim psalmos cum trina 85 glo|rificatione sanctae Trinitatis canimus et ipsos quaternatim et una antiphona S 5v copulamus, duodecim patriarchas ad memoriam reducimus ex quibus Iudaicus populus est propagatus, qui in quatuor uirtutibus scilicet prudentia, fortitudine, iusticia, temperantia permanentes, eas Trinitatis fide et caritate connectentes, Domino deuote seruierunt, quorum exemplis debemus instrui. Per secundam 90 nocturnam designantur hi qui sub lege fuerunt eadem fide et caritate muniti; per terciam hi qui sub gratia fuerunt eisdem uirtutibus illuminati. Per nouem lectiones quibus *Te Deum laudamus*, id est laudes Deo, coniungimus, designatur nos trium horum temporum sanctorum patrum exempla imitari uerbo et opere debere, ut

67 pauperum] pauperem SM spiritu S: spiritum M 73 in¹ add. S^c 74 Postque LQ, add. 21 (Götz, p. 151): postquam SM 78 Versu] Versus SM 79 dicto scripsi: dictus S: dictis M 81 responsorium] responsum M 82 responsorii] responsis M 84 dominicis] domesticis M 87 patriarchas DOE (Delamare, p. 7): prophetas SM 92 Per scripsi: Post SM nouem M^c: octem M: duodecim S

66 Ps 50:19. 67-68 Is 66:2. 69 cf. Ps 118:62. 70 cf. Lc 1:79; Is 9:2. 72 cf. Ps 50:17. 74 cf. Pr 8:17; Mt 11:28. 82-84 cf. Amal., LO 4.11 (Hanssens 2.454). 85-90 cf. Amal., LO 4.9.4-6 (Hanssens 2.443). 94-96 cf. Amal., LO 4.9.16 (Hanssens 2.446).

3 6r 95 nouem ordinibus angelorum adiungi me | reamur et ex nobis restauretur qui diuinis
laudibus incessanter inhereat.

7. Per officium matutinale baptismum Israeliticae plebis recolimus per quem
noster baptismus figuratur. Quod in uigilia matutina Exodus narrat esse factum,
dum necatis diuina potentia hostibus rubrum mare transiuit Israeliticus populus.

100 In his etiam resurrectionem dominicam recolimus quam in summo diluculo angeli
M 76v nunciauerunt mulieribus. | In qua hora quinque psalmos ad muniendum quinque
sensus canimus. Post sacerdos per lectionem, quae capitulum uocatur, nos in bono
opere perseuerare hortatur, cui nos obedientes ymnum Deo canimus. Versu quoque
excitati ymnum Zachariae concinimus in quo Deum nos uisitasse et redemptionem
3 6v 105 nobis per Abraham pro | missam compleuisse conlaudando profitemur. Versu
incepto, iuxta quod Dominus precepit Moysi, sacerdos incensum super altare
adolebit. Per incensum quippe odor boni operis designatur; sicut ait apostolus,
bonus odor sumus in Christo. Per uersum uero excitatio boni operis designatur.
Quo finito Domino gratias refert sicut in aliis horis. Aliud quoque mysticum gerit
110 hoc officium: per primum primitiua aecclesia de Iudaeis designatur; per secundum
de gentibus; per tertium, cui unus psalmus sub una *Gloria* adicitur, uterque
populus, gentilis et Iudeus, qui in fine mundi una lege, una fide coniunguntur; per
quartum, quem pueri cantauerunt in camino ignis, antichristi tribulationem, quam
3 7r uterque populus pro Christo pacietur. Per tres psalmos laudis, qui sub una | *Gloria*
115 coniunguntur, tres ordines qui per Iob, Daniel, Noe exprimuntur cum Christo in
gloria regnaturi et laude designantur.

<II. DE MISSAE HORA>

Missa iuxta sanctorum patrum instituta hora tertia est celebranda, ipsa enim
hora crucifixus est Saluator mundi linguis Iudeorum; sed iuxta consuetudinem
A 77r communem potius hora sexta, | quia in ea passus est manibus persecutorum.
5 Tempore ieiunii hora nona, quia in ea emisit spiritum. Qui autem necessitate
compulsus ante terciam uel nonam, non proterue sed desiderio sacrificandi,
missam celebrat non est reprehendendus. Legitur enim summum pontificem
diluculo missam celebrasse, quod etiam aliis licet facere, quia ualde mane prima

95 qui] quia M diuinis laudibus incessanter] diuinis incessanter laudibus M 101 qua
add. S^c: om. SM 102 per om. M 106 incensum DOE (*Delamare*, p. 8): incendium SM
109 refert] referunt M

II 3 iuxta add. S^c: om. SM

97-99 cf. Ex 14:24-25; Amal., LO 4.10.1 (Hanssens 2.448-49). 100-101 Lc 24:4-5.
104 Lc 1:68-79; Gen 26:3. 106 *ut sup.*, ll. 50-51. 108 cf. 2 Cor 2:15. 109-116 cf. Amal.,
LO 4.10.6, 9, 11, 12, 15 (Hanssens 2.450-53).

II LQ, add. 5 (Götz, p. 134); cf. DOE (*Delamare*, p. 16; PL 147.37D-38A) et Amal., LO
3.42.2, 5 (Hanssens, 2.379-80). 7-8 LP 9 (Duchesne-Vogel 1.129).

sabbati Redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit qui se ipsum pro nobis hostiam
uiuam Deo | Patri obtulit in odorem suauitatis.

10 S 7v

<III. DE MISSAE CELEBRATIONE>

1. Choro incipiente introitum a beato Celestino institutum sacerdos in
uestiario cum ceteris ministris sacris uestibus indutus <est> iuxta ordinem. Hoc
ordine ad altare procedant diaconus presbyterem, subdiaconus ferens euangelium
diaconum, precedant ceroferarii cereos portantes subdiaconum, portitor thuribuli 5
caeroferarios precedat. Per ceroferarios sanctos patres et prophetas intellegimus
qui ideo diaconum precedunt et subdiaconum portantem euangelium, quia lex et
prophetae, patres et patriarchae, nouam legem precesserunt eamque prefiguraue-
runt. Sed candelabra lucent, quia eorum bona opera omnibus apparuerunt. Per
thuris odorem fragrantiam et exemplum bonorum operum significamus. Possunt 10
autem | duo candelabra duo testamenta significare. Portitores cerei predicatores S 8r
uel operadores; lumen quod inest bona opera, ut dic|tum est. Dum ergo ministri M 77r
tales ante altare uenerint, subdiaconus ponat euangelium super dextrum cornu
altaris ibique maneat usque ad euangelium, quia per altare Hierusalem designatur
in qua ab initio aduentum Domini per orbem terrarum euangelica doctrina resonuit 15
et inde in publicum exiuit, ut dictum est: *De Syon exhibit lex et uerbum Domini de
Hierusalem.*

2. Facta uero confessione sacerdos diaconum et subdiaconum osculetur, quia
Saluator noster primum pacem apostolis dedit eamque per eos orbi transmisit.
Postea uero ueniens sacerdos ad altare ipsum osculetur, et tunc diaconus offert ei 20
euangelium quod similiter osculatur. | Per altare Iudaicus populus qui in Hieru- S 8v
salem habitauit; per euangelium gentilis populus designatur qui per euangelicam
doctrinam ad fidem uenit. Vtrumque igitur sacerdos osculatur, quia Christus osculo
dilectionis et doctrinae utrumque populum sibi reconciliauit. Deinde sacerdos ad
dextrum cornu altaris secedit, quia Saluator noster dextram, id est caelestem uitam, 25
semper duxit. Post eum diaconus consistit, quia Christus suos spiritualementem uitam

10 in add. M^c

III 3 indutus S^c: om. SM
21-22 Hierusalem M^c: Israel M

11 cerei post predicatores M

12 uel add. S^c: om. SM

24 dilectionis LQ, add. 23 (Götz, p. 155): discretionis SM

III LQ, add. 23 (Götz, pp. 154-59); cf. DOE (Delamare, pp. 9-16; PL 147.32B-37D). 2 cf. Amal., LO 3.5.2 (Hanssens 2.272) et LP 45 (Duchesne-Vogel 1.230). 14-17 cf. Amal., LO 3.5.31 (Hanssens 2.281). 16-17 Is 2:3. 24-26 cf. Amal., LO 3.5.32 (Hanssens 2.281).

sequentes secum in gloria residere facit. Sessio episcopi iuxta decreta Urbani papae et cartaginense concilium ceteris celsior debet fieri, in qua cathedra pontificali constituitur honorifice episcopus; episcopus enim grece, latine superintendens interpretatur; ideo altior, quia sicut uinitori ad cus|todiendam uineam Domini | Sabbaoth eius locus preparatur.

3. Incipiente *Kirie eleison* episcopus ascendat <cum ministris> quorum alii sedeant, alii stent. Per eos qui resident membra Christi designantur in pace quiescentia; per stantes, in certamine posita. Incepto *Kirie eleison* cerei deponuntur, quia dum Deum exoramus contrito corde nos humiliari oportere figuratur. Cum sacerdos uel episcopus *Gloria in excelsis* dicere incipit uel orationem, uertetur ad orientem, non quia solum ibi sit Deus qui ubique presens est, sed quia ab oriente lux oritur qua ceterae mundi partes illustrantur, quia Christus lux iusticiae est et in Bethleem Iudae secundum carnem natus est, a quo totus mundus illuminatus est.

Per salutationem sacerdotis uel episcopi uel responsionem populi, eorum communis et caritatiuus desig|natur affectus monens et optans, ut in eis semper maneat Christus; quia autem solus episcopus salutando populum *Pax Domini* dicit, ostendit eum esse uicarium Christi qui resurgens a mortuis pacem populis nunciauit. Finita oratione cerei cum candelabris ab oriente et ab occidente collocentur, quia duobus testamentis quatuor mundi partes illuminantur. Per lectionem uel apostolum predicamus. Per responsorium, quod alternatim cantatur, actiua uita designatur in qua bona operando aeterna gloria promeretur, quod per *Alleluia* figuratur. Per tractum uero qui nullo respondente cantatur et in suis melodiis similitudinem fert gemitus, uita contemplatiua in qua per|fecti uiri pro suis et aliorum peccatis orando, soli Deo uacando, eandem quidem gloriam | excellentius promerentur. Sequentia que post *Alleluia* cantatur laudem aeternae gloriae significat ubi nulla erit necessaria uerborum locutio, sed sola pura et in Deo intenta cogitatio. Per tabulas osseas quas cantores solent tenere in manibus suis, fortis bonorum operum perseuerantia designatur, quia diuinis oportet semper inherere laudibus. Quod autem in ieiuniis quatuor temporum in quarta feria et sabbato et natali Domini epistola cum lectionibus de lege aut prophetis legitur,

28 pontificali] pontificalis *M* 29 episcopus¹ *om. M* episcopus² *add. S^c* superintendens] superintendus *M* 31 eius *add. S^c* 32 cum ministris *suppleui ex LQ, add. 23 (Götz, p. 155)* 46 aliter. Per lectionem apostolorum predicatio designatur *add. S^c* responsorium *S^c*: responsorium *SM*

27-28 cf. *Decreta ps.-Urbani 7 (Decretales pseudo-isidorianae et capitula Angilramni, ed. P. Hinschius [Leipzig, 1863], p. 145) et Statuta ecclesiae antiqua 2 (35) in Concilia Galliae, a. 314-a. 506, ed. C. Munier (CCL 148.166; Turnhout, 1956).* 29-31 *Amal., LO 3.10.5 (Hanssens 2.291-92); cf. Augustinum, Enarrationes in Pss. 126, edd. E. Dekkers et J. Fraipont (CCL 40.1858; Turnhout, 1956).* 33-34 cf. *Amal., LO 3.10.2 (Hanssens 2.291).* 51-53 cf. *Amal., LO 3.16.3 (Hanssens 2.304).*

significat uetus testamentum et nouum unum esse in mysterio nostrae fidei, et aliud intelligi posse Christo mediatore qui facit utraque unum.

4. Incepto tractu uel *Alleluia* diaconus casulam exuit et sub dextro brachio et super sinistrum ponit, dextrum uero dis[coopertum habet; brachium enim Domini 60 S 10v quod in lege erat absconsum nobis patefecit euangelium. Quod autem casula induitur significat mysticum, id est opertum, sub lege tempus; quod exuitur significat tempus sub gratia in quo mysteria reuelantur. Quod accepta benedictione a sacerdote ab altari euangelium accipiens, super sinistrum brachium imponit, quia per sinistrum armum uita temporalis designatur in qua oportet ut euangelium 65 predicetur. Et subdiaconus ante eum puluinar defert [quem]. <Per puluinar> quod precedit lex figuratur que euangelium precessit; per plumas que intus occultantur, mysteria quae in lege continebantur; per leuitatem, precepta | ueteris legis leuia ad M 79 operationem nouae legis: in illa enim dicit: *Non occides*; in noua uero: *Qui irascitur | fratri suo reus erit iudicio*. Lectores igitur et epistolae et euangelii et cantores 70 S 11r gradualis et *Alleluia* in festis diebus pulpitem ascendunt; debent enim pastores et doctores et predicationem suam exaltare iuxta prophetas et opera ad instruendum populum Dei iuxta illud: *Luceant opera uestra coram hominibus*. Diaconus cum ascenderit excelsius consistat ceroferariis, quia euangelium Christi legem et prophetas precellit; per thuribuli portitorem, qui in eodem statu cum 75 diacono consistit, designatur fragrantia doctrinae et magnalia Christi. Crucem, quam incipiente euangelio frontibus nostris imponimus, ad expellendas omnes prauas suggestiones facimus. Posito euangelio super pulpitem et incensato euangelium uersus aquilonem | legitur; per aquilonem infidelitas gentium designatur S 11v quibus euangelium predicatur ab apostolis igne Sancti Spiritus accensis. Lecto 80 euangelio candelabra extinguuntur, quia mysteria quae in lege continebantur et prophetis per candelabra designatis cessauerunt, sicut in immolatione ueri agni typici cessauit immolatio.

5. In consecratione sanguinis Christi uinum et aqua miscetur; per uinum Christus, per aquam populus intelligitur. Aqua uero uino mixta populus est 85 adunatus Christo; qui unum corpus efficitur in Christo. Sacerdos | ita oblationem M 79 componit ut dextra parte hostiae calicem constituat; a dextro enim latere Domini sanguis et aqua defluerunt. Qui uersus coram populo et se inclinans dicit *Orate*

59 et sub dextro bis S: et sub dextro¹ exp. S^c 60 discoopertum] discoperit M 66 Per puluinar *suppleui ex LQ, add. 23 (Götz, p. 156) et DOE (Delamare, p. 12)* quem SM 70 euangelii] euangelia M 71 gradualis] graduales M 72 et predicationes add. S^c: om. S 73 Luceant S^c: illuceant S hominibus] h. S: ominibus add. S^c 76 fragrantia] flagrantia M 79 legerunt M

69-70 Ex 20:13; Mt 5:22. 73 cf. Mt 5:16. 80-82 cf. Amal., LO 3.18.13 (Hanssens 2.310-11). 87-88 cf. Jo 19:34.

- S 12r *fratres*, postulans ut dignus possit diuinis cultibus | insistere, ne fiat illi quod
 90 factum est Bethsamitibus qui uiderunt temere archam Domini; nam Dominus
 noster Iesus Christus antequam pateretur orare creditur. Ymnus uidelicet *Sanctus*,
sanctus, *santus* a beato Xixto papa constitutus non incongrue potest significare
 fidem sanctae Trinitatis quam corde et ore debemus laudare et confiteri necnon et
 precari ut in conspectu eius sacerdos et populus digni mereantur inueniri.
- 95 6. Sacerdote dicente *Te igitur usque Sed libera nos* diaconus et ministri
 humiliato capite perseuerent, quia paciente Salvatore nostro discipuli eius timore
 et merore compatiebantur. Ubi uentum est ad haec uerba *Per quem haec omnia*
Domine semper bona creas, diaconus accedet et dextra manu dextrum corporale
- S 12v accipiens cum sacerdo | te discooperit. Sacerdos dicens *Per ipsum et in ipso* cum
 100 oblata tangit quatuor partes calicis. Immolatione et enim corporis Christi redempta
 sunt quatuor climata mundi. Finita uero oratione utrique calicem leuant et ponunt
 simul et cooperiunt. Per eleuationem hostiae de altari significatur depositio Christi
 de cruce; per depositionem iterum in altare, sepultura Christi. Per hoc quod inde
- M 80r diaconus | scapulam sacerdotis et altare osculatur creditur angelus Domini adesse
 105 immolationi corporis et sanguinis Christi Redemptoris nostri qui eius resurrec-
 tionem nunciauit. Per exaltationem dominicae orationis demonstratur unitas
 nostrae fraternitatis. Dicto *Sed libera* diaconus et subdiaconus se erigant oculosque
- S 13r in dominici cor | poris consecrationem intendant; ait enim euangelista quia *noti eius*
a longe stabant pectora sua percutientes. Quod autem diaconus a suo loco discessit
 110 et corpori et sanguini Christi ministrare satagit significat quod Domino deposito
 de cruce ac sepulto sanctae mulieres inde abcesserunt et aromata sepulturae eius
 preparauerunt. Per sacerdotem enim Nicodemus, per diaconum Joseph, per
 subdiaconum et alios subministros sanctae mulieres intelligi possunt. Illae autem
 dominicae passionis et sepulturae digna obsequia prebuerunt et isti dignum
 115 honorem dominici corporis et sanguinis consecrationi exhibent. <Illae ueneraban-
 tur iam passum eum iam mortuum;> isti uenerantur iam eum uiuum iam resuscita-
 tum a mortuis cuius caro est uita nostra, cuius sanguis est | redemptio nostra, quia,
 sicut ipse ait, *caro mea est cibus et sanguis meus uere est potus*, et alibi, *qui*
manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum in me manet.

90 uiderunt S^c: uiderunt S nam S^c: postea SM 99 discooperit] discoperit M 111 ab-
 cesserunt] accesserunt M eius add. S^c 115-116 Illae ... mortuum *suppleui* ex LQ, add.
 23 (Götz, p. 158) 116-117 resuscitatum a mortuis] a mortuis resuscitatum M 117 nostra
 add. S^c 119 carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum habet uitam aeternam M

89-90 1 Reg 6:19; cf. Amal., LO 3.19.24 (Hanssens 2.318-19). 91-92 LP 8 (Duchesne-
 Vogel 1.128 n. 5). 107-109 cf. Amal., LO 3.26.6 (Hanssens 2.345); Beda, *In Lucae euangelium*
expositio 6.23 (CCL 120.407-408; Turnhout, 1970); Lc 23:49. 118-119 cf. Amal., LO 3.35.1-3
 (Hanssens 2.367-68) et Jo 6:56-57.

7. Sacerdos igitur dominicum corpus, consecratum et sanctificatum, uiuum et 120
 uerum, in tres partes in altari super patenam diuidit, quarum unam calici inmittit
 alta uoce dicens *Pax Domini*. Aliam scilicet diaconus et sub|diaconus communicet. M 80
 Terciam ad uiaticum, si opus fuerit, in patena usque ad finem missae reseruet. Si
 autem opus non fuerit, eam sacerdos aut unus ministrorum in communicationem
 accipiat. Has itaque tres partes corporis Domini potest sacerdos accipere si non 125
 opus fuerit ut inde reseruemus, ut diximus. Sed per partem hostiae a sacerdote
 inmissae in calicem ostendit uiuum | corpus Christi quod a mortuis resurrexit; per S 14r
 partem hostiae a sacerdote uel diacono uel subdiacono commestam uiuificatio
 eorum in Deo, uel ostenditur Christi cum discipulis suis post resurrectionem
 conuersatio. Per terciam uero partem quae solet remanere in altari, ut dictum est, 130
 uocat sancta aecclesia uiaticum morientis, ut ostendatur non eos debere deputari
 mortuos. Non autem iuxta concilii toletani diffinitionem, intincto pane, sed
 seorsum pane et seorsum sanguine communicet, excepto populo, quem intincto
 pane, non auctoritate sed summa necessitate timoris sanguinis Christi effusionis,
 permittitur communicare. 135

8. Interea chorus *Agnus Dei* cantat quod Sergius papa tempore confractionis
 dominici corporis | cantare precepit, cuius agni immolatio mundum redemit. Quo S 14v
 incepto candelabra illuminantur; agni enim immolatione illuminatus est mundus.
 Deinde pax inter fratres donatur. Per osculum pacis nostrae designatur unitas fidei
 nostrae siue dilectionis siue et nostrae resur|rectionis: *Si enim credimus quod Iesus* 140 M 81
mortuus est et resurrexit particeps erimus resurrectionis.

<IV. DE MINISTRIS>

Cleros grece latine dicitur sors uel hereditas. Canon grece latine dicitur regula.
 Inde canonicus et regularis dicitur. Subdiaconus subminister eo quod sub diacono
 sit minister. Diaconus grece uel hebraice leuites, latine assumptus uel minister
 interpretatur, quia assumitur, id est eligitur, ad seruitium altaris; minister, quia 5
 ministrat presbytero. Presbyter grece | latine senior, non propter senectutem sed S 15i
 propter dignitatem. Sacerdos grece latine sacrum dans populo, uel sacrificium

125 itaque] utique M tres add. M^c 126 Sed S^c: si SM 127 uiuum corpus S^c: uinum
 in corpus ut uid. SM 128 uiuificatio S^cM^c: uiuificationem ut uid. SM 131 ostendatur]
 ostenditur S, ut uid. M

132-135 cf. *Concilium 3 bracarense* 1 (PL 130.589-90) et *Synodum claromontani* 28,
 ed. R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, vol. 1: *Decreta claromontensia* (Amsterdam, 1972),
 p. 147. 136-138 Amal., *LO* 3.33.1 (Hanssens 2.364); cf. *LP* 86 (Duchesne-Vogel 1.376).
 140-141 cf. 1 Thess 4:14 et Rom 6:5.

IV *LQ*, add. 37 (Götz, pp. 188-89); cf. pseudo-Alcuinum, *LDO* 36 (Reynolds, 'Marginalia',
 123).

sanctum offerens Deo. Episcopus grece latine dicitur superintendens: epi, super; scopos, intendens. Pontifex quasi pontem faciens uerba uitae exemplo prebere
10 debet. Pons grece uel tabulatum quod fit super aquas.

<V.> DE VESTIMENTIS AECCLESIASTICIS

1. Primum indumentum est effoth quod interpretatur super humerale lineum. Linum quod ex terra sumitur, quia per multos labores ad candorem perducitur, designat corpus humanum quod multis calamitatibus attritum ac probatum fit
5 castitate candidum et purum fideique sinceritate purgatissimum.

S 15v 2. Secundum indumentum est linea tunica quod uulgo dicitur alba, grece poderis | uel talaris eo quod usque ad talos descendat. Tunica itaque usque ad talos est opus bonum usque ad consummationem uitae. Ille bene inchoat qui perseue-
M 81v ran | tiam boni operis usque ad finem debitae perducit actionis.

10 3. De cingulo. Tercio loco zona uel baltheus, hoc est cingulum, ponitur quo restringitur poderis, ne lapsa per pedes defluat. Per hoc signatur discretio uirtutum. Virtutes sine discretionem non uirtutes sed uicia sunt. Virtutes in quodam sunt meditullio constitutae.

4. De orario quod dicitur stola. Quarto loco stola ponitur que orarium dicitur
15 eo quod oratoribus, id est predicatoribus, usus eius concedebatur. Quod bene predicatori conuenit ut meminerit sub iugo Christi quod leue est et suaue se esse constitutum.

S 16r 5. De fanone. | Quinto loco mapula, quam fanonem apellamus, ponitur que in sinistra parte geritur. Per sinistram enim uita presens designatur in qua sine
20 quibusdam uiciis uiuere nequimus. Mapula itaque prauitates oculorum detergimus et narium confusionem, uidelicet criminum uicia quae commisimus, expiamus.

6. De dalmatica et circumcinctura casulae. Sexto loco dalmatica ponitur. Dalmatica a Dalmatia Graeciae prouincia dicitur ubi primum fuit inuenta. Ante dalmaticum diaconi colobiis utebantur. Colobium est uestis sine manicis signifi-
25 cans fidelem ministrum esse debere excitatum ad bona opera exercenda, sed cum nuditas brachiorum culparetur a sancto Syluestro dalmaticarum repertus est usus.
S 16v Quod uestimentum in modum | crucis factum et habet ante et retro, etiam in utraque manica, purpureos tramites monens ministrum Christi mundo debere
M 82r crucifixum esse iuxta illud | apostoli: *Mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.*

V 8 usque *add. M^c* 14 dicitur] ponitur *SM*: uel dicitur *add. S^c* 18 que] hoc *M*
21 uidelicet *S^c: om. SM* 23 dalmatica] dalmatici *ut uid. M* Dalmatia *S^c: dalmatica SM*
25 exercenda *S^c*

V *LQ*, *add.* 29 (Götz, pp. 174-76); cf. pseudo-Alcuinum, *LDO* 39 (PL 101.1242-44).
16-17 Mt 11:30. 25-26 cf. *LP* 34 (Duchesne-Vogel 1.171). 29 Gal 6:14.

Habet etiam fimbrias in sinistra manica. Per sinistram presens uita designatur quae 30
diuersis curis habundat. Per dextram autem futura uita ostenditur quae nullis est
sollicita curis. Largitas preterea manicarum largitatem et hilaritatem boni dispensa-
toris significat. Solent et inconsutiles esse, ut ostendat quod in corde cuiusque
Christiani nulla debet esse scissura et indiscissa fidei integritas. Fimbriae autem
quae ante et retro iuxta tramites purpureos continentur | indicant curas diuersas 35 S 17r
et sollicitudines quas decet spernere ministrum aecclesiae. Verum ieiuniorum
tempore diaconus dalmatica non induitur sed casula circumcingitur, quia ipse est
sacerdoti ministrare et eius uice ad instantes necessitates decurrere.

7. De casula. Septimum ornamentum aecclesiasticarum uestium est casula
quam Greci planetam uocant. Hec significat caritatem de qua ait apostolus: *Maiores 40
autem horum est caritas.*

8. De pallio archiepiscopi. Octauum ornamentum est aecclesiasticarum ues-
tium pallium archiepiscoporum, quod archiepiscopum ab episcopo eius suffraga-
neo discriminat, significans torquem auream quam solebant legitime certantes
accipere. Hoc dependet archiepiscopo super casulam a pectore et a tergo, ut | 45 S 17v
semper illud meditetur apostoli: *Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce.*

9. De sandaliis. Nonum genus ornamentorum aecclesiasticorum sandalia
dicuntur, subtus per soleam sed superius nihil operimentorum habentia. Significat
autem ministrum Dei | non debere terrenis incumbere sed potius caelestibus M 82
inhiare. Quid per calciamenta nisi malorum operum exempla designantur? 50

10. His nouem ornamentis homo carnalis circumdatur, quem ad cognoscen-
dum se Deus condidit ad similitudinem angeli qui post culpam periit; ad quem
prophetam dicitur: *Tu signaculum similitudinis plenus sapientia et perfectus decore
in deliciis paradysi Dei fuisti.*

Osanna interpretari ex toto non potest. Osi enim saluifica interpretatur; anna 55
interiectio motum animi significat sub deprecantis | affectu. Osanna dicitur S 18r
saluifica populum tuum uel totum mundum.

Aquinas Institute of Theology, St. Louis, Missouri.

43 pallium *om.* M 43-44 quod archiepiscopum ab eius suffraganeo discriminat *LQ, add.*
29 (Götz, p. 175): quod archiepiscopus (quod *om.* S) *SM*: Pallium archiepiscopum (*s.s.* uel
episcopi) *S^c* 44 legitime *S^c*: legitime *S* certantes *S^c*: constantes *M*: c tantes *S* 45 Hoc
S^c: h *S* 47 sandaliis] scandalis *S* genus] genus est *M* sandalia] scandalia *S* 48 ha-
bentia] habentes *M* 50 malorum] bonorum *M* 51 homo carnalis] carnalis homo *M* quem]
que *M* 53 prophetam *S^c*: perphetam *S* perfectus *om.* *S* 57 post mundum *add.* p *M*,
Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis *S man. rec.*

40-41 1 Cor 13:13. 43-45 cf. Amal., *LO* 2.23.1 (Hanssens 2.248). 69-70 Gal 6:14.
53-54 Ez 28:12. 55-57 cf. Isidorum, *Etymologiae* 6.19.22-23, edd. Oroz Reta et Marcos
Casquero (1.612).

HITHERTO UNEDITED MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LIVES OF OVID (I)*

Frank T. Coulson

Introduction

I. William of Orléans

II. The 'Vulgate'

III. Sozomeno of Pistoia

IV. London Anonymous

V. Jena Anonymous

VI. Bernardo Moretti

VII. Texts

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Appendix 3

* This article developed from research which I am presently conducting on the tradition of medieval and Renaissance Latin commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid for the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*. I gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (Collegeville, Minnesota), the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library (St. Louis, Missouri), the College of Humanities, The Ohio State University, and the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, The Ohio State University. Thanks are also due to those directors of European libraries (too numerous to mention by name) who generously responded to my requests for microfilms and granted me permission to publish the texts edited here, and to my research assistant Sarah Manow for her diligent checking of my typescript. Lastly, a special thanks to Professors R. J. Tarrant, S. V. Tracy, John W. Vaughn and Jane M. Snyder for their criticism of an earlier draft of this article, and to Professors Hugues-V. Shooner and Bruno Roy for sharing with me their extensive knowledge of the Ovidian tradition during the Middle Ages.

I cite references to the various lives discussed in I-VI according to the line numbers of the editions printed on pp. 172-200 below.

Unless otherwise noted, passages given from other manuscripts are cited from my own transcriptions.

INTRODUCTION

BIOGRAPHIES of Ovid in the Middle Ages and Renaissance are transmitted as one of the headings of an *accessus* or in the form of an independent life. They furnish for the reader both essential background information concerning the poet as well as a general orientation to the subject matter and nature of his poetry. The earliest extant copies presently known of lives of Ovid date from the eleventh/twelfth century and are embedded in various *accessus* which served as introductions to glosses or a commentary on individual poems. Teachers of the thirteenth century and early humanist period continue to develop biographical sketches of Ovid as part of the *accessus* to commentaries on Ovid's poetry. As in the twelfth century, such *accessus* generally remain attached to the commentaries, which circulate either in the margins of manuscripts containing the poetry or independently of the text of the poem. But the *accessus* could also become detached from its commentary and be placed by itself in Ovidian manuscripts where it functioned as a preface to a particular poem.¹ In such instances two or more *accessus* may be found in a single manuscript.

During the fifteenth century in Italy, however, a significant new trend in Ovidian biography emerges as scholars focus their attention more exclusively on the life of the poet and no longer design their biographies as part of an *accessus* to a commentary. Liberated at last from the confines of the medieval and early humanist introduction, these fifteenth-century Italian lives not only elucidate Ovid's career and poetical works in much greater detail but also infuse into this task a fresh critical spirit. Like their medieval counterparts, humanist biographies of Ovid could accompany an individual poem as a preface or circulate on their own, for at least one life composed during the fifteenth century (see V below, Jena Anonymous) is found in a manuscript devoid of other Ovidian works.

Previous scholarship has thoroughly documented the development and transmission of the biographical tradition on Ovid for the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.² Przychocki's pioneering research first placed the Ovidian *accessus* in an

¹ The best study to date of the complexities involved in the transmission of *accessus* on classical authors is W. Suerbaum, 'Von der Vita Vergiliana über die Accessus Vergiliani zum Zauberer Virgilius: Probleme-Perspektiven-Analysen' in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 31.2 (Berlin-New York, 1981), pp. 1157-1262. See especially pp. 1204-12 where he distinguishes between *accessus* which serve as introductions to commentaries and *accessus* which circulate independently of commentaries.

² The most important studies are G. Przychocki, 'Accessus Ovidiani', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci Wydział Filologiczny* (Dissertations of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Philological Section, 3rd Ser.; Cracow, 1911), pp. 65-126 and F. Ghisalberti, 'Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946) 10-59. For other works which print Ovidian *accessus* see: P. Demats, *Fabula: trois études de mythographie antique et médiévale* (Geneva, 1973), especially pp. 179-192; F. Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo xii', *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* 24.4 (1932) 157-234 and 'Giovanni

historical context and provided a plausible line of development from late antiquity. The Polish scholar argued that medieval glossators were especially influenced by the *incipit* of Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid*: 'In exponendis auctoribus haec consideranda sunt: poetae uita, titulus operis, qualitas carminis, scribentis intentio, numerus librorum, ordo librorum, explanatio.' From this developed the sixfold classification of exposition favoured by commentators from the twelfth century onwards: 'uita poetae, titulus operis, materia, intentio, utilitas, cui parti philosophiae supponatur'.³ Sedlmayer, Nogara and Rosa have also published examples of anonymous *accessus* to Ovidian poems from the following manuscripts: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 36.27, 53.15 and 36.18; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 26, Vat. lat. 1479 and Reg. lat. 1559; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14809. Finally, Ghisalberti, in his general study of the biographical tradition on Ovid, examined *accessus* to the minor works in addition to the *Metamorphoses*, and edited the *accessus* (mainly anonymous) found in these codices: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2792, Reg. lat. 1548 and 1559; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 91 sup. 23, 36.2 and 36.18; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana N 254 sup. and H 65 (*not* 64) sup.; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7998, 7994, 8010 (Guillelmus de Thiegiis), 8207, 8253 and 8255; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 52.

While our knowledge of the *accessus* tradition has been sketched more fully for Ovid than is perhaps the case for other Latin authors, my own research on medieval and Renaissance Latin commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* has uncovered numerous unexamined or unedited introductions to this and other Ovidian poems as well as unknown biographies of the poet. Study of these newly discovered texts will add appreciably to our understanding of the evolution of the Ovidian *accessus* (particularly for the periods 1150-1250 and 1400-1500, where previously published primary evidence is scanty) and more clearly illustrate the highly derivative and interdependent quality of such *accessus*.

del Virgilio espositore delle "Metamorfosi", *Il giornale dantesco* 34 (1933) 1-110; R. Jahnke, 'Eine neue Ovid-Vita', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 47 (1892) 460-62; B. Nogara, 'Di alcune vite e commenti medioevali di Ovidio' in *Miscellanea Ceriani: raccolta di scritti originali per onorare la memoria di M.^e Antonio Maria Ceriani, prefetto della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1910), pp. 413-31; L. Rosa, 'Due biografie medioevali di Ovidio', *La parola del passato* 13 (1958) 168-72 and 'Su alcuni commenti inediti alle opere di Ovidio', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Napoli* 5 (1955) 191-231; K. Young, 'Chaucer's Appeal to the Platonic Deity', *Speculum* 19 (1944) 1-13; R. B. C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad auctores. Bernard d'Utrecht. Conrad d'Hirsau. Dialogus super auctores*, 2nd edition (Leiden, 1970); and M. Donnini, 'L'"accessus Ovidii epistularum" del cod. Asis. Bibl. civ. 302', *Giornale italiano di filologia* N.S. 10 (1979) 121-29. For an excellent study of the importance of these documents for our understanding of medieval literary attitudes see A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1984), and also J. B. Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto, 1982).

³ Minnis, *ibid.*, pp. 18-26.

The present article is the first in a series devoted to hitherto unpublished biographical information on Ovid to be published in this journal. Each article will consist of a study of the new material followed by editions of the texts, both arranged chronologically. In this first article, I edit: those medieval lives of Ovid which circulated most widely and therefore seem to be among the most influential medieval biographies; early humanist lives, like those of Sozomeno of Pistoia, which show medieval influence but also tentatively point to a new development; and later humanist lives exhibiting clearly the new format and interests. My search for new Ovidian *accessus* and biographies has been as extensive as possible. To date, I have consulted the following collections for relevant material: the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (Collegeville, Minnesota) for manuscripts in Austrian libraries; the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library (St. Louis, Missouri) for manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; and the resources of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris). In addition, the indices of printed catalogues of Latin manuscripts before 1600 A.D. compiled by F. Edward Cranz⁴ and the microfilm collection of inventories of manuscripts in European libraries presently housed at Connecticut College were examined for *Ovidiana*. Finally, I have investigated *in situ* the manuscript collections of the British Library, the Bodleian Library and the major manuscript repositories in West Germany, Belgium, Holland and Italy.

Ovid, however, was one of the most widely read authors during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and this renders enormous the volume of material which must be surveyed by the researcher interested in the poet's reception in the West. Thus it is inevitable that new *accessus* and lives of Ovid will be found. I hope that the present article will generate further interest in the biographical tradition of Ovid, and I will be very grateful if scholars who know of relevant manuscripts, particularly those housed in little known or inaccessible collections, would forward references to me.

I

WILLIAM OF ORLÉANS

The *accessus* to the *Metamorphoses* composed in the early thirteenth century by William of Orléans represents an intermediate stage between the work of Arnulf of Orléans (who wrote c. 1175)⁵ and the later developed lives of the fourteenth

⁴ *A Microfilm Corpus of the Indexes to Printed Catalogues of Latin Manuscripts before 1600 A.D.* (New London, Conn., 1982).

⁵ Arnulf of Orléans was the most important teacher and glossator of classical texts during the later twelfth century. In addition to his extensive commentary on Lucan's *Bellum civile*, Arnulf is known to have commented on many works of Ovid, including the *Metamorphoses*. His *Allegoriae*, a series

century examined by Ghisalberti.⁶ William's extensive glosses on the Ovidian *corpus* had long been known and studied under the title of *Versus Bursarii*⁷ until they were rescued from anonymity by Shooner.⁸ As a commentator of the classics, William was foremost a philologist interested in the literal explication of the given text. Allegorical and moral interpretations of the myths, so strongly favoured by Arnulf, are studiously avoided for interests more exclusively grammatical in focus. William's literary and stylistic analysis of the *Metamorphoses* is relatively unsophisticated, while his allusions to other Latin poets remain confined to authors read in the schools: Statius, Theodulf, Juvenal, Claudian, and the *Disticha Catonis*.

The *accessus* to the commentary on the *Metamorphoses* is in many ways highly traditional, following the schema established by Arnulf. William begins with a biographical introduction which encompasses a survey of the poems (ll. 1-53), followed by a discussion of the five remaining categories (ll. 54-72). The approach adopted is sensible, straightforward and devoid of unnecessary adornment. Arnulf's elaborate subdivisions of *materia* are pruned to their bare essentials, for William discusses three only: *ethica*, *theorica* (corresponding to *spiritualis*) and *magica* (ll. 57-62). While earlier commentators had stressed the moral purpose of the poem,⁹ William, the inveterate pragmatist, infers that Ovid's intention was to praise Augustus in order to regain the emperor's favour after the disgrace brought upon Ovid by the *Ars amatoria* (ll. 63-64). The *utilitas* of the poem is to be found in the knowledge concerning myths which it imparts (l. 65).

William's true originality is best seen in his biographical sketch of the poet. Here the medieval reader is provided for the first time with a relatively scrupulous early

of moral allegories on the transformations in the *Metamorphoses*, circulated widely throughout the Middle Ages and was usually transmitted in the margins of manuscripts of the poem. The *accessus* which introduces Arnulf's philological glosses to the *Metamorphoses* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. XIV 222 [4007]) was also a highly influential text, whose form and content later commentators freely drew upon. For Arnulf, see in particular the following studies: Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orléans', where Arnulf's *accessus* and the *Allegoriae* are printed (pp. 180-81 and 201-29); B. M. Marti, ed., *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum* (Rome, 1958); and F. T. Coulson, 'New Manuscript Evidence for Sources of the *Accessus* of Arnoul d'Orléans to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid', *Manuscripta* 30 (1986) 103-107.

⁶ See Ghisalberti, 'Biographies'.

⁷ E. H. Alton, 'Ovid in the Mediaeval Schoolroom', *Hermathena* 95 (1961) 67-82, particularly 67-68 and 70-76.

⁸ H.-V. Shooner, 'Les *Bursarii Ovidianorum* de Guillaume d'Orléans', *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981) 405-24. He provides (pp. 419-21) descriptions of the six principal manuscripts containing William's commentary and cites (p. 423) the shelf marks of the witnesses which preserve only the *accessus*. For a brief description of Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka IV F 42 see F. G. Becker, ed., *Pamphilus* (Düsseldorf, 1972), pp. 23-25.

⁹ See, for example, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4610, fol. 62r: 'Intentio est ... delectari et prodesse'; Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. S. 2008 4º, fol. 1v opines: 'Intentio est Ovidii et omnium scribentium de fabulis maxime delectare et delectando mores instruere.'

life of Ovid supported by material drawn from the *Amores* and the poems of exile. Certain points of detail concur with the earlier version furnished by Arnulf: Ovid's birthplace is still mistakenly given as *in Peligno oppido*; his brother is referred to as 'Lucilius' ('Lucius' and 'Lucinus' are two manuscript variants); and the difference in temperament and character between the two brothers is outlined. Just as in his discussion of the *intentio* and *utilitas* William analyzes the motives behind the composition of the poem, so in the life an interest in the psychology of the writer is apparent. Arnulf's lofty vision of Ovid the moralist leading men's souls away from carnal lusts to spiritual concerns is reduced to a more mundane level since William claims that Ovid wrote poetry to gain honour ('videns Ovidius poetas ad honorem euehi per scripturam' [l. 20]).

However, William's historical sense is shaky. While rightly placing Ovid in the age of Augustus (l. 21 — Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4610 had placed him in the time of Domitian!), he believes that the two consuls referred to in the *Tristia* must be Marius and Sulla (l. 5), an error perpetuated by Guillelmus de Thiegiis in his fourteenth-century commentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8010).¹⁰ Only with the advent of the detailed Ovidian biographies of the fifteenth century will this reference be properly understood.

William's survey of Ovidian works (ll. 21-53) follows closely that outlined by Arnulf (which became canonical) with two minor exceptions. The *De medicamine faciei* (l. 27) is added as a genuine work of Ovid (on the authority of *Ars am.* 3.205) and the poet's interest in tragedy is noted, although no direct reference to the *Medea* is made (ll. 52-53). These early commentators, it should be noted, do not mention the innumerable poems which circulated under Ovid's name during the Middle Ages. Not until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do we find impassioned arguments for the authenticity of such spurious works as the *Nux*, *De pulice*, and *De medicamine aurium*.

II

THE 'VULGATE'

The anonymous 'Vulgate' commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was composed in central France (probably in the Orléanais) during the mid-thirteenth century.¹¹ The commentary itself is highly derivative in nature and freely incorporates into its text the work of such earlier commentators as the anonymous author in Munich,

¹⁰ This *accessus* has been edited by Ghisalberti in 'Biographies', 54-56.

¹¹ For the 'Vulgate' commentary, see F. T. Coulson, *A Study of the 'Vulgate' Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses and a Critical Edition of the Glosses to Book One* (Diss. Toronto, 1982). Passing references to the commentary are also made in the following: L. Castiglioni, 'Spogli riccardiani', *Bollettino di filologia classica* 27 (1920) 162-66; Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo' and his *Integumenta Ovidii. Poemetto inedito del secolo XIII* (Messina-Milan, 1933).

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4610, Arnulf of Orléans, John of Garland and William of Orléans. The resulting compilation covers a broad range of topics including myth, allegory, grammar, science, literary criticism and the influence of Ovid on medieval poets. Widely disseminated in the form of interlinear and marginal glosses in various thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses*, the 'Vulgate' is perhaps the most influential commentary on the poem in circulation during the later Middle Ages.¹² Glosses contained in such fourteenth-century codices as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8010 and 8253 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1479,¹³ in addition to Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV F 62 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6363 (both from the fifteenth century), all reveal a marked indebtedness to the 'Vulgate'.

The *accessus* to this commentary, followed by the commentary itself, is contained in the following manuscripts presently known: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant. 5; Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste 92; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit B.P.L. 95; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8004 (incomplete); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Δ.1.6; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 123 Gud. Lat. These manuscripts, with the exception of the Wolfenbüttel codex which can be dated to the fourteenth century, were written during the mid-thirteenth century in central France (Loire valley region, Paris to Orléans). They transmit heavily glossed texts of the *Metamorphoses* evidently intended for school use.

The *accessus* is also contained in two manuscripts which do not reproduce glosses from the 'Vulgate': Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Diez

¹² The following manuscripts contain a full text of the 'Vulgate' commentary: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant. 5, s. xiii; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 159 Gud. Lat., s. xiii; Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste 92, s. xiii; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1598, s. xiii; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit B.P.L. 95, s. xiii; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 624, s. xiii; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana P 43 sup., s. xiii; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV F 5, s. xiii; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8004, s. xiii and 8011, s. xiii/xiv; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Δ.1.6, s. xiii; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 1663, s. xiii/xiv. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8012, s. xiii transmits the glosses for books 4-10 only, while Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 123 Gud. Lat., s. xiv transmits an abbreviated version of the text. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 1294, copied by an Italian hand of the early to mid-fourteenth century, serves as an additional witness to the text of the 'Vulgate'. While relying almost exclusively on the 'Vulgate' for the content of his commentary, the commentator of ms. Ottob. lat. 1294 will frequently incorporate new material, particularly in the allegorical glosses, in order to compare the conflicting interpretations presented by earlier mythographers such as Fulgentius. For summary descriptions of these manuscripts, see F. Munari, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (London, 1957) and 'Secondo supplemento al catalogo dei manoscritti delle *Metamorfosi* ovidiane' in *Studia florentina Alexandro Ronconi sexagenario oblata* (Rome, 1970), pp. 275-80. For more detailed descriptions, see F. T. Coulson, 'MSS of the "Vulgate" Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: A Checklist', *Scriptorium* 39 (1985) 118-29.

¹³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8010 is mentioned by B. Hauréau in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 29 (Paris, 1885), p. 582; its *accessus* is edited in Ghisalberti, 'Biographies', 54-56. mss. Paris lat. 8253 and Vat. lat. 1479 are both of French origin, the content of whose glosses reveals a marked similarity to the 'Vulgate'.

B Sant. 2 can be dated to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century and is of Italian origin;¹⁴ Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. S. 2008 4° contains on fol. 3r an *accessus* written in a French hand of the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century which is close in wording to that of the 'Vulgate'.

This commentator's approach in the *accessus* to the *Metamorphoses* is, surprisingly, very original. Though steeped in the Orléans school of criticism, he nevertheless rejects the traditional format – perhaps realizing that another recapitulation of Ovid's life and works would indeed induce boredom – for a more innovative approach. The standard six categories are eschewed for a more succinct division represented by *de quo* (= *mutacio*), *ad quid* (= *intencio*), *qualiter* (= *utilitas*) and *titulus*. With the exception of the fleeting reference to Ovid's father, Publius (l. 13), details concerning the poet's life are non-existent. Rather, the commentator chooses to expound upon two points: first, the etymological significance of Ovid's name (ll. 20-29); and secondly, the importance of transformation for our understanding of the poem (ll. 49-74) (he relies principally upon the earlier work of Arnulf). Ovid, he also argues, represents the philosopher *par excellence* who opens up men's intellects to the conceptual realm. In addition, the poem is valuable for the reader because of its insights into natural science and grammatical training (ll. 15-19). If William of Orléans' introduction was noteworthy for its arid style and straightforward exposition, the 'Vulgate' is striking for its use of ornately embellished language and imaginative interpretation. The discussion of the derivation of *naso* perhaps best captures this unique style:¹⁵

Naso uero nomen est ab euentu, quoniam a quantitate nasi Naso dictus est, siue quia, sicut canis venaticus naso bene senciens feram persequitur donec eam captam detineat, ita Naso dictus est quasi odorinsecus, quoniam vniuersa eius opera verbis rethoricis colorata et sentenciis tam phisicis quam phillosophicis insignita et etiam grammatica sufficienti solidata, sagaci eius ingenio exquisita, odoriferum parturiunt legentibus intellectum. (ll. 13-19)

The most influential passage of this *accessus* deals with the etymology of the name *Ouidius*, which the glossator derives from *ouum diuidens*. From this the 'Vulgate' constructs an elaborate allegory whereby the four concentric layers of the world correspond to those of the egg. The two are related by virtue of their shape (*rotunditas*) and their composition: the shell of the egg corresponds to the

¹⁴ Described by U. Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften der Bibliothek Diez* (Leipzig, 1986), pp. 16-17.

¹⁵ This sentiment is repeated in slightly less florid terms in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana N 254 sup., fol. 1ra ('... quia, sicut canis uenaticus odore nasi feras percipit et sequitur, sic et Ouidius odore et descrecione nasi sui bonas percipiebat sententias') and echoed in Paris lat. 8253, fol. 1va ('Naso dicitur a quantitate nasi, non quia haberet maiorem nasum quam alii, sed quia discretio animi per eum denotatur') and lat. 8010, fol. 1rb ('Vel dicitur Naso secundum quandam similitudinem que se habet ad canem venaticum. Sicut enim canis venaticus odore suarum narium feram insequitur, ita actor iste subtilitate ingenii bonas sententias adinuenit').

firmament in covering and protecting, the skin to the air in its transparency, the white to water in its liquid properties, and the yolk to the earth in its generative powers since just as the chick springs from the yolk, so life grows from the earth (ll. 20-29). The source of this allegory is found in Martianus Capella¹⁶ and may have been known to the commentator through medieval glosses on Martianus' work. Nearly all subsequent commentators draw upon the 'Vulgate' for this particular interpretation, which was to have a long history throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance in both Latin and vernacular treatments of the poem.¹⁷ Through it, Ovid was once more linked with the realm of natural science so that he became not only a *poeta* who might entertain and delight but also a *physicus* who could instruct and inform ('Phisicus est auctor iste assignando generacionem elementorum' [ll. 82-83]).¹⁸

The treatment of *materia* is heavily indebted to Arnulf's tripartite division (*de naturali, de magica, de spirituali*). To these the 'Vulgate' adds a fourth (*moralis*), which Arnulf implicitly alluded to in his discussion of *intentio*:

Intencio est de mutacione dicere ut non intelligamus de mutacione que fit extrinsecus tantum in rebus corporeis bonis vel malis, sed etiam de mutacione que fit intrinsecus, ut in anima, ut reducat nos ab errore ad cognitionem veri creatoris ... Quod Ovidius videns vult nobis ostendere per fabulosam narrationem motum anime qui fit intrinsecus. Ideo dicitur Yo mutata in vaccam quia corrui in vicia, ideo pristinam formam dicitur recepisse quod emersit a viciis.¹⁹

Arnulf's inconsistency in illustrating these types of transformation is corrected by the 'Vulgate', which more appropriately uses Circe as an example of magical change, and Lycaon as an example of moral change:

Moralis est illa mutatio que attenditur circa mores, uidelicet cum mores inmutantur, vt de Licaone dicitur quod de homine mutatus est in lupum, quod est dicere de benigno in raptorem²⁰ Est autem magica mutacio que circa artem magicam

¹⁶ Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 2.140, ed. A. Dick (Leipzig, 1925): 'uerum ipsa species oui interioris crocino circumlita exterius rutilabat ac dehinc perlucida inanitate albidoque humore, interiore tamen medio solidior apparebat.' This statement may in turn be related to Macrobius, *Sat.* 7.16.8, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1963): 'et ne videar plus nimio extulisse ovum elementi vocabulo, consule initiatos sacris Liberi patris, in quibus hac veneratione ovum colitur ut ex forma tereti ac paene sphaerali atque undique versum clausa et includente intra se vitam, mundi simulacrum vocetur'

¹⁷ Cf., for instance, Paris lat. 8253 and lat. 8010, Milan N 254 sup. and H 65 sup., and the commentary of Sozomeno of Pistoia. For this interpretation in the *Ovide moralisé*, see Ghisalberti, 'Biographies', 27 and J. Engels, *Études sur l'Ovide moralisé* (Groningen, 1943), p. 90.

¹⁸ This theme has been extensively treated by S. Viarre, *La survie d'Ovide dans la littérature scientifique des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Poitiers, 1966).

¹⁹ Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo', 181.

²⁰ The interpretation of the 'Vulgate' closely resembles the two verses from the *Integumenta* of John of Garland (ed. Ghisalberti, p. 42):

attenditur et fit tantum in corpore quando uidelicet magi aliquid alterius essencie quam sit per artem magicam faciunt apparere, vt ostendit de Circe que per artem magicam legitur socios Vlixis in porcos mutauisse. (ll. 60-66)

Finally, the 'Vulgate's' love of florid embellishment is evident in its expanded treatment of *mutacio naturalis*:

(Arnulf) Naturalis est que fit per contexionem vel retexionem elementorum: per contexionem quando scilicet elementa coniunguntur, ut de spermate fiat puer et de ovo pullus; per retexionem elementorum quando scilicet retexuntur et dissolvuntur elementa in quolibet corpora, vel per ignem, vel alio modo in pulverem redigendo.²¹

('Vulgate') Naturalis est que fit per contexionem elementorum et retexionem uel mediante semine uel sine semine. Per contexionem enim conueniunt elementa et de spermate nascitur puer, et de ouo pullus, et de semine herba siue arbor, et sic de consimilibus et hoc mediante semine; per retexionem uero sicut fit dissolutio in quolibet corpore, et hoc sine semine, et hoc quantum ad elementa et quantum ad yle. <...>²² Elementa, sicut fit quando terra rarescit in aquam, aqua leuigatur in aera, aer subtiliatur in ignem; item ignis spissatur in aera, aer tenuatur in aquam, aqua conglobatur in terram. Et hec mutacio naturalis est de qua facit mencionem in ultimo Pitagoras dicens 'quatuor eternus genitalia corpora mundus continet' etc. (*Met.* 15.239). (ll. 50-59)

The commentator's discussion of *titulus*, *intentio* and *utilitas* owes much to previous glossators. The 'Vulgate' expands Arnulf's definition of *metamorphoseos* = *de mutacione substancie*,²³ drawing examples from medieval writers (Martianus Capella and Matthew of Vendôme) to illustrate the declension. Ovid's *intentio* is once more viewed in practical terms: to effect a reconciliation with Augustus Caesar through the praise of Julius related in the conclusion of the *Metamorphoses*. Lastly, the *utilitas* is seen neither in moral nor literary terms but in a purely functional aspect, as a sourcebook of both mythological lore and practical knowledge gleaned from transformation.²⁴

Si lupus est arcas, lupus est feritate lupina
nam lupus esse potes proprietate lupi.

Munich Clm 4610, fol. 63v expresses similar sentiments: 'Ista mutatio propinqua est ueritati quia si unquam posset fieri, taliter mutaretur.'

²¹ Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo', 181.

²² Sozomeno's introduction supplies the section omitted by the 'Vulgate'; see below, p. 187.

²³ 'Exponatur titulus sic "meta" grece, de latine, "morphe" mutatio, "usios" substancia quasi de mutacione substancie. Et notandum quod greci carentes ablativo, loco eius utuntur genitivo' ('Arnolfo', 181).

²⁴ So Arnulf in his *accessus* to the work: 'Vel intencio sua est multorum enarrare mutaciones ut per tot mutacionum genera que videntur impossibilia mutacionem Iulii Cesaris in stellam id est deificationem veram esse confirmet. Vel intencio sua est fabulas in ceteris libris dispersas in hoc

III

SOZOMENO OF PISTOIA

ms. A. 46 of the Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, Pistoia contains an autograph copy of notes by Zomino (or Sozomeno, the Greek-sounding name he later adopted) of Pistoia on the *Tragoediae* of Seneca and the *Metamorphoses*.²⁵ While best known for his historical work, the *Chronicon universale*, Sozomeno was also throughout his life (1387-1458) an untiring collector, copier and annotator of manuscripts.²⁶ It is difficult to assign a firm date to the composition of the glosses in ms A. 46. Sozomeno, however, is known to have lectured on classical poetry in the Florentine *Studio* in 1431,²⁷ and features of the physical composition

volumine breviter colligere. Utilitas autem est cognitio fabularum compendiose collectarum. Vel utilitas est erudicio divinorum habita ex mutacione temporalium' ('Arnolfo', 181). Note that whereas the 'Vulgate' and Sozomeno clearly write 'vel utilitas est diuersorum erudicio habita ex mutacione temporalium', Arnulf's text as printed by Ghisalberti substitutes *divinorum*. These opinions would appear to have become canonical in later commentaries on the *Metamorphoses*. Paris lat. 8253, fol. 1va states: '<Causa> priuata quia actor iste, qui per edificium Artis Amatorie maliuolentiam Romanorum <et> maxime Augusti adeptus erat, uolebat ostendere Iulium posse deificari per mutaciones diuersas; et ut begniuolentiam aliorum recuperaret. Communis causa est ad auditores. Utilitas in illa minima est quantum ad auctorem, sed magna est quantum ad auditores vt, uiso quomodo res mundane transmutantur, quisque erigat mentem suam ad creatorem suum sive ad creatoris sui cognitionem.' Milan N 254 sup., fol. 1ra-b concludes as follows: 'Intencio uero actoris est sub metro suo comprehendere omnes mutaciones que a mundi principio usque ad tempus suum contigerant ut sic in fine sui operis deificacionem Iulii Cesaris ostendat possibilem extitisse. Duplex est utilitas: legentium et actoris. Est autem auctoris utilitas ut ostensa apotesi id est deificacione Iulii, favorem Augusti et gratiam recuperet quam in arte amatoria, scriptis suis testantibus, disnocitur offendisse. Utilitas legentium cognitio fabularum e<s>t ut, uiso quid de pravis moribus acciderit, quia quibusdam in beluas variari (*sic*), a viciis et a beluina turpitudine absteineamus.' Guillelmus de Thiegiis, the commentator in Paris lat. 8010, speculates: 'Narrat enim uariam rerum mutationem ab inicio mundi usque ad suum tempus ut per varias rerum mutationes uerisimile videatur Iulium Cesarem stellificatum fuisse' (fol. 1rb). And Milan H 65 sup. concludes: 'Causa intentionis ... est duplex, scilicet communis et propria: propria ut reuertatur in gratiam Augusti per hunc librum; hinc patet utilitas etiam aliorum poetarum, quia quicquid faciunt ut removeant homines a vitiis et impellant ad cultum virtutis, sic iste facit' (Ghisalberti, 'Biographies', 58).

²⁵ For a brief account of Zomino's life see: A. C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* 1 (Oxford, 1973), pp. 91-94; the introduction by G. Zaccagnini to the new edition of *Sozomeni pistoriensis presbyteri Chronicon universale* (Rerum italicarum scriptores 16.1; Città di Castello, 1908); R. Piattoli, 'Per la biografia dell'umanista Sozomeno', *Bollettino storico pistoiese* 34 (1932) 135-47 and 'Nuove ricerche intorno all'umanista Sozomeno', *Rivista storica degli archivi toscani* 5 (1933) 239-48. For a published description of ms. A. 46, see G. Savino, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia. Aggiunte e correzioni al volume 1: Biblioteca Forteguerriana-Pistoia* (Florence, 1962), p. 17. Sozomeno's glosses to the *Orationes* of Cicero are extant in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant. 149; cf. Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften*, p. 127.

²⁶ Many of Sozomeno's manuscripts have now been identified. See especially R. Sabbadini, 'La biblioteca di Zomino da Pistoia', *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 45 (1917) 197-207 and de la Mare, *ibid.*, pp. 102-105.

²⁷ De la Mare, *ibid.*, p. 93.

of the codex and the script agree with such a date.²⁸ Fols. 1r-2v currently consist of index tables for the *Metamorphoses* and the *Tragoediae*; fol. 4r-v contains a more detailed list of the transformations in the *Metamorphoses* with the *incipit* for each provided. The *accessus* to the commentary proper begins on fol. 5r (fol. 1r according to the manuscript foliation) and concludes on fol. 5v. In many places the original text has been crossed out and corrections and additions made in the margin in the hand of Sozomeno. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2781, fols. 185v-187v, written in an Italian hand of the fifteenth century, represents a second witness to this life;²⁹ its text contains none of the corrections introduced by Sozomeno into the Pistoia codex.

Sozomeno's handling of the *Metamorphoses* in this *accessus* exhibits many features also found in other early humanist treatments. The Italian 'lives' of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, as Ghisalberti has pointed out, approach the biography and works of the poet with a new critical spirit but are still sufficiently steeped in earlier scholasticism to reflect medieval attitudes. Thus *magister* Giovanni del Virgilio (1322/23), while examining the text of the *Metamorphoses* from a fresh perspective, nonetheless incorporates many oft-repeated interpretations into his analysis of the poem.³⁰ Sozomeno likewise hangs onto the old while breaking fresh ground. For example, he gives a new historical perspective to Ovid's life, using the testimony of Eusebius to place the poet for the first time in a proper chronological framework (ll. 81-87). However, certain statements from earlier *accessus* continue to be perpetuated, as the following examples show: the misattribution to Ovid of two wives (ll. 37-42) can be traced to thirteenth- and fourteenth-century commentaries on the poem;³¹ knowledge of Ovid's family background (ll. 1-87) repeats verbatim much of the same information found in an earlier *accessus* written in an Italian hand c. 1300 and transmitted in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Diez B. Sant. 2, fols. 5r-6r, which is itself heavily indebted to Arnulf and William of Orléans for its facts; and the imputed causes for exile (ll. 52-62), including an affair with Livia, Augustus' penchant for pederasty, and the infamous *Ars amatoria* 'through which he earned

²⁸ De la Mare, *ibid.*, pp. 99 and 101, mentions, for instance, the paper and parchment mixture of quires and the use of uncial *d* as features pointing to a later date.

²⁹ This manuscript is cited briefly by Przychocki, 'Accessus ovidiani', 32 and Nogara, 'Di alcune vite', 417.

³⁰ The text of the *accessus* has been edited by Ghisalberti, 'Giovanni del Virgilio' (n. 2 above), 13-19. For new manuscripts of this *accessus* see F. T. Coulson, 'Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 938: A Newly Discovered Copy of Giovanni del Virgilio's Prose Paraphrase of the *Metamorphoses*', *Scriptorium* 40 (1986) 255-56.

³¹ MS. Vat. lat. 1479, fol. 53r hesitates over the existence of a third wife: 'Quidam dicunt quod habuit terciam, et uolunt probare per hos uersus in Tristibus: "Ultima que mecum sanctis (*sic*) permansit in annos/sustinuit iuste tempore sua mee".'

exile', all of which circulated in numerous thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Ovidian lives, are drawn from Arnulf's *accessus* to the *Tristia*.³²

Discussion of the poems is integrated into the biography proper. Sozomeno's enumeration (*Heroides*, *Amores*, *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia*, *Metamorphoses*, *Fasti*, *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Ibis* [ll. 51-79]) is scrupulous and reproduces Arnulf's list exactly. Other commentators contemporary with Sozomeno expressed opinions concerning the authenticity of doubtful works. Giovanni del Virgilio, for instance, accepts the genuineness of the *Nux*, *De pulice* and the *De medicamine aurium*; the commentator of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 65 sup. situates the *Nux*, *De cuculo*, *De pulice* and *De puellis* among Ovid's juvenilia. Curiously, no mention is made by Sozomeno of the tragedy *Medea*, although earlier glossators, on the authority of the *Amores*, refer to it.

The treatment of *titulus*, *materia*, *intentio* and *utilitas* (ll. 88-150) again clearly illustrates the highly derivative quality of commentary literature during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Giovanni del Virgilio's novel classification, with its emphasis on a definition of the poem from a rhetorical point of view, exercised little significant influence, for French and Italian masters of the period continued to prefer the older, established model. The schema of transformation adopted by Sozomeno (*mutacio naturalis*, *moralis*, *magica et spiritualis*) is copied almost verbatim from the 'Vulgate' and further attests the wide influence and popularity enjoyed by the latter throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Previous commentators, by restricting their discussion of *materia* in the *accessus* to transformation alone (*res mutate*), had largely ignored the more purely narrative, mythical sections of the poem. Sozomeno, to his credit, is aware of this inadequacy and seeks to develop further classifications for the myths proper. Narrative can be divided into the purely historical (tinged with elements of fiction) as illustrated by the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, the purely fictional as in the story of Midas, or the fictional which may be interpreted allegorically as in the story of Orpheus (ll. 110-116). These classifications may be derived from such earlier commentaries as Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter a.V.4, fols. 5v-6v (see below, Appendix 1 where this *accessus* is discussed as Anonymous *accessus* C), which had discerned various genres of subject matter, or Arnulf of Orléans, who in his *Allegoriae* had explicated the transformations morally, historically and allegorically ('modo quasdam allegorice, quasdam moraliter exponamus, et quasdam historice').

³² 'Sunt etenim tres cause quare in exilio sit positus: vel pro libro de Arte Amandi, vel latenti adulterio, vel quia Cesarem suo amasio vidit abutentem forte, unde ait in libro Tristium: "heu michi quod vidi, cur noxia lumina feci"' (Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo', 173). For examples taken from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts see Ghisalberti, 'Biographies', 32.

IV

LONDON ANONYMOUS

MS. Harley 2769 of the British Library, London transmits on fol. 2v two introductions to the *Metamorphoses* written in an Italian hand of the fifteenth century. The text of *accessus* II has already been edited from a second manuscript, Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 125, fol. 199ra-b (s. XIV²)³³ and will therefore not be discussed in this article.

Accessus I uses the Servian model, adhering rigidly to its sevenfold division: life of the author, title, subject matter, intent of the author, quality of the work, and the number and order of books. Its treatment of these subjects is quite derivative and its borrowings from earlier *accessus*, particularly those of the late eleventh/early twelfth centuries, can be traced in detail. Like the earliest prologues to the *Metamorphoses*, MS. Harley 2769 ignores the circumstances of Ovid's life and notes only that Ovid was born in Rome and died at Tomis (l. 4). The proper name of Naso is duly derived from a hunting dog's snout (compare II above, the 'Vulgate', ll. 15-19), and the commentator introduces a slight variation for the origin of the term *metamorphosis* (ll. 8-10). The discussion of *mutacio* (ll. 11-17) is drawn almost verbatim from the text of Anonymous *accessus* B (see below, Appendix 1), an introduction to the *Metamorphoses* written in France in the early twelfth century; similarly, the *intentio* (ll. 19-21) given for the work reproduces the words of Anonymous *accessus* A (see below, Appendix 1), another late eleventh/early twelfth-century introduction to the *Metamorphoses*. Finally, the discussion of style elaborated under the heading of *qualitas* (ll. 22-25) resembles the divisions provided by Servius in the preface to his own commentary on the *Aeneid*:

Est autem stilus grandilocus, qui constat alto sermone magnisque sententiis. scimus enim tria esse genera dicendi, humile, medium, grandiloquum.³⁴

London Anonymous thus conflates material found in earlier *accessus* to produce an introduction to the *Metamorphoses* which remains essentially medieval in nature and outlook.

V

JENA ANONYMOUS

MS. G.b.q. 20 of the Universitätsbibliothek, Jena preserves on fol. 95v an anonymous life of Ovid written in a mid-fifteenth-century Italian hand. A partial text (ll. 1-12) of the Jena life is also found in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV F

³³ É. Pellegrin, *Manuscripts latins de la Bodmeriana* (Cologny-Genève, 1982), pp. 261-62.

³⁴ G. Thilo and H. Hagen, eds., *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* 1 (Leipzig, 1881; rpt. Hildesheim, 1961), p. 4.

9, fol. 1v, a fifteenth-century manuscript from Italy. While at present the author of this work remains unidentified, the life itself must have enjoyed a certain popularity during the Renaissance, for sections from it have been incorporated verbatim into the life of Ovid attributed to Bernardo Moretti of Bologna (see below, section VI).

Jena Anonymous is evidently the product of highly *recherché* scholarship, deriving its knowledge of Ovid and his works from numerous secondary sources. The interest of its author is twofold: first, to document briefly the major events in Ovid's life, stressing in particular the rhetorical training which he received as a youth; secondly, to furnish the reader with an authoritative list of extant and lost Ovidian poems. The biographical information provided (ll. 1-9) is accurate and to the point. We learn of Ovid's birth in 43 B.C. during the civil war; of his early training in rhetoric at Rome under distinguished teachers; of Ovid's brief period at the bar; and of the poet's travels in the province of Asia where he learned Greek and performed military service under Marcus (Terentius) Varro (the latter fact is also mentioned by Pomponio Leto in his life of Ovid³⁵). Little information, however, is imparted concerning Ovid's family (we are informed only of his brother, who is here called Lucilius, and of Ovid's daughter Perilla); and in his discussion of the reasons for Ovid's exile, the biographer remains positively laconic, stating only that the poet's intrigue with the daughter of Tiberius, here equated with Corinna, the mistress of the poet in the *Amores*, resulted in the edict of *relegatio* (ll. 9-11).

Using his intimate acquaintance with such newly discovered Latin authors as Tacitus and the complete Quintilian, the biographer furnishes an impressive catalogue of hitherto unknown Ovidian works: the 'Liber contra malos poetas' (cited by Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.3.96); the 'De astris' (probably a reference to Ovid's abridgement of the *Phaenomenon* of Aratus, cited by Lactantius, *Institutiones diuinae* 2.5.24); the 'Epistola de morte Drusi ad Liuiam' (the *Consolatio ad Liuiam*, a work once believed to be by Ovid but now generally conceded to be spurious); and the 'De piscibus' (the *Halieutica*, whose title was known to the Renaissance by means of a citation in Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 32.11 and 32.152, but whose text was rediscovered only in 1502 by the humanist scholar Jacopo Sannazaro).³⁶ That Jena Anonymous not only knows of the existence of Ovid's tragedy *Medea* but discusses the literary judgments made upon it by Quintilian and Tacitus further demonstrates the breadth of secondary literature to which this biographer could lay claim.

³⁵ Pomponio Leto's life of Ovid is extant in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3263, fol. 1r (autograph) and is printed in P. Burmann, ed., *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera omnia* 4 (Amsterdam, 1727), 'Appendix ovidiana', p. 3 (probably from the autograph copy).

³⁶ For a lucid discussion of the rediscovery of this poem see the articles by M. Reeve and R. J. Tarrant in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), pp. 9-13, 181-82.

Finally, Jena Anonymous refers by title at ll. 19-20 to two poems, the 'de Tuscis siue de Annalibus libros vi' and the 'epistolam belli Siculi', both of which appear not to be cited elsewhere in Ovidian *accessus* and biographies. I suggest that the 'de Tuscis' may be another title for the *Fasti* (which also contained six books), since Ovid often deals with Etruscan lore in this poem; and that the 'epistolam belli Siculi' may allude to the *Gigantomachia* of which Ovid boasts at *Amores* 2.1.11-16, particularly as the battle of the giants was set in Sicily in many accounts of this myth. The title of the final Ovidian poem mentioned by Jena Anonymous, the 'de Triumpho Tiberii Caesaris libros ii' (l. 19), is probably derived from the poet's request to Rufinus at *Ex Ponto* 3.4.3-6 to guard his triumphal ode written for the victory celebrations of Tiberius Caesar. It should also be noted that Jena Anonymous implies that the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* remained unfinished and that the works contain the same number of books (*totidem*) (ll. 19-20). In fact, both sets of poems are complete and consist of five and four books respectively.

VI

BERNARDO MORETTI

Bernardo Moretti, a professor of rhetoric at Bologna c. 1459, is best known as the author of an extensive commentary on the *Ibis* of Ovid entitled *Expositio in poema Ouidii adversus Ibin*,³⁷ extant in two manuscripts presently known: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8257, fols. 1r-51v and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1801, fols. 143v-188v. In addition to this major work, three minor texts attributed to Bernardo have recently come to light: a *Carmen de Ouidio* and the two lives of Ovid edited in this article.

The *Carmen de Ouidio*, contained in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1826, fol. 9r-v (s. xv),³⁸ is a short versified 'life' of Ovid in elegiac couplets. Unlike traditional biographies, the *Carmen* does not recapitulate the major events in Ovid's life but enumerates his poetic *corpus* in the following order: *De cuculo*, *De pulice*, *Amores*, *Metamorphoses*, *Ars amatoria*, *Remedia*, *Heroides*, *Tristia*, *Ibis*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Fasti*. Rarely are the poems cited by name; instead Bernardo skillfully employs a paraphrase to describe their content, as the following verse, alluding to the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, will illustrate:

Et Ponto missas relegat pia turba Camenas,
quę possent sua flectere corda uirum.

³⁷ Information on Moretti is scanty; see Burmann, ed., *Ovidii Opera* 8 (London, 1821), p. 4171. Excerpts from Moretti's scholia on the *Ibis* are edited but not identified in A. La Penna, ed., *Scholia in P. Ovidi Nasonis Ibin* (Florence, 1959), pp. 174, 179, 185.

³⁸ For a description of this codex see É. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* 2.1. (Paris, 1982), pp. 432-35.

The two prose lives of Ovid (henceforth labelled Bernardo I and II) are preserved in Urbana-Champaign, World Heritage Museum ms. 8, fols. 81r-87r.³⁹ This codex was written in Italy in the late fifteenth century;⁴⁰ in addition to the lives, it contains the *Tristia*, *Heroides*, and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. To my knowledge, the text of Bernardo I exists in this unique witness.⁴¹ However, other copies of Bernardo II are found in ms. Reg. lat. 1801, fols. 140r-143r, where the life introduces Bernardo's glosses on the *Ibis*,⁴² and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V C 39, fols. 397r-399v, in which the life is transmitted separately from other Ovidian works.

The text of Bernardo II in the Vatican and Naples codices has undergone certain revisions which generally consist of altered word order, substitution of similar words or phrases, and changes in the sequence of citations from Ovid's poetry. In addition, ms. Reg. lat. 1801 has been very carelessly copied, for it frequently provides erroneous references when quoting from the poet's works and omits complete lines, thereby producing a text which is difficult to comprehend. Finally, mss. Reg. lat. 1801 and Naples V C 39 incorporate the text of Bernardo II into the framework of a traditional *accessus* with the category of *uita* and also a fuller discussion of the *titulus*, *intentio* and *qualitas* of the *Ibis*. For the sake of the reader, I reproduce this *accessus* below as transcribed from ms. Reg. lat. 1801. It should be noted that Naples V C 39 reproduces this introduction in a slightly altered form.

In hoc Nasonis opusculo exponendo quaedam sicut in caeteris operibus consideranda uidentur: quis titulus, quae intentio, quae carminis qualitas, et quae auctoris uita.

Est igitur huius operis titulus: Publii Ouidii Nasonis Sulmonensis p<o>etę libellus. Publius prenomē est quod frequens fuit apud Romanos, teste Prisciano, <qui> in tertio huiusmodi prenominis rationem refert. Ouidius proprium est

³⁹ Cf. S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York, 1935-40), 1.703. Ms. Betty Wendland, Registrar of the World Heritage Museum, has informed me that ms. 8 was purchased by the late Professor Ben E. Perry in Rome in March, 1931. I would like to thank Professor David F. Bright for kindly providing me with a description of ms. 8.

⁴⁰ Published *accessus* on Ovid from this period are rare. Ghisalberti, 'Biographies', 58-59 reproduces two from the fifteenth century and R. Leotta has recently edited a brief life appended to the *Metamorphoses* in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 11597, fol. 158v (s. xv/xvi) ('Un "accessus" ovidiano', *Giornale italiano di filologia* N.S. 12 [1981] 141-44).

⁴¹ De Ricci and Wilson, *Census* 1.1076 list a manuscript owned by Professor Blanche B. Boyer, Mt. Holyoke College which contains (fols. 81r-87r) a life of Ovid written by Bernardo Moretti. Professor Boyer later taught at the University of Chicago for many years before her death in 1985. According to Professor Braxton Ross, Professor Boyer did not donate the manuscript to the University library, and Dr. Edith Boyer Schuman, Professor Boyer's sister, has kindly informed me that no manuscript was found among Professor Boyer's papers and memorabilia. The description of Professor Boyer's manuscript in the *Census* is nearly identical to that of ms. 8 of the World Heritage Museum; the only difference is a slight variation in the number of folios. Given the striking physical similarity which exists between these two manuscripts, I am convinced that the two entries must refer to the same codex catalogued twice by mistake.

⁴² Cf. Pellegrin, *Manuscripts classiques*, pp. 420-23.

nomen. Naso cognomen, id est cognationis nomen. Sulmonensis patrum nomen est. Poeta ab euentu appellatur et dicitur a Graecis ποιητής, id est fctor, nam ποιέω, ὦ pingo significat et facio. In *Ibim* ostenditur operis materia.

Qualitas carminis: elegiacum est carmen.

Intentio est increpare *Ibidi*s perfidiam et crudelitatem qui afflictum calcaret et eius uxorem ab eo alienare curaret. Imitatur in hoc opere Calimachum poetam Cyrenensem qui prius contra inimicum suum scripsit.

Autoris uita huiusmodi <quae> quom apud alios, tum in ipsius operibus comperiretur. (fol. 140r)

Before turning to the actual content of these two lives, I would like to discuss briefly several questions related to their authorship.

ms. Urbana-Champaign 8 clearly attributes the two lives to Bernardo Moretti. The heading which prefaces Bernardo I reads: 'P. Ovidii Nasonis vita per Berardum Moretum Bononiensem aedita sequitur'; that of Bernardo II: 'P. Ovidii Nasonis vita per eundem Berardum ex operibus ipsius poetae annotata'. The genuineness of Bernardo II rests on relatively firm ground since the text of this life (albeit in somewhat altered form) introduces Moretti's glosses to the *Ibis* in ms. Reg. lat. 1801. However, we possess no such corroborating evidence in the case of Bernardo I, and a detailed comparison of the two lives has uncovered inconsistencies which may have some bearing on the authenticity of Bernardo I. For example, Bernardo I knows of the existence of the *Halieutica* (here referred to as the *De piscibus*) whereas Bernardo II omits any such reference. Knowledge of this work was not widespread among fifteenth-century biographers of Ovid, and we may well ask if it is likely that Bernardo would mention the poem in his first life but omit it from his second. Secondly, although Bernardo I alludes to several spurious Ovidian works (*De avibus* and the *Nux* in addition to the genuine *De medicamine faciei*), Bernardo II merely relates Ovid's destruction of his early poetical efforts and, before his flight from Rome, those that might have found favour (ll. 86-90). On the other hand, it must be admitted that Bernardo I does contain several sentences (ll. 4-8) which have close verbal parallels with Bernardo II (ll. 43, 49, 52, 66). I suggest therefore that while such discrepancies do not disprove the genuineness of Bernardo I, they do at least compel us to admit this life into Bernardo's canon with some hesitation.

Bernardo I relies on numerous earlier lives (in particular the Jena life in V above as well as the autobiographical *Tristia* 4.10) for knowledge of Ovid's life and career. Its sketch of Ovid's life is highly truncated and seems to repeat some information contained in Bernardo II. We learn, for instance, of Ovid's birth at Sulmona in 43 B.C., his early rhetorical training and trip to Athens, and his friendship with numerous Latin poets. The enumeration of Ovid's works, in addition to genuine Ovidian poems, includes the *Nux*, *De avibus* and *De piscibus*. In three respects only does Bernardo I contribute to the biographical tradition on

Ovid: it names the poet's third wife 'Sarsina' (ll. 8-9), a fact unknown to other humanist biographers; like the Jena life and Pomponio Leto, it knows of the *Halieutica* (= *De piscibus* [l. 17]); lastly, Bernardo I introduces a novel twist to the causes for Ovid's exile, imputing the charge of pederasty, generally laid against Augustus Caesar, to his adopted son Tiberius (ll. 23-24).

With Bernardo II the reader at last confronts a life which clearly illustrates the new, critical approach applied to Ovidian biography during the later Renaissance. Ghisalberti's research has underlined the movement of later humanist scholars away from the traditional classifications to focus more exclusively on the life and works of the poet.⁴³ Freed at last from the confines of medieval scholasticism, the humanists founded their elucidation of Ovid's life on an intimate knowledge of primary and secondary sources.

Bernardo II begins by discussing the traditional events in Ovid's life: his birthplace, his equestrian background, his early legal training and love of poetry, his exile and burial at Tomis. As in the Jena life (see above, section V), the two verses from *Tristia* 4.10.5-6 are properly assigned to the battle of Mutina (43 B.C.) (ll. 6-8) where the consuls Hirtius and Pansa lost their lives. He also alludes to Ovid's trip to Athens (l. 43) and the poet's facility in Greek.⁴⁴ In treating the causes of Ovid's exile, Bernardo II displays a note of scepticism when compelled to reiterate the timeworn gossip of his predecessors: he concludes that the *Ars amatoria* was the primary reason for banishment, and frankly confesses that the reasons traditionally advanced (such as Ovid's affair with Livia or his unwitting view of Augustus engaged in pederasty) are pure guesswork (ll. 191-193).

In general, Bernardo II draws a highly sympathetic portrayal of the poet and emphasizes his prodigious talents and congenial mores (ll. 49-65, 85). This tendency to view Ovid as a fellow humanist whose ultimate disgrace must elicit both sorrow and pity is a distinctive trait of the later humanist lives. Lorenzo Rossi, for instance, a professor of rhetoric at Bologna from 1477 to 1496, describes Ovid in terms nearly identical to those used by Bernardo II.⁴⁵ Rossi underlines the poet's love of leisure and lack of political ambition, stressing that not until the age of fifty-five did Ovid gain his first enemy to whom he responded in the *Ibis*; and he lingers at length over the harshness of Ovid's place of exile, portraying for his

⁴³ See Ghisalberti, 'Biographies', 23.

⁴⁴ This is probably based on the authority of *Tristia* 1.2.77: 'nec peto, quas quondam petii studiosus, Athenas.'

⁴⁵ Rossi's life of Ovid is contained in the following manuscripts presently known: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1826, fols. 1r-8r and Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile 141, fols. 13r-20r. The text of Rossi's life was also printed in the edition of the *Metamorphoses* published by I. Huguetan at Lyons in 1518, recently reprinted by Garland Press (The Renaissance and the Gods 3; New York, 1976). During his lifetime, Rossi was particularly noted for the elegance of his orations. Antonio Urceo, for example, in the epitaph which he wrote for Rossi, describes him as 'celeri ingenio, memori mente'; cf. C. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro: studi e ricerche* (Bologna, 1878), p. 240.

readers the difficulties confronting a cultivated, urbane individual in such a barbarous locale:

Quibus omnibus eius infortuniis omnes moueri debemus, tum propter eius innocentiam et ingenii celebritatem, tum etiam maxime quod in locis barbaris bonis moribus, humanitate ac omni bono carentibus uitam ducere coactus erat (MS. Reg. lat. 1826, fol. 3v)

Great care is taken by Bernardo II to provide a complete and accurate list of Ovid's works. He discusses only those poems which can without doubt be admitted into the Ovidian canon. Such spurious compositions as the *De cuculo*, *De pulice*, *Nux*, *De limace* and the *De uetula* are passed over in silence. The *Amores* regains its proper title (l. 95). Lost minor works mentioned in this life and deduced from references in the poetry of exile include: a wedding song for the marriage of Ovid's friend Maximus (*Ex Ponto* 1.2) (l. 127); a triumphal ode for the victory celebrations of Tiberius Caesar (*Ex Ponto* 3.4) (ll. 134-139) which, however, Bernardo II mistakenly attributes to Augustus Caesar; and a work in the Getic tongue in praise of Augustus (*Ex Ponto* 4.13) (ll. 140-147).

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* * *

The table illustrates the relationships among the various *accessus* discussed above:

Author	Date and origin	Sources	Later Influence
1. Anonymous <i>accessus</i> A	s. XI ex., Germany		London Anonymous
2. Anonymous <i>accessus</i> B	s. XII in., France		Arnulf
3. Anonymous <i>accessus</i> C	s. XII in., France		Sozomeno
4. Arnulf of Orléans	c. 1175, Orléans	<i>Accessus</i> B	form and substance influenced all subsequent <i>accessus</i> down to the Renaissance
5. William of Orléans	s. XIII in., Orléans	Arnulf	Guillelmus de Thiegiis (Paris lat. 8010); Sozomeno
6. 'Vulgate'	s. XIII, France (Orléanais?)	Arnulf	Sozomeno; Giovanni del Virgilio
7. Giovanni del Virgilio	s. XIV in. (1322/23), Bologna	Arnulf; 'Vulgate'	
8. Sozomeno of Pistoia	1431 (?), Florence (?)	Arnulf; William; 'Vulgate'; Berlin, Diez B Sant. 2, fol. 5r-v	
9. London Anonymous (ms. Harley 2769)	s. XV, Italy	<i>Accessus</i> A; <i>Accessus</i> B	
10. Jena Anonymous (ms. G.b.q. 20)	s. XV, Italy		Bernardo Moretti I
11. Bernardo Moretti I	s. XV (Bologna?)		Jena Anonymous
Bernardo Moretti II	s. XV (Bologna?)		

VII

In editing the lives discussed above and texts in the Appendices, I have adhered to the following general principles. When a text survives in a single manuscript, I have adopted the spelling peculiarities of that witness; if a text is extant in more than one copy, I reproduce the orthography of the oldest witness and report all significant variants in the *apparatus criticus* (I refrain from including therein purely orthographical variants, nor do I include those instances where the scribes have produced unintelligible gibberish). Scribal punctuation and capitalization are erratic; I have therefore followed modern conventions for both so as to clarify passages and facilitate the reader's understanding of the text. I also capitalize proper nouns and the names of Ovid's works in addition to the opening word of a sentence. Angle brackets indicate editorial additions; square brackets indicate material found in the manuscripts of the text which I think must be deleted.

Further information is given at the beginning of each life for problems peculiar to that life.

1. *William of Orléans*

The text of the *accessus* edited below is based on a full collation and reporting of A¹A²BPLpOWL. F preserves the text of William's *accessus* to l. 68, after which it diverges significantly from the transmitted text. I therefore report fully the variants of F to l. 68 in the *apparatus* and transcribe the concluding section in Appendix 2. The witnesses may be divided into two distinct families represented by A¹P and A²LpBOWFL. Where the two families present alternative readings for the text, I have in general preferred the reading of A¹P, since often this reading seemed more consistent with the style of William elsewhere in the commentary. I have adopted throughout the spelling of A¹, the oldest witness, and I retain those sigla used by previous scholars.

A¹ = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. qu. 219, f. 82ra-va (s. XIII)

A² = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. qu. 219, f. 130ra-b (s. XIII)

B = Berne, Burgerbibliothek 411, f. 142rb-va (s. XIII)

L = London, British Library Add. 49368, f. 143v (s. XIII)

Lp = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Rep. I 4° 48, ff. 125va-126ra (s. XIII)

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Class. Lat. 9, ff. 166rb-167ra (s. XIV)

O^c = O a manu secunda correctus

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15136, ff. 197vb-198ra (s. XIII)

W = Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka IV F 42, f. 32vb-33vb (s. XIV)

F = Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität F II 27, f. 23va-b (s. XIV)

F^c = F a manu secunda correctus

(A¹ 82ra) Ad maiorem auctoris euidenciam in maiori opere suo de vita poete tractandum est. Videndum est ergo vnde et quis fuerit Ouidius, et quid composuerit.

In Peligno opido natus extitit, vnde ait in Ouidio Sine Titulo 'hoc ego composui 5 Pelignis natus aquosis', tempore illo in quo fuit pugna inter Marium et Sillam, vnde illud in Ouidio Tristium:

Cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.

xiii Kalend. Marcii natus est. Lucium habuit fratrem qui vno anno natus est ante ipsum, vnde illud:

10 Qui quater ante tribus mensibus ortus erat.

Idem fuit natalicius dies amborum, vnde illud:

Lucifer amborum natalibus affuit idem.

Frater eius causidicus fuit, vnde illud:

Frater ad eloquium viridi tendebat ab euo.

4-5 *Am.* 2.1.1. 7 *Tr.* 4.10.6. 10 *ibid.* 4.10.10. 12 *ibid.* 4.10.11. 14 *ibid.* 4.10.17.

1 maioris *LpOW* huius auctoris *L* actoris *A¹PB*: auctoritatis *Lp*: actoritatis *F* euidenciam (?) *P* euidenciam auctoris *W* opere] volumine *F* suo *om.* *A¹P F* poete *A¹P*: ipsius *A²LpBOWFL* 2 aliquid tractandum *P* tractandum est] uidendum est et tractandum *OW*: agendum est *L* uidendum est] uideamus *OW*: inquirendum est *F* ergo] igitur *Lp* unde *om.* *Lp* unde et *om.* *F* qui *F* fuerat *W* 2-3 et quid composuerit *om.* *A²* composuit *WF*: compouerit ut uid. *B* post composuit *add.* Ouidius *LpBOWF* 4 natus *om.* *LpF* natus extitit] extitit et natus fuit *O* extitit] est Ouidius *P*: extitit oriundus *F*: fuit *WL* ait *om.* *OWL* ante sine *add.* de (*sup. lin.* *P*) *P OL* hec *OWF* composui] compouerit ut uid. *B* 5 pelignus *W* aquo *W* sed tempore *W* in *om.* *F* pugna fuit *A²L*: fuit bellum *LpBF*: fuit *W* inter Marium et Sillam] mario et sille *L*: mario stella et scillam *W*, sed stella *del.* *W* scilam *O*: scillam (*c sup. lin.*) *P*: cillam *BF* 6 id *P*: illum *L*: *om.* *BOWF* in *om.* *A²* in ouidio *om.* *P* in ouidio tristium *om.* *L* 7 cum] quo *OW* cum cecidit] concideret *F* facto *W* uterque] utque *L* 5-7 tempore (in tempore *L*) ...pari post natus est *transp.* *L* 8 xiii] duodecim *B*: xiiii *LpOW*: iii Kalendas] falandas ut uid. *F* maii *LpB* est] fuit *OW* est Ouidius *P* post natus est *add.* unde in ouidio tristium hec est armigere de festis quinque minerue que frater pugna prima cruenta solet id est xiiii kalendas incepere festa et in secundo die fiebat gladiatura *B* lucinum *A¹ OW*: lucilium *P* habuit *om.* *B* fratrem habuit *F* 8-10 qui vno ... erat] unde illud in ouidio tristium: genito sum fratre creatus qui quantum (*sic*) ante tribus mensibus ortus erat quia frater eius uno anno natus erat ante ipsum *B* 8-9 ante illum natus est *L* 9 ipsum] eum *O* id *P*: ouidius *LP*: in ouidio tristium (tu sciu ut uid. *W*) *OW*: idem ouidius *F*: illum *L* 9-10 inter illud et qui *add. sup. lin.* nec stirps prima fui genito sum fratre creatus *P* 11 et idem *F*: et nota quod idem *L* idem ex item (?) *corr.* *P* dies fuit natalitius *L* dies natalicius (-ties *Lp*) *LpOW* amborum] eorum *Lp*: eorum amborum *OW* post amborum *add.* sed uno reuerso *F* 11-12 vnde ... idem *om.* *A²LpOWL* 11 illud] in ouidio *B*: idem ouidius *F* 12 affuit *B* idem] unus *F* post idem *add.* una scelerata est per duo libera dies *B* 13 frater ... fuit] fuit autem frater suus causidicus *OW*: lucius fuit causidicus *L* eius (eius Ouidii *P*)] suus *A²LpF* *sup.* dicus *add.* ens *P* vnde illud *om.* *L* illud] idem ouidius *F*: *om.* *Lp* 14 tendebat] -bant *W*: cedebat *L* post evo *add.* forcia verbosi natus ad arma fori *B*

15 Ovidius clericali datus est professioni, Tybullo magistro, Virgilio adhuc viuentē,
vnde illud:

Virgilium tantum uidi.

Contemporaneus fuit Horatio, vnde illud:

Et tenuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures.

20 Mortuo fratre, videns Ouidius poetas ad honorem euehi per scripturam Romam
uenit tempore Augusti et animum ad iuuenilia tractanda applicuit, cuius primum
opus, liber Heroydum, de quo habetur in Ouidio de Arte:

Vel tibi composita cantetur Epistola uoce.

Secundum opus, Ouidius Sine Titulo, vnde illud:

25 Deque tribus libris, titulus quos signat Amorum,
elige, quod docili molliter ore legas.

Tercium opus, Ouidius de Medicamine Faciei, vnde illud:

Est michi, quo dixi uestre medicamina forme,
paruus, set cura grande, libellus, opus.

17 *ibid.* 4.10.51. 19 *ibid.* 4.10.49. 23 *Ars* 3.345. 25-26 *ibid.* 3.343-344.
28-29 *ibid.* 3.205-206.

15 clericali ... est] datus est clericali (est *om.* B) BL: traditus est clericali Lp: traditus est F: datus OW supra professioni add. mestier gallice P, et post professioni add. at michi iam puero celestia sacra placebant inque suum furtim musa trahebat opus B sub tibullo P tybullo ... vivente] tibullum habuit magistrum B adhunc F 16 illud] idem F 17 virgilium ... vidi] nec auara tibulli tempus amicitie fata dedere mee B uidi tantum (tantum etc. OW) A¹ OW 18 contemporaneus ... horatio] oratius contemporaneus fuit ovidio OW fui B horatii A² illud] idem F 19 numeros B 15-19 tybullo ... aures *om.* L 20 mortuo autem fratre Lp: mortuo autem fratre suo A¹ mortuo ... scripturam] qui mortuo fratre suo uidens poetas per studium rome florere L honores P euehi ad honorem LpOW euehi] provehi B: devehi A¹: peruenire F scripturas A¹ B: satiram F 20-21 uenit Romam OW: Romam iuit L 21 in tempore F tempore augusti *om.* BL et ... applicuit] et ibi ad iuuenilia animum suum applicauit tractans de iuuenilibus (ad iuuenilia W) OW et ibi animum (suum animum L) BL iuuenilia A¹: iūuenilia P tractanda] scribenda L applicauit A¹ cuius *om.* A¹P 21-22 cuius ... liber] in principio fecit librum OW cuius ... arte] cuius liber primus ovidius heroidum deinde ovidius de arce amandi Lp 22 opus] opus fuit (fuit *sup. lin.* P) PL: opus eius A¹: *om.* F liber fuit F liber Heroydum] ovidius epistolarum L de quo] unde BL habetur *om.* L arte amandi F 23 vel] lis B: ut F compositi F ante composita add. cantetur Lp, q (?) F composita cantetur] compositum tenetur W: tentetur composita O uoce] note (?) P 24 opus eius B: opus fuit OWFL ovidius] idem F ante sine add. de FL vnde illud *om.* Lp illud] id P: in ouidio de arte L: quid F, incertum 25 teque P fingat OW 26 elige] accipe B docili] facili OW: docui F ante molliter add. legas W 27 opus] opus fuit OWF: *om.* L ovidius] liber quem composuerit (composuit W) OW: eius B: est L: *om.* A¹P LpF medicamine W forme uel faciei B illud] idem ovidius F: in ouidio de arte L 28 michi] modo L quo] quod A²BOWF uestre dixi O: uestro dira ut uid. W dici ut uid. F 29-73 in L deest 29 cura *om.* P

30 Quartum opus, Ovidius de Arte, propter quod missus est in exilium, vnde illud in Ouidio de Ponto:

Neue roges, que sit, stultam quam scripsimus Artem.

Quintum opus, Ovidius de Remedio Amoris, de quo habetur in eodem:

Nec noua preteritum Musa retexit opus.

35 Sextum opus, Ovidius Fastorum, in quo fecit XII volumina, quorum VI habemus, de quo habetur in Ouidio Tristium:

Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos.

Septimum opus, Ovidius Methamorphoseos, vnde illud:

Sunt michi mutata, ter quinque volumina, forme,
nuper ab exsequiis carmina rapta meis.

40

Ipsa enim preuentus exilio opus suum emendare non potuit, vnde ipse ait in Oui(A¹ 82rb)dio Tristium quod isti VI uersus debent preponi:

Orba parente suo quicumque volumina tangis,
hiis saltem uestra detur in vrbe locus.

45

Quoque magis faueas, non sunt hec edita ab ipso,
set quasi de domini funere rapta sui.

Quidquid in hiis igitur uicii rude carmen habebit,

32 *Pont.* 2.9.73. 34 *Rem.* 12. 37 *Tr.* 2.549. 39-40 *ibid.* 1.1.117-118. 43-49 *ibid.* 1.7.35-40 (48 *in Pont.* 1.8.9 *inuenitur*)

30 opus] opus eius *B*: *om.* A¹ opus ovidius] opus fuit ovidius *OW*: opus ovidii est ovidius *F* ovidius] liber *P*: *om.* *Lp* arte] arte amandi *O*: arte amatoria *WF*: arce *B* quod *LpB*: quam *F*: quem *cett.* est] fuit A¹ *OWF*: fuerat *Lp* illud] habetur A²: dicitur *F*: *om.* *LpOW* 30-31 in ... Ponto] ovidius de posito *B* 31 ponto] puncto *O* 32 roges] teges *W* que] quod *OW* stultam] tultam *ut uid.* *F* quam ante que *transp.* *W* scripsimus] fecimus *P* post artem *add.* etc. *O*, innocuas nobis hec uetat (uocat *in marg.* *P*) esse manus *P B* 33 opus *om.* *OW* ovidius] fuit ovidius *OWF*: *om.* A¹ *Lp* remedii A¹ *LpF*: comedio A² amoris *om.* A¹ *BF* de] te *P* de quo habetur] unde illud *B*: unde *Lp* 34 noua] mora *B* preteritum ... opus] perteritum *musa retexit O*: preteritum etc. *F* 35 opus *om.* *W* ovidius] fuit liber *F* quo *sup. lin. add.* *F* volumina (*sic*) ex volumen (?) *corr.* *F* non habemus *OW* 36 de] te *P* de quo ... ouidio] unde illud *B*: unde in ouidio *Lp*: unde ait in eodem *F* tristium *om.* *F* 37 ego] ergo *O* 38 opus ovidius] opus fuit ovidius *F*: fuit hoc presens opus (hoc fuit opus presens *W*) scilicet ovidius *OW* illud A² *LpOW*: id *P*: dicit *F*: quid A¹ *B*, non liquet 39 sint *OW* 40 carmina] funere *F* meis] suis *F* 41 enim] etiam *F*: ubi *B*: *om.* *Lp* exilio preuentus A² *LpB*: preueniente exilio *OW* in exilio *F* suum *om.* *Lp* non potuit emendare *F* ipse *om.* *F* ipse ait] dicit *OW* 42 ante debent *add.* in isto libro *F* deberent *P OW* interponi *P* 43 tangis A¹ A² *W*: cernis *P LpOF*: cernit *B* 45 quoque magis *del. et add. in marg.* utque magis *P* foueas *OW* hec sunt A¹ *OW*, sed sunt *suppl. in marg.* O^e edita] euita *F* ipso] illo *LpOWF* 46 domini] dicta *W* sui] fuit *O* 47 quidquid ... habebit *P OF*: quidquid in his uicii ergo (ergo uicii *W*) rude carmen habebit A¹ *W*: quidquid in his igitur deinde uicii rude carmen habebat *F*: *om.* A² *LpB*

[vtque magis nostros uenia dignere libellos]
emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.

50 Octauum opus, Ouidius Tristium, quod in itinere exilii composuit. Nonum opus, Ouidius de Ponto. Decimum opus, Ouidius in Ibim, id est contra inuidum. Tragediam etiam composuit post Ouidium Sine Tytulo, set non habemus, vnde ait in Ouidio Tristium 'curaque tragedia nostra creuit'.

Istis premissis, ad ea que inquirenda sunt super hunc librum redeamus, ista
55 scilicet: materia auctoris, intentio scribentis, utilitas operis, titulus carminis, cui parti philosophie subponatur.

Materia auctoris in hoc opere est mutatio rerum, set quia de mutatione mentionem fecimus, videndum est quot sint modi mutationis, tres scilicet. Est enim ethica mutatio, et theorica, et magica. Ethica, sicut de animali rationabili ad
60 irrationabile, vt mutatio Lycaonis in lupum. Theorica est spiritualis, vt deificatio Herculis. Magica, vt de re inanimata ad animatam, sicut mutatio ymaginis quam fecit Prometheus.

53 *rectius*, Am. 2.18.14-15. 60 *Met.* 1.232-239. 60-61 *ibid.* 9.259-272. 61-62 *ibid.* 1.82-83.

48 utque ... libellos *om.* P OWF uenia nostros A' Lp 49 erat W 50-53 octauum ... creuit *om.* F 50 opus fuit OW ovidius tristium] scilicet tristium ovidius B: ovidius de tristibus OW quem A' Lp exilii sui Lp: sui exilii OW ante in *transp.* composuit OW: compouerit ut uid. B nonum autem opus Lp opus] fuit OW: *sup.* opus *add.* est P 51 ponto] puncto O: posito B decimus A' opus] fuit opus W: *om.* A' ovidius *om.* OW ante in *add.* de Lp in ... inuidum] de Ibin quam uidum ut uid. W nibim B: inbi O id est *om.* Lp post sine tytulo *transp.* contra inuidum Lp 52 etiam] suam B: *om.* OW post composuit *add.* sed non habemus W ante sine *add.* de OW set] quam A' set non] unde Lp ait] dicit OW 52-53 vnde ... tristium *om.* Lp 53 in ouidio] ovidius B -que *om.* B traiediam W creuit] cernit ut uid. B: est OW 54 istis] hiis Lp OW premissis] igitur uisis premissis (in premissis W) OW: visis F ad ... redeamus] ea que circa librum sunt inquirenda inquiramus Lp: ea que super hunc librum inquirenda sunt uideamus F: ad ea que sunt inquirenda in hoc libro accedamus OW redeamus] uideamus A' 54-55 ista scilicet P: scilicet ista A': uidelicet ista A': scilicet BF: scilicet que sit Lp: que sunt hec OW 55 actoris B: actoris P utilitas operis *om.* OW 55-56 materia ... subponatur] que materia, que actoris intencio, que legentis utilitas et quis titulus debeat assignari et cui parti philosophie subponatur F 57 actoris P B auctoris ... est] huius libri est F opere] libro O ante in *transp.* est Lp: *om.* B mutato A' rerum mutatio OWF post mutatione *add.* rerum F 58 facimus mentionem F videndum est] uideamus OW quot ... scilicet] quid sit mutatio et quot modi mutationum sunt enim tres Lp sint (sunt W) species et quot modi OW modi sunt F mutationes F tres *om.* A' tres ... enim] sunt enim (autem W) tres OW: scilicet tres F 59 mutatio ethica F et¹ *om.* BOWF et² *om.* BF ethica] ethica est moralis OW, *fort. recte* (?): mutacio teorica est F sicut *om.* A' P W animali *ex-le corr.* F rationali P BWF ad (in *sup. lin F*) *om.* F 60 ante irrationabile *add.* animal F irrationale P BWF vt] sicut F mutatio lycaonis] de lycaone F lupum *corr. sup. lin. P* est] ut B spiritualis] spiritalis A': speritalis P: mutacio F vt] sicut F 61 magica mutatio est ut F vt] est OW re *om.* A' OW ad] in OW animatam] rem animatam F: rem inanimatam A' P sicut] ut F ymagis P 62 ante fecit unum uerbum quod non liquet habet P prometheus uel pimalion F: promelcheus W

Intentio auctoris est prosequi materiam et ad laudem Augusti terminare librum suum.

65 Utilitas legentis cognitio fabularum, auctoris uero Augusti et Romanorum reconciliatio quos offenderat per Ovidium de Arte.

Tytulus est talis: 'Ouidii Publii Nasonis primus liber Methamorphoseos incipit'. Bene primus quia sunt xv. Ovidius proprium nomen est auctoris, Naso agnomen a magnitudine nasi. Publius a Publio patre; Methamorphoseos nomen sumptum a materia. Metha enim Grece, de Latine, morphos mutacio, usya substantia, inde Ovidius Methamorphoseos, id est tractans de mutacione substantiarum.

Ethice subponitur. Ad mores enim respicit tractando (A¹ 82va) de mutacione.

More aliorum poetarum proponit, inuocat, narrat. Proponit, vt ibi 'in noua' etc.; inuocat, vt ibi 'dii ceptis' etc.; narrat, ut ibi 'ante mare et terras' etc.

63-66 intentio ... arte] intencio actoris uersatur circa materiam qui ovidius ad laudem augusti cesaris librum suum in proposito habuit terminare. utilitas legentis est fabularum cognitio, actoris uero utilitas augusti cesaris et clericorum romanorum quos offenderat per artem amatoriam reconciliatio *F* 63 actoris *P B* est *om. A¹* post augusti *add.* et romanorum *A²* 63-64 librum suum terminare *A¹P OW* 64 suum *om. B* 65 cognitio fabularum] est fabularum cognitio *OW* ante auctoris *add.* utilitas *OW* actoris *A¹P BO* uero *om. OW* et augusti *A¹* uero augusti et *om. B* romanorum *quid B, incertum* romanorum et augusti *OW* 65-66 uero ... reconciliatio] ut augusto et romanis reconciliaretur *Lp* 66 unde quos *W* per ovidium] in ouidio *OW* post arte *add.* siue delectatio (vel etiam [etiam *om. W*] sui delectatio *OW*) *A²LpBOW*, et post delectatio *add.* unde illud aut prodesse uolunt aut delectare puella *B* 67 talis est *BWF*: *om. P A²Lp* talis *om. O* ovidii *om. BF* puplii *A²*: plubii *F* meth. primus liber (liber primus *A²OW*) *A²LpBOWF* 68 bene] unde *W* primus quia sunt] primus sunt enim *A¹*: primus quia *A²*: dicit (dicit [-tur *OW*] primus *LpOWF*) quia sequitur secundus sunt (sunt *om. W*) enim (etenim *LpWF*) *LpBOWF* xv] libri *add. F*: xii *A²* proprium] pro *Lp* est *om. P B* est proprium nomen *OW* actoris *P B* cognomen *LpOW* 69 puplius *A²* puplio *A²* patre suo *BOW* meta *Lp* est nomen *BOW* nomen *om. Lp* 70 metha quia enim *A²* enim *om. A¹P Lp* latine dicitur *Lp*: dicitur latine *OW* morphos idem est quod mutacio *OW* usios *B* substantia] sibilis *B* unde *A²*: *om. W* 71 id est *om. A²BOW* tractans] tractatus *O* tractans ... substantiarum] substantiarum tractans *B* 72 post subponitur *add.* liber iste *OW* enim *om. A²* tractando de mutacione *om. OW* mutationibus *A²LpB* 73 poetarum tria facit *BOW* et narrat *BOW* vt ibi] ubi dicit *OW*: vt hic *B* in noua fert animus etc. *OW* 74 inuocat ... etc post terras etc. *transp. Lp* vt ibi] ubi dicit *BOW* dii] dum *W* etc.] nam *B* ut ibi *A²Lp*: ubi ait *A¹*: ubi dicit *BOW*: ibi *P*

2. The 'Vulgate'

The edited text is based on a full collation and reporting of SXLBCPD. I refrain from including orthographical variants or recording those places in which the scribe has written pure gibberish (e.g., *regando* for *tegendo* at l. 26). The manuscripts can be divided into two families consisting of D and SXLBCP for the following reasons: D at times retains a reading which appears preferable to that preserved in the manuscripts of the 'Vulgate' commentary (cf. ll. 2, 55, 60, 72); at other times D displays variations from the text as presented in the manuscripts

of the 'Vulgate' commentary (cf. ll. 14, 26, 34, 62, 77); finally, D transmits alternative readings to the text of the *accessus* (usually using *seu* or *uel*) from which the remaining manuscripts are free (cf. ll. 16, 27, 54). When the two families offer different readings, I have not adhered rigidly to either family but have allowed sense, grammar and the general style of the *accessus* to be my guide. The text of H, while closely allied to the *accessus* of the 'Vulgate', is much more fluid in wording and diverges from the transmitted text at numerous points. These changes usually consist of obvious errors, altered word order, or substitution of similar words and phrases. I do not therefore report all variants of H in the *apparatus*, but I do include its readings where these seem to provide plausible alternatives to the printed text. I reproduce the orthography of S.

B = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant. 5, f. 138va-b (s. XIII)

C = Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Δ.1.6, f. 164va-b (s. XIII)

D = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Diez B Sant. 2, ff. 4v-5r (s. XIII/XIV)

L = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit B.P.L. 95, f. 1va (s. XIII)

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8004, f. 147v (s. XIII)

S = Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste 92, f. 1ra-b (s. XIII)

S^c = S a manu coeua correctus

X = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 123 Gud. Lat., f. 1ra-vb (s. XIV)

H = Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. S. 2008 4^o, f. 3ra (s. XIII/XIV)

(S 1ra) Quoniam omnis prolixitas fastidium generat, quibusdam pretermissis que de uita et operibus Ouidii solent hic a quibusdam assignari, cum in primo suorum operum, id est in libro Heroidum, pocius sint inquirenda, sit quod presens opus vniuersorum eius operum quasi medium vnicuique quod suum est. Relinquen-
5 tes ad maiorem subsequencium euidentiam sermonem nostrum per compendium dirigendo ut attentiores habeantur auditores, prelibemus tria per que propositum auctoris et intencionem et scribendi modum in hoc opere uideamus: primo uidelicet de quo, secundo ad quid, tercio uero qualiter agit auctor in hoc opere.

De quo siquidem agat, patet per titulum qui talis est: Publii Nasonis Ouidii
10 Methamorphoseos liber primus incipit. 'Primus' dicit nec inmerito, quia sequitur

1 *post generat add. in animo auditoris C, quid (?) L* 2 *de uita] deuitat C operibus]*
moribus seu operibus D hec BC a quibusdam] antiquitus H in D: om. cett. 3 *operum*
suorum (?) C in D C: om. cett. sint] sit L: sunt BC sit quod] si qui D quod] est ut
uid. C 3-4 *opus presens L uniuersorum operum eius presens opus D* 4 *operum] opem B*
est om. C 4-5 *relinquentes] exhibentes H (ante relinquentes aliqua uerba deesse suspicor)*
5 *euidentiam subsequencium (euidentiam suppl. in marg.) D* 6 *auditores] primo add. B: prima*
add. C prelibamus X: prelibat BC 7 *actoris SXB* 8 *scilicet C agat H actor agit X*
auctor DH: actor cett. 7-8 *primo ... opere om. P* 9 *agit X per capitulum siue per titulum*
X 10 *primus liber XBCH primus dicit nec inmerito] bene dicit primus et non immerito B:*
primus dicit non immerito C dicit D BC: om. cett. nec] non X

- secundus; sunt etenim xv quod ipse in opere Tristium contestatur dicens 'sunt michi mutata, ter quinque volumina, forme' etc. Publius uero nomen est a cognatione positum. Dicitur enim Publius a Publia familia uel a patre Publio. Naso uero nomen est ab euentu, quoniam a quantitate nasi Naso dictus est, siue quia,
- 15 sicut canis venaticus naso bene sciens feram persequitur donec eam captam detineat, ita Naso dictus est quasi odorinsecus, quoniam vniuersa eius opera verbis rethoricis colorata et sententiis tam phisicis quam phillosophicis insignita et etiam grammatica sufficienti solidata, sagaci eius ingenio exquisita, odoriferum parturiunt legentibus intellectum. Ouidius autem nomen est proprium et ethimologizari potest
- 20 sic: Ouidius enim dicitur quasi 'ouum diuidens', id est occultum nobis et incognitum aperiens, quoniam de primordiali materia, in qua de creacione mundi agitur, pertractauit. Mundus enim ouo comparatur, et hac ratione quia oui rotunditatem exprimit et, sicut ouum, quatuor in se gerit. Ouum habet extrinsecus testam quam tela sequitur intus, tercio albumen ordinatur, quarto uero meditullium; per
- 25 testam extrinsecam firmamentum figuramus, per telam aera, per albumen aquam, per meditullium terram. Firmamentum teste oui in soliditate conuenit et in tegendo cetera, aer tele in tenuitate, aqua albumini in liquiditate, terra meditullio in mediacione nec non in rerum creatione quoniam, sicut pullus nascitur ex meditullio, ita ex terre uisceribus omnia procreantur.
- 30 Per Methamorphoseos patet quod a materia sumitur titulus. Methamorphoseos Grecum est et a pluribus compositum. Componitur enim a metha quod est de, et morphos quod est mutacio, et vsya quod est substantia, et sic methamorphoseos, id est de mutacione substantie. Dici tamen potest quod metha prepositio Greca est, morphoseos genitiuus Grecus est et sic exponitur methamorphoseos, id est de

11-12 *Tr.* 1.1.117 et 3.14.19. 23-29 cf. *Mart. Cap., De nupt. Phil. et Merc.* 2.140.

11 enim *D* xv libri *D* quod] quos *P* atestatur *BC* 12 michi] quoque *B* uero *om.* *BC* 13 cognitione *LP* dicitur enim publius] publius dictus est *C* enim] autem *B*: *quid P, incertum* publica *S* uel (uel a *C*) publico patre *BC* 14 uero] non *P* auentu *X* dictus est] dicitur uel dictus est *L* siue alio modo quia *D* 15 sicut *sup. lin. add. S^c: om. cett.* naso *om. D P* bene] unde *ut uid. P* prosequitur *XP* 16 detinet *X* dictus est] est dictus *C*: dicitur *D* odorificus siue odorinsecus *D* 17 sententiis] sine hiis *D* et tam *SXLBC*: ante tam *quid P, incertum* insignata *LC* 18 solidata et (uel fort. con) sagaci *P* parturient *P*: percurrunt *X* 19 legentibus] legibus legentibus *X*: audientibus *C* autem *om. D C* est nomen *C* potest ethimologizari *X* 20 sic *om. BC* diuidens ouum *L* 21 de] in *D* 22 mundus] ouidius *X* 22-23 et hac ... exprimit] oui enim rotunditatem (rotunditas *P*) exprimit *SXLBCP* 23 sic *BC* in se *om. BC* textam *D*: textam in testam *corr. P* 24 ordinatum *D* 25 textam *D* figuramus firmamentum *X* propter telam *ut uid. S* 26 soliditate *D*: firmitate (firmate *L*) *cett.* 27 limpiditate uel liquiditate *D*: limpiditate *cett.* terra] cetera *X* 28 uerum (?) nec *C* nec non] uero non *BC* quoniam] quia *D* 29 ita] id est *BC* terre uisceribus terre *B* 30-31 methamorphoseos grecum] *quid P, incertum* 31 componitur] compositum est *BC* 32 ysya *B* quod est *om. XL* et sic methamorphoseos *om. D* 33 id est] quasi *D*: *om. L* substantie mutacione *BC* 33-34 est greca *P* 34 est *om. SL* post metamorphoseos *add.* et quod declinetur et quod idem sit quod mutacio *D* id est *om. D*

35 mutacionis et non de mutacione quoniam Greci carentes ablatiuo genitiuum cum prepositione ponebant. Volunt enim auctores nostri quod genitiuus sit methamorphoseos et quod declinetur et quod idem sit quod mutacio. Quod autem sit mutacio habemus in diuina pagina de sanctis: 'in supera methamorphosi refulsere'; et per magistri Mathei epytaphium quod est tale:

40 Sum quod eris, quod es ipse fui; methamorphosis ista
humanis rebus subdere colla uetat.

Et declinabitur ut memphis, phios, decapolis, leos et dicetur nominatiuo hec methamorphosis, genitiuo huius methamorphosis uel methamorphoseos et sic deinceps secundum terciam declinacionem. Intitulatur autem liber iste de muta-
45 cione substancie, non quod agat de mutacione tali quia substancia non mutatur, set inmutari uidetur per accidens inmutatum, de quo hic agit auctor iste et a digniori <parte> apponit titulum.

Sic habemus de quo agit et sic eius propositum quod est agere de mutacione, unde in primo uersu 'in noua fert animus' etc. Notandum autem est quod
50 quadruplex est mutacio: naturalis, moralis, magica et spiritualis. Naturalis est que fit per contexionem elementorum et retexionem uel mediante semine uel sine semine. Per contexionem enim conueniunt elementa et de spermate nascitur puer, et de ouo pullus, et de semine herba siue (S 1rb) arbor, et sic de consimilibus et hoc mediante semine; per retexionem uero sicut fit dissolutio in quolibet corpore,
55 et hoc sine semine, et hoc quantum ad elementa et quantum ad yle. <...> Elementa, sicut fit quando terra rarescit in aquam, aqua leuigatur in aera, aer subtiliatur in ignem; item ignis spissatur in aera, aer tenuatur in aquam, aqua

38 *ibid.* 1.30. 40-41 Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum* 18728.

35 mutacionis] mutacionum *B*, ut *uid.* *C* 35-36 cum prepositione] pro ablatiuo *D*
36 enim] autem *P* auctores *D*: doctores *H*: actores *cett.* nostri *om.* *D* sit genitiuus *P*
36-37 methamorphoseos sit genitiuus *L* 37 declinatur ut *uid.* *S* mutacio¹] immutacio *X*
38 de sanctis *om.* *C* refulgere *SXH* 39 magistri petri (?) mathei *C* 40-41 ista in humanis
S 42 declinatur *LBC* declinabitur ut *om.* *X* 42-43 ut ... methamorphoseos] methamorfosis
huius uel (sis uel *C*) seos sicut decapolis, lis uel (uel *om.* *C*) leos *BC* 42 dicatur *X* nominatiuo
om. *D* 43 genitiuo *om.* *X* genitiuo ... uel *om.* *P* 44 declinacionem terciam *C* post
declinacionem *add.* declinatur *BC* 45 quod] quia *X* de mutacione tali agat *D* tali]
substantiali et tali (et tali *exp.* *P*) *P* 46 mutari *L* inmutatum] -tur *C*, quid *B*, non liquet hic
agit] agit hic *XLP*: hic agit hic *D* auctor *DHL*: actor *cett.* iste *om.* *D* *SXBC* digniori
hoc ut *uid.* *C* 48 post agit *add.* hic auctor iste quia a digniori apponit titulum sic habemus de quo
agit per homoeoteleuton *L* agat *H* est *om.* *X* est autem *P* 50 quadrupliciter *X*: triplex
D mutacio est *B* post mutacio *add.* scilicet *X* et magica *D* naturalis²] nateralis *D*
51 retexionem elementorum *B* 53 siue arbor *om.* *X* 54 per] propter ut *uid.* *P* recon-
texionem *X* uero] non (?) *P* sicut *om.* *L* fit *om.* *P* resolutio uel dissolutio *D* 55 hoc¹
om. *P* hoc² *DH*: *om.* *cett.* et *D*: id est ut *uid.* *BC*: *om.* *cett.* yle <...> elementa lacunam
ex accessu Sozomeni conieci (*uide inf. p. 187*) 56 quando *D*: questio (qō) *cett.* 57 item *XP*:
iterum *cett.*: *om.* *D*

- conglobatur in terram. Et hec mutacio naturalis est de qua facit mencionem in ultimo Pitagoras dicens 'quatuor eternus genitalia corpora mundus continet' etc.
- 60 Moralis est illa mutatio que attenditur circa mores, uidelicet cum mores inmutantur, vt de Licaone dicitur quod de homine mutatus est in lupum, quod est dicere de benigno in raptorem, et sic de consimilibus que in moribus attenduntur. Est autem magica mutacio que circa artem magicam attenditur et fit tantum in corpore quando uidelicet magi aliquid alterius essencie quam sit per artem magicam faciunt
- 65 apparere, vt ostendit de Circe que per artem magicam legitur socios Vlixis in porcos mutauisse. Hec autem ars, scilicet magica, fuit antiquitus in ualore, in dampnacionem cuius lex dedit preceptum tale: 'alienam segetem ne pellexeris', id est ne transtuleris. Segetes enim de agro in agrum per artem magicam transferebant. Spiritualis mutacio est que attenditur in corpore et in spiritu, scilicet quando
- 70 corpus sanum efficitur morbidum, et inde uexatur spiritus et sic spiritus cum corpore pariter inmutatur ut apparet in freneticis et in aliis morbidis; in spiritu quidem tantum ut de sano fit insanus, sicut legitur de Horeste et de Agaue que proprium filium, scilicet Penthea, membratim dilacerauit et sic de consimilibus. In presenti opere de omnibus istis agit auctor.
- 75 Videamus autem ad quid agat. Offenderat enim Augustum Cesarem per Artem Amatoriam. Vnde ad sui reconciliationem per deificacionem Iulii Cesaris a se ostensam scribit ad honorem Augusti de mutacionibus rerum vt uerisimile uideatur Iulium in stellam mutari, quod est in fine presentis operis ostensurus. Et hec est eius intencio.
- 80 Subsequenter uidendum est qualiter agat. Agit enim heroico metro, colligens mutaciones diuersas a prima creacione mundi usque ad suum tempus, quod

59 *Met.* 15.239-240. 61-62 *ibid.*, 1.232-239. 65-66 *ibid.* 14.277-284. 67 cf. *Serv., In Buc. comm.* 8.99. 72 *Pont.* 2.3.45. 72-73 *Met.* 3.715-731. 77 *ibid.* 15.843-851.

58 est mutatio naturalis *BC* mencionem facit *BP* 60 illa mutacio *D: om. cett.* acenditur *C* mores² *om. X* 60-61 mutantur *D* 61 de *om. C* Lychaone *L* 62 benigno] benignitate *P* similibus *D* in (in *om. P*) moribus] circa mores *D* 63 tantum] tantummodo *X* 64 aliquid magi *L* magi] magici (?) *D: magis X* alterius *sup.* essencie *scrips. P* assencie *X* 65 ostenditur *X* de] per *B* 65-66 in porcos *sup. lin. P* 66 mutasse *L* hoc autem est ars *C* magica scilicet *BC* 66-91 in ualore ... littere uideamus *deest in P* 67 segetem *om. X* pellueris *BC: perlegeris D* 68 per artem magicam *om. C* 69 in² *om. D* scilicet quando *D: quando (quoniam L) scilicet cett.* 70 moribundum *X* 70-71 pariter cum corpore *L* 71 in freneticis] in illis qui habent febres *D* in² *om. BC* moribus in morbidis *corr. X* 72 de² *om. C* agaue *D S^c: ignoe C: yno SXLB* 73 penthea (pantea *D*) ... consimilibus] meliecta (melietam (?) *C*) secum misit in mare et consimilibus (cum pluribus *C*) *BC* et] quid *L, incertum* sic *D: om. cett.* 74 de omnibus *om. C* istis *H, quam lectionem dubitanter praeui: om. cett.* auctor *D HL: actor cett.* 75 offenderat] ostenderat *XC* enim] autem *BC* 77 ostensam] offensam *L* ut] et *X* uerisimile] inde simile *D* 78 operis presentis *X* operibus *L* 80 subsequitur *X* est *om. B* heroico *om. X, spatio quinque litterarum relicto* 81 usque *om. SX*

significat sua inuocacio vbi dicit 'primaque ab origine mundi' etc. Phisicus est auctor iste assignando generacionem elementorum; ethicus est in assignacione mutacionum que faciunt ad mores. Vtilitas siquidem est magna, non actoris, set
85 legencium, uidelicet cognicio fabularum et earum expositio quas compendiose colligit auctor iste in hoc opere. Vel utilitas est diuersorum erudicio habita ex mutacione temporalium.

More uero aliorum poetarum tria facit au<c>tor iste: primo proponit, secundo inuocat, tercio narrat. Proponit vbi dicit 'in noua' etc.; inuocat vbi dicit 'dii ceptis'
90 etc.; narrat ubi subsequenter dicit 'ante mare et terras' etc. Hiis uisis expositionem lictere uideamus.

82 significat] signat XL sua] eius D ante phisicus add. et C 83 auctor] ita auctor H: auctor D: actor cett. iste] ita H designando C generaciones D 84 magna om. L non om. C 85 earum] rerum X 86 auctor HL: auctor D: actor cett. actor iste colligit X diuersorum] diuinorum H et codd. Arnulphi 87 immutatione BC 88 tria facit om. SXLC auctor iste D: om. cett. 89 nova fert animus etc. D 89-90 ceptis nam uos etc. D 90 subsequenter om. B dicit consequenter X 90-91 hiis uisis ... uideamus D: om. cett.

3. *Sozomeno of Pistoia*

The edited text is based on a full collation and reporting of F and V. V exhibits several errors and omissions also found in F; neither, however, is a direct parent or copy of the other as separative errors can be deduced in both. B preserves an *accessus* which constitutes one of the sources from which Sozomeno has drawn. While the text of B is often closely affiliated with the *accessus* composed by Sozomeno, it does diverge frequently from the transmitted text and incorporates much additional material. I choose therefore to report the readings of B where they correct an evident error transmitted in FV. The complete text of the *accessus* in B is edited in Appendix 3. The text below reproduces the orthography of F (Sozomeno's autograph).

F = Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana A. 46, f. 5rb-vb (s. xv)

F^c = F a manu Sozomeni correctus

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2781, ff. 185v-187v (s. xv)

V^c = V a manu secunda correctus

B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Diez B Sant. 2, ff. 5r-6r (s. XIII/XIV)

(F 5rb) Qvoniam vt ait Seruius super Eneida in exponendis auctoribus consideranda sunt uita poete, titulus operis, qualitas carminis, intentio scribentis et

numerus librorum, ideo ad horum notitiam est sciendum quod de Phrigia una cum Enea in Italiam uenit quidam Solemus nomine a quo Sulmo denominationem
5 accepit. Vnde ait Ouidius in libro Fastorum:

Huius erat Phrigia Solemus comes unus ab Yda.

De huius igitur Sulmonis oppido Peligno natus est Ouidius. Vnde in libro de Sine Titulo ait:

Hoc ego composui Pelignis natus aquosis.

10 Item in libro Tristium:

Sulmo mihi patria, gelidis uberrimus undis,
milia qui nouies distat ab urbe decem.

Dicunt autem quidam quod Sulmo dicebatur oppidum iuxta illud <quod> dixit:

Pars me Sulmo tenet Peligni tertia ruris etc.

15 Tempore autem quo fuit bellum inter Octavianum et Antonium uel modico prius natus fuit Ouidius, patre Pilio, et fratrem habuit nomine Luceum, primogenitum anni solius interuallo, vt ipse ait:

Nec stirps prima fui; genito sum fratre creatus,
qui quater ante tribus mensibus ortus erat.

20 Et ambo pariter additi sunt ad studium litterarum. Vnde in eodem:

Protinus excolimur teneri curaue parentis
imus ad insignes urbis ab arte uiros.

Verum fratri suo placuit rhetorica; Ouidius uero animum suum versibus scribendis applicuit. Vnde ipse ait:

25 Frater ad eloquium uiridi tendebat ab euo
et mihi iam puero celestia sacra placebant.

Monuit autem pater sepe ut poesim relinqueret. Vnde ait:

Sepe pater dixit 'studium quid inutile carpis?'

30 Motus eram dictis, totoque Elicone relicto
scribere tentabam verba soluta modis.

6 *Fast.* 4.79. 9 *Am.* 2.1.1. 11-12 *Tr.* 4.10.3-4. 14 *Am.* 2.16.1. 18-19 *Tr.*
4.10.9-10. 21-22 *ibid.* 4.10.15-16. 25-26 *ibid.* 4.10.17, 19. 28-30 *ibid.* 4.10.21, 23-24.

3 numerum *V* de *om.* *F* 4 quo *om.* *F* denominatione *V* 6 erat *B*: era *FV* Solemus
in Sulmus *corr.* *F* unus *B*: huius *FV* 9 hec *V* 14 ruris *codd.* *Ouidii*: iuris *BFV* 15 et
Antonium *om.* *F* 19 qui *B*: quod *FV* 21 excolimur *codd.* *Ouidii*: excolimus *BFV* 22 in-
signes *codd.* *Ouidii*: ingignes *BF*: ingigne *V* arte *B*: arce *FV* 26 et *BFV*: at *codd.* *Ouidii*
30 soluta *B*: sollicita *FV*

Tamen animum non potuit a uersibus reuocare. Vnde ait:

Sponte sua carmen numeros ueniebat ad aptos;
quicquid conabar dicere, versus erat.

Incepit a pueritia suos versus populo recitare. Vnde in eodem:

35 Carmina cum primum populo iuuenilia legi,
barba resecta mihi bisue semelue fuit.

Preterea habuit uxorem paruus. Vnde ait:

Et mihi iam puero nec digna nec utilis uxor
est data, que tempus per breue nupta fuit.

40 Vnde secundam uxorem habuit quam, exilio impellente, reliquit. Vnde ait:

Illi successit, quamuis sine crimine coniu<n>x,
non tamen in meo firma futura thoro.

Filiam dicitur etiam habuisse siue priuignam que duobus copulata maritis prolem
genuit ex utroque:

45 Filia me mea bis prima fecunda iuuenta,
non tamen ex uno coniuge, fecit auum.

Frater autem xx annis iam perfectis morte preoccupatus est. Vnde ait:

Iamque decem uite frater geminauerat annos,
cum periit, et cepi parte carere mei.

50 Fratre autem mortuo, rogatu Maximi, animum suum ad iocosam artem applicuit
scripsitque primo librum Heroidum, secundo librum de Sine Titulo, tertio librum
Artis Amatorie per quem meruit exilium. Vnde in Ouidio de Ponto:

Neue roges, quid sit, stultam quoque scripsimus Artem.

Alie quoque cause fuerunt. Nam et ad imperatricem anhelauit quam falso nomine
55 appellauit Corinam. Vnde in Tristibus:

Mouerat ingenium totum cantata per orbem
nomine non uero dicta Corinna mihi.

32-33 *ibid.* 4.10.25-26. 35-36 *ibid.* 4.10.57-58. 38-39 *ibid.* 4.10.69-70. 41-
42 *ibid.* 4.10.71-72. 45-46 *ibid.* 4.10.75-76. 48-49 *ibid.* 4.10.31-32. 53 *Pont.* 2.9.73.
56-57 *Tr.* 4.10.59-60.

31 tamen *BF*: tantum *V* 37 paruo *V* unde ait *om.* *F* 39 dataque *F* 42 firma *BF*:
quid *V*, incertum 48 decem uite *om.* *V* annos *V* 50 rocatu ut uid. *V* maximi *B*: *om.*
FV, spatio sex litterarum relicto 51 primo *B*: primum *V*: prius *F* heroicum *F* librum³
librorum *V* 52 per *om.* *V* 53 sit quid *F*, incertum (*fort. sim*) quoque *BFV*: quae uel quam
codd. *Ouidii*, metri causa 54 faso *V* 55 Corinna *FV*

Et Ottavianum uidit puero abuti. Vnde ait:

Hey mihi ! quid uidi ? cur noxia lumina feci ?

60 Que omnes cause his duobus uersibus continentur:

Ad loca Pontina misit te Naso ruina

triplex: doctrina tua, uisus et ipsa Corinna. (F 5va)

Item, rogatu Augusti, edidit Ouidium de Remediis; quinto Ouidium Methamorphoseos ubi se reddit commendabilem Augusto; sexto edidit Ouidium Fastorum

65 ad reuerentiam Germanici qui futurus erat pontifex Romanorum ut etiam Augusti gratiam impetraret, Germanico suffragante. Sed cum non posset, cum in exilium missus, librum Methamorphoseos reliquit incorrectum et in itinere composuit librum de Tristibus ubi ait:

Littera quecumque est toto mihi facta libello,

70 est mihi sollicito tempore facta uie.

In quo etiam ad presentis operis commendationem Romam hos direxit versiculos:

Orba parente suo quicumque uolumina tangis,

his saltem uestra detur in urbe locus.

Quoque magis faueas, non sunt hec edita ab illo,

75 sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.

Si quid in his igitur uitii rude carmen habebit,

emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.

Tandem autem Ouidius positus in exilio composuit Ouidium de Ponto et Ouidium in Ibin, inuidum suum. Vixit autem annis LVIII et mortuus est anno quarto imperii

80 Tyberii imperatoris qui successit Octauiano Augusto, qui Tyberius regnauit annis XXIII in imperio. Nota tamen id quod dicit Eusebius de temporibus circa Ouidium. Inquit enim eum natum eo tempore quo Iulius Cesar pugionibus Bruto Cassioque XXIII uulneribus confectus est, ea quidem die qua Tullius Arpinas, decus rhetorum, nepharia Marci Antonii Cayete opera indignatam animam astris reddidit. Mortuus

85 autem est idem uates ea insula Ponti <ubi> ob bene incognitam causam religatus est, anno imperii Tyberii quarto, LVIII annum agens, quo anno etiam Titus Liuius hystoricorum clarissimus obiit.

59 *ibid.* 2.103. 61-62 Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum* 469. 69-70 *Tr.* 1.11.1-2. 72-77 *ibid.* 1.7.35-40. 81 Euseb.-Hier., *Chron.*, ed. R. Helm (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 158, 171.

64 commendabilem *B*: -lis *FV* edidit] dedit *V* 66 suffragante *B*: -grante *FV* 67 mis-
sus] uixus (?) *V* 76 in his] inis *V* 81-83 nota ... confectus est *del. F et in marg. add.*
Eusebius de temporibus hec dicit. Ouidius Naso nascitur in Pelignis secundo anno imperii Octa-
uiani quo interfectus est M. T. Cicero anni mundi VCLVIII. Ouidius poeta in exilio diem obiit et
iuxta oppidum Thomos sepellitur imperii Tiberii anno quarto 84 ingignatam *in* indignatam
corr. V 85 bene incognitam *scripsi: inu. ord. FV*

Visa igitur uita et morte aliquantulum, restat titulus qui est: Publii Nasonis Ouidii Sulmonensis, secundum alios Pelignensis, Methamorphoseos liber primus incipit.

- 90 Primus autem merito dicitur quia sequitur secundus etc.; sunt xv ut apparet et ipse testatur in Tristibus ubi dicit 'sunt mihi mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, forme'.

Qualitas autem carminis est heroica. Scribitur enim carmine heroico opus istud.

Intentio autem auctoris est ad laudem Augusti Caesaris incohatam materiam terminare et deificationem Iulii Caesaris approbare.

- 95 Numerus autem librorum declaratus est in titulo qui talis est: Publii Nasonis etc. ubi nota quod Publius est cognomen, id est cognationis nomen, Naso uero est prenomen. Nam dictus est Naso a quantitate nasi. Licet autem Ouidius sit nomen proprium, tamen potest ethimologizari quasi 'ouum diuidens', id est secretam mundi originem aperiens et declarans. Methamorphoseos autem est nomen
100 Grecum compositum ex pluribus dictionibus. Componitur enim a meta quod est de, et morphos quod est mutacio, et vsia quod est substantia, quasi de mutatione substantie, et declinatur hec metamorphosis, genetiuo huius metamorphosis uel -seos et sic ultra secundum tertiam declinationem. Hoc quodam modo patet per hec carmina:

- 105 Sum quod eris, quod es ipse fui; methamorphosis ista
<humanis rebus> subdere colla uetat.

Intitulatur enim liber iste de mutatione, non quod de tali mutatione agat quia substantia non mutatur, sed mutari uidetur per accidens immutatum, de quo hic agit autor. Sed denominationem ponit a digniori <par>te.

- 110 Sic habemus de quo agit, unde in primo versu 'in noua fert animus'. In quo libro precipue notandum est quod quedam que ponuntur fuerunt historie uere, adiuncto tamen aliquo fabuloso, ut de Piramo et Tisbe, Caieta sepulta, de Medea etc. Quedam uero sunt pure fabulosa sine alia significatione, ut de Atheone verso in ceruum et de auro Mide. Quedam sunt fabulosa sed per methaphoram dicta, ut de
115 domo solis, de Orpheo trahente ligna et saxa, id est 'homines siluestres suis sermonibus' etc.

91 *Tr.* 1.1.117. 105-106 Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum* 18728. 112 *Met.* 4.55-166. *ibid.* 14.441-444. *ibid.* 7.1.1-403. 113-114 *ibid.* 3.193-203. 114 *ibid.* 11.90-145. 114-115 *ibid.* 2.1-18. 115 *ibid.* 10.86-105. 115-116 cf. Hor., *Ars* 391 et Quint., *Inst.* 1.10.9.

91 dicitur *V* 94 terminare *om. F* 96 cognationis] cognominatione *V* nomen *om. V* 98 in secretam *V* 100-103 meta ... declinationem *del. F et add. in marg.* μετὰ trans, et μόρφη forma, οὐσία substantia quasi dicitur transformatio substantialis et declinatur μεταμόρφωσις· μεταμορφώσιος· εὐσ· εὐσ secunde declinationis Σθνε ρε φιατο ρυμ (?) 100 enim] autem *F* est *scripsi*: 1 *V*: *om. F* 101 uel trans *sup. de¹ add. V* morphis *F* quod² *om. V* 103 secundum ultra *V* 109 te *F*: et *V* 110 abemus *V* 110-117 in quo libro ... etiam *suppl. in marg. F*: *om. V*

Preterea etiam notandum est quod quadruplex est mutatio, scilicet naturalis, moralis, magica et spiritualis. Naturalis est que fit per contexionem elementorum uel retexionem uel mediante semine vel sine. Per contexionem enim conueniunt
 120 elementa ut cum de spermate nascitur puer, et de ouo pullus, et de semine herba uel arbor, et sic de similibus et hec mediante semine; per retexionem uero sicut fit dissolutio in quolibet corpore, et hec sine semine, et hec quantum ad elementa et ad yle. Yle est nature uultus antiquissimus, generationis uterus indefessus, (F 5vb) formarum prima subiectio, materia corporum, substantie fundamentum. Elementa,
 125 sicut fit quando terra rarescit in aquam, aqua leuificatur in aera, aer subtiliatur in ignem; item ignis spissatur in aera, aer grossificatur in aquam, aqua conglobatur in terram. Et hec mutatio est naturalis de qua facit mentionem Picthagoras dicens 'quattuor eternus genitalia corpora mundus continet' etc. Moralis est illa mutatio que attenditur circa mores, scilicet cum mores mutantur vt de Licaone in lupum,
 130 quod est dicere de benigno in asperum uel e contrario, et raptorem uel e contrario, et sic de similibus que attenduntur circa mores. Magica autem mutatio est que circa artem magicam attenditur et fit tantum in corpore quando uidelicet magici aliquid alterius essentie quam sit per artem magicam faciunt apparere, vt de sociis Vlixis a Circe mutatis in porcos. Hec autem ars, scilicet magica, olim extitit in ualore.
 135 Spiritualis mutatio est que attenditur in corpore et spiritu, scilicet quando corpus sanum efficitur morbidum, et inde uexatur spiritus et sic spiritus cum corpore pariter mutatur vt apparet in illis qui habent febres acutas; in spiritu quidem tantum ut de sano fit infirmus, scilicet insanus, sicut de Horeste legitur et de Agaue que proprium filium lacerauit, sicut etiam quotidie uidetur de patientibus frenesim qui
 140 mattarent patrem, matrem et alios nisi ligarentur. De quibus omnibus in hoc opere agit auctor.

Intendit autem in hoc opere Augustum Cesarem per Artem Amatoriam lesum sibi conciliare; ad quod faciendum deificationem Iulii Cesaris ostendens scribit ad honorem Augusti de mutatione rerum vt inde simile uideatur Iulium Cesarem in
 145 stellam conuersum, quod in fine huius operis ostenditur. Iste auctor phisicus est assignando generationem elementorum; ethicus uero est assignando mutationem que facit ad morem.

Vtilitas autem magna est, non auctoris sed legentium, scilicet cognitio fabularum et earum expositio quas colligit auctor iste in hoc opere. Vel utilitas est diuersorum
 150 eruditio habita ex mutatione temporalium.

123-124 Bernard. Silv., *Cos.* 2.4. 128 *Met.* 15.239-240.. 129 *ibid.* 1.232-239. 133-134 *ibid.* 14.277-284. 138 *Pont.* 2.3.45. 138-139 *Met.* 3.715-731. 145 *ibid.* 15.843-851.

122 hec¹] hoc V 123 nature V: naturale (nāle) F 126 aer] aera V 127 terra V
 134 magicam V ualorem V 140 mattant F hominibus V 143 conciliare *om.* V
 144 mutationibus V

More autem aliorum poetarum tria facit iste auctor: proponit, inuocat et narrat. Proponit ibi 'in noua fert animus'; inuocat ibi 'dii ceptis'; narrat ibi 'ante mare'. His uisis litera uideatur.

152 in noua ... narrat ibi *om. V* 153 littera] -am *V: del. F et add. in marg. textus, non male*

4. *London Anonymous*

London, British Library Harley 2769, f. 2v (s. xv)

Secundum Seruium Virgilii expositorem in vnus cuiusque libri exordio vii debent inquiri: vita scilicet unde author fuit, titulus, materia, intencio, qualitas operis, numerus librorum et ordo.

Vita Ouidii fuit quia Romanus fuit natus, ab Eusinis aquis <perii>.

- 5 Titulus talis est: P[*I*]uplii Ouidii Nasonis Metamorfoseon. Puplius dictus est a cognacione quia de genere Publiorum fuit. Ouidius proprium nomen est. Nason agnomen ab euentu inpositum quia nasutus fuit. Vel dictus est a sagacitate. Tractum a cane est quia quicquid canis investigat, naso investigat. Metamorfoseon a meta id est mutacio et formosis id est forma, inde metamorfoseon id est liber mutacionis
10 formarum.

- Mutacio autem quadripartita est. Alia fit de re animata in rem animatam, alia de re inanimata in rem inanimatam, alia de re inanimata in rem animatam, alia de re animata in rem inanimatam. De re animata in rem animatam sicut de Licaon<e> qui mutatus est in lupum. De re animata in rem inanimatam sicut de
15 sororibus Phetontis que mutate fueru<n>t in arbores. De re inanimata in rem animatam sicut de eburnea ymagine que mutata est in vera<m> virgine<m>. De re inanimata in rem inanimatam sicut de virgis que mutate sunt in coralia.

Materia est omnes fabule a principio mundi colecte vsque ad tempus Ouidii.

- Intencio generalis est sicuti omnium auctorum, scilicet delectare aut prodesse.
20 Intendit eciam scribere illas fabulas, vnde est cognicio illarum per diuersos libros dispersarum.

- Qualitas consistit in tribus generibus stilorum quia stilus alius grandilocus, alius mediocris, alius humilis. Quia vnusquisque habet sua contraria: grandilocus habet contrarium turgidum et inflatum; mediocris habet contrarium disolutum et flu-
25 ctuans; humilis habet contrarium comicum, aridum et exangue[m].

Numerus librorum satis patet quia xv sunt libri.

Ordo alius naturalis, alius artificialis. Naturalis qui narrat ordinem vt sunt gesta. Alius qui narat quod est prius posterius et quod est posterius prius.

1-3 Serv., *In Aen. comm.*, praef. (p. 1). 13-14 *Met.* 1.232-239. 14-15 *ibid.* 2.340-366.
16 *ibid.* 10.270-298. 17 *ibid.* 4.740-752. 19 Hor., *Ars* 333. 22-25 cf. *Ad Her.* 4.15-16.

6 Nason *MS.*: Naso enim fort. melius 17 coralia *scripsi*: coralus *MS.* 24 turgidum *scripsi* (cf. *Ad Her.* 4.15): tragicum *MS.*

5. *Jena Anonymus*

In the edition below I have followed the orthography of the Jena manuscript.

J = Jena, Universitätsbibliothek G.b.q. 20, f. 95v (s. xv)

N = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV F 9, f. 1v (s. xv)

Publius Ovidius Naso Pelignis natus eo anno quo Hircius et Pansa consules in Mutinensi bello perierunt, scilicet quo ceperit triumviratus. Fratrem habuit nomine Lucilium, natu maiorem, defunctum cum in primis annis Rome sub Plotio Grippio litteris operam dedit. A Cornelio Gallo, di<ser>tissimo ac doctissimo ciue, et a
 5 Marco Varrone multa accepit. Familiarissimus fuit Iulii Fliglini grammatici. Paternis stimulis foro aliquandiu incubuit vnde plerunque iudicium dixerit inter centum uiros. Post parentis mortem ad poeticen integer rediit scripsitque libros II Heroidum Epistolarum. Inde cum Marco Varrone Asiam petiit sub quo militauit neque prius huc se contulit quam peritissimus Graecarum litterarum fuerit. Scripsit
 10 enim epistolas quasdam ad Tiberii filiam sub falso nomine inscriptas Corinne que propter crimen lese maiestatis combuste fuerunt. Vnde et exilium meruit. Scripsit de Arte Amandi libros III et contra libros II. Medeam tragediam iambico uersu scriptam edidit, de qua Cornelius Tacitus in Dialogo Oratorum et Quintilianus libro X sententiam attulerunt. Aper uero apud Cornelium eam prefert Asinio
 15 Pollioni inquis: 'neque enim Pollionis nullus cultus liber aut Messale legitur ut est Ouidii Medea aut Vari Thiestes.' De eadem Quintilianus ait: 'Ouidius utroque lasciuior sed quantum uiribus aut ingenio ualuit in Medea ostendit.' Scripsit librum vnum contra malos poetas, de astris vnum, consolatoriam epistolam de morte Drusi ad Liuiam, de Triumpho Tiberii Caesaris libros II. Sed non finiuit belli Siculi
 20 epistolam, de Tuscis siue de Annalibus libros VI, de Ponto ac de Tristibus totidem. Postremo de Piscibus opus incoauit praeceptusque uita non finiuit, ut meminit Plinius libro XXXII. Exulauit Tomis, quod oppidum est fere inter Getas ac Tracas. Filiam habuit vnicam nomine Perillam. Pauca carmina et nimium canina contra eum qui uxorem stuprauerat composuit sub nomine Ibis.

5 cf. Suet., *Gram.* 20. 13 *Dial.* 12. 14 Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.93, 98. 18 *ibid.* 6.3.96.
 Lact., *Inst.* 2.5.24. 19 cf. *Pont.* 3.4.3. 20 cf. *Am.* 2.1.11-16. 23 Plin., *Nat.* 32.152.

1 *post anno add.* natus J Hircius N consules *om.* J 2 cepit N 4 dedit *om.* N ac J:
 et N 5 cepit N familiarissimus N Fliglini J: Frigini N, *rectius* Hygini 7 poeticen N:
 pontificem J 10 enim J: inde N quandam N Tiberii N: Ciberis *ut uid.* J nomine ac ficto
 N Corinne inscriptas N 11 unde J: inde N 12-24 Medeam ... Ibis *in N deest* 12 iambico
scripsi: iam dico J 14 *sup.* Aper *add.* id est p. J 15 liber aut] liberant *ut uid.* J
 18-19 de morte Drusi (morte Drusi *del. librarius*) triumpho J 20 Tuscis J, *sed fort. in hoc loco*
uitium latet vi° *ut uid.* J

6 (a). *Bernardo Moretti* 1

Urbana-Champaign, World Heritage Museum 8, ff. 81r-82r (s. xv)

(f. 81r) Publius Ovidius Naso Sulmone Pelignorum oppido, Hircio et Pansa consulibus, nascitur vbi triumviratum exercuit. Inde iussu Botii patris Romam missus ut legibus vacaret fratremque in disciplina sequeretur, ab eo studio maxime abhorruit seque totum musis dicauit. Quibus ut magis excellentior fieret, Athenas
 5 petiit multumque Graecarum litterarum adeptus, Romam rediit. Ingenio ad carmen facillimus fuit. Amicos celeberrimos plures habuit inter quos Horatium, Propertium, Ponticum, Tibullum Macrumque. Iudex in urbe fuit. Vxores tres habuit: primam in pueritia amisit; secundam, parum ea potitus, funeravit; tertiam Sarsinam de domo Fabia sibi superstitem habuit quam, ut multi volunt, ab Ibide
 10 viciatam exul Naso damnauit. Filiam Perillam coniugauit bis, puellam doctissimam.

Opera multa composuit, pauca tamen reliquit. In prima adolescentia Epistolas Heroidum populo recitauit, vnde laureas meruit. Mox Amores Artemque Amandi vi volu(f. 81v)minibus complexus est. Metamorphoseon xv volumina non hactenus
 15 elimata exul et imperfecta reliquit. De Remedio Amoris duos libros, de Fastis xii, de Tristibus v, de Ponto iii edidit. Epithalamium Maximi, Triumphum Augusti Tragoediamque composuit. De Piscibus, de Avibus, de Nuce, de Medicamine Faciei multa scripsit. Vltimum opus in Ibim fuisse constat quod tanquam cygnus suę morti funestum varium nudumque carmen perstrinxit in hostemque animauit.
 20 Sexto anno exilii, etatis lii, Tomitis Scythię oppido <periit> quo quare relegatus sit a Tiberio Augusto triplicem causam ostendit. Primam et potiore quod Artem Amandi scripserit, opus lasciuissimum. Secundam quod cum Corinna, filia Augusti, quę vere Iulia vocabatur, rem habuit. Tertiam quod Tiberium Caesarem cum puero coeuntem viderat, ad quem mitigandum Fastos descripsit
 25 multasque epistolas quę in Tristibus et in Ponto operibus suis continentur.

Sed alibi legitur: sub Plotio Grippo, Cornelio Gallo et Varrone multa accepit. Familiarissimus Iulii Phrigini grammatici. Paternis stimulis foro incubuit. Iudicium apud claros viros dedit. Mortuo (f. 82r) patre, totum se poeticae dedit. Sub Marco Varrone in Asia militauit vbi Graecas litteras didicit. Vxorem duxit ex domo
 30 Liuię Augustę. Hac familiaritate fisus, ad filiam Tiberii epistolas scripsit sub falso nomine Corinne, qua ex re in exilium missus. Exulauit Tomis vrbe Getarum vbi quarto ante obitum Augusti anno infelicissime decessit.

18-19 cf. *Met.* 14.430. 26-32 cf. Jena Anonymous sup., p. 189.

18-19 quod ... perstrinxit *durum quidem sed fort. non corruptum* 27 Phrygini *ms., rectius Hygini*

6 (b). *Bernardo Moretti II*

I edit the life of Ovid composed by Bernardo from U. Manuscript variants and alterations of the life found in NVare provided in the *apparatus criticus*.

U = Urbana-Champaign, World Heritage Museum 8, ff. 82r-87r (s. xv)

N = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V C 39, ff. 397r-399v (s. xv)

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1801, ff. 140r-143v (s. xv)

V^c = V a manu secunda correctus

(U 82r) Publius Ovidius Naso in Pelignis nascitur anno secundo imperii Augusti Caesaris ut testatur Eusebius in temporibus; et ipse in quarto Tristium, cum prius dixisset 'Sulmo mihi patria est', subiunxit:

Aeditus hinc ego sum, nec non, ut tempora noris,
cum cecidit fato consul vterque pari,

5

scilicet Pansa et Hiricius consules qui in bello Mutinensi perierunt, licet Hiricius Bononię ex vulnere apud Mutinam suscepto mortuus sit. Vide Ciceronem in Epistolis Familiaribus. Et natus est III Kalend. Aprilis anno vno post fratrem (U 82v) ut ipse ait in quarto Tristium:

10

Nec stirps prima fui; genito sum fratre creatus,
qui tribus ante quater mensibus ortus erat.
Lucifer ambobus natalibus affuit idem:
una celebrata est per duo liba dies.
Haec est armiferę de festis quinque Minerue,
quae fieri pugna prima cruenta solet.

15

De hoc festo loquitur poeta in tertio Fastorum et ait 'Sanguine prima vacat'. Ergo hec prima ex quattuor sequentibus diebus qui ensibus celebrantur. Sunt Peligni in Volscis vbi Sulmo eius patria fuit, ipso referente in quarto Tristium:

20

Sulmo mihi patria est, gelidis vberimus vndis,
milia qui nouies distat ab vrbe decem.

2 Euseb.-Hier., *Chron.*, ed. R. Helm (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 158, 171. 3 *Tr.* 4.10.3. 4-5 *ibid.* 4.10.5-6. 7-8 Cic., *Epist. ad Fam.* 10.33.4. 10-15 *Tr.* 4.10.9-14. 16 *Fast.* 3.811. 19-20 *Tr.* 4.10.3-4.

1 Naso *om.* N nascitur in Pelignis NV 2 in¹ de N quarto] secundo N 2-3 cum ... subiunxit *om.* NV 4 huic *ut uid.* V 6 qui *om.* V qui consules N in *om.* N bello civili Mutinensi V perierunt] fuerunt N: *om.* V 6-8 licet ... familiaribus *om.* NV 8 et natus] natusque N est natus V XIII NV anno ... fratrem *om.* NV 10-15 nec stirps ... solet *post* eques (l. 31) *transp.* V 10 genito (*in marg.* V^c) UNV^c: -tus V 11 quarum V 15 prima pugna NV 16-17 de ... celebrantur *om.* NV 17 Peligni populi in V 17-18 Peligni sunt populi Volscorum N 18 eius U: Ouidii NV, *sed* Ouidii *post* fuit *transp.* N fuit U: est NV ipso referente] eodem dicente N in quarto Tristium *om.* NV 20 urbem V

Hanc urbem condidit Solemus, socius Aeneae, ut ipse [ait] in quarto Fastorum, cum prius de Enea dixisset, ait:

Huius erat Solemus, Phrygia comes vnus ab Ida,
a quo Sulmonis patria nomen habet.

25 Et est tertia pars Pelignorum ipso testante:

Me pars Sulmo tenet Peligni tertia ruris.

Et in fine Amorum:

Pelignae gentis gloria dicar ego.

Patrem habuit Botium ex equestri ordine ut ait in quarto Tristium:

30 Si quis et a proavis vsque est vetus ordinis heres, (U 83r)
non sum fortunę munere factus eques.

Studuit primis annis Sulmone. Postea a patre Romam missus est ad leges <discendas> ut ipse in quarto Tristium ait:

35 Protinus excolimur teneri curaue parentis
imus ad insignes urbis ab arte viros.
Frater ad aeloquium viridi tendebat ab equo,
fortia verbosi natus ad arma fori.
At mihi iam puero caelestia dona placebant,
inque suum furtim Musa trahebat opus.
40 Saepe pater dixit 'studium quid inutile tentas ?
Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes.'

Quare, cum leges ei gratas non essent, totum se poetice tradidit, in qua ut facilius excelleret, Athenas profectus est ubi Graecas litteras adeptus est ut ait in primo Tristium:

23-24 *Fast.* 4.79-80. 26 *Am.* 2.16.1. 28 *ibid.* 3.15.8. 30-31 *Tr.* 4.10.7-8. 34-41 *ibid.* 4.10.15-22.

21 hanc ... Aeneae] Sulmo condita fuit a Solemo Enee comite *N* Enee socius *V* ut ipse ait] unde *N* 22 cum ... ait] ubi postquam dixit de Aenea ait *V*: postquam de Enea mentionem fecit *N* 24 patria ... habet] moenia ... habent *NV* 25 et ... testante] item de tristibus libro *V*: et in quarto Tristium *N* 27 et *om.* *V* amorum] amicorum *N* 28 ante Pelignae add. Mantua Virgilio gaudet Verona Catullo *N* gentis ... dicar] dicar ... gentis *V* 29 Botrum ut uid. *N* ut ait] unde *N*: *om.* *V* 30 quid *N* uetus est ordinis *V* 31 postequas add. idem de Ponto (idem de Ponto *om.* *V*) si genus excutias equites ab origine prima usque per in numeros inueniuntur (-emur *N*) auos *NV* 32 studuit Ouidius primis *V* primis annis Sulmone studuit *N* est *NV*: *om.* *U* perdiscendas *NV* 33 ipse ... ait] ait in quarto tristium *V* ait *om.* *N* 34-41 post solet (*l.* 15) *transp.* *V* (34-35 post 41) 34 excolimur (*in marg.* *V*^c) *UNV*^c: -tur *V* 35 uiros *UN*: uires *V* 42 quare ... totum] relictis legibus *N* quare *U*: quae *V* cum leges *U*: leges cui *V* poetice se *N* 42-43 facilius excelleret] magis erudiretur *N* 43 ubi ... est] ubi in graecis litteris facile excelluit *V*: ubi litteris Grecis operam dedit in qua facile excelluit *N* 43-48 ut ... tuas *om.* *NV*

- 45 Nec peto, quas quondam petii studiosus, Athenas,
oppida non Asiae, non mihi visa prius,
non ut Alexandri claram delatus in urbem
delitias videam, Nile iocose, tuas.

Erat autem ut cognosci potest ingenio facili maxime ad carmen et debilis nature
50 ut ait in quarto Tristium:

Nec patiens corpus, nec mens fuit apta labori.

Amicos habuit multos ut ex epistolis de Ponto cognosci potest, et poetas celebres
plures ut ipse ostendit (U 83v) in quarto Tristium:

- 55 Saepe suas volucres legit mihi grandior aeuo,
queque nocet serpens, quæ iuuat herba, Macer.
Saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes,
iure sodalitii qui mihi iunctus erat.
Ponticus herois, Bacchus quoque clarus iambis
dulcia conuictus membra fuere mei.
60 Detinuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures,
cum ferit Ausonia carmina culta lyra.
Virgilium vidi tantum, nec auara Tibullo
tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae.
Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi,
65 quartus ab iis serie temporis ipse fui.

Fuit iudex Ouidius ut ipse ait in eodem de Tristibus:

Nec male commissa est nobis fortuna reorum
utque decem decies inspicienda uiris.
Res quoque priuatas statui sine crimine iudex.

70 Fuit triumphum ut ait in quarto Tristium:

Caepimus et tenere primos aetatis honores,
deque viris quondam pars tribus vna fui.

45-48 ibid. 1.2.77-80. 51 ibid. 4.10.37. 54-65 ibid. 4.10.43-54. 67-69 ibid. 2.93-95.
71-72 ibid. 4.10.33-34.

49 erat ... carmen] namque ingenio celerrimo fuit *N* autem *U*: enim *V* facili *U*: raro *V*
49-51 et ... labori *om. NV* 52 multos] sui temporis poetas multos *N*: multos egregios poetas *V*
52-53 ut ... Tristium] ut ipse ait in quarto libro de Tristibus *V*: de quibus in quarto Tristium ait *N*
N 55 nocet *UN*: necet *V* 56 recitare *U*: narrare *V* 56-57 saepe ... erat *om. N*
58 heroicis *V* 59 dulcia ... mei *om. N* conuictus *scripsi* (cf. *Tr.* 4.10.48): conuinctus *V*:
coniunctus *U* 61 cum ferit *UN*: dum ferit *in marg. V^c*: cum furit *V* 64 successorque fuit tibi
NV 65 iis *U*: his *NV* 66-69 post 72 *transp. V* 66 fuit ... Tristibus] et in quinto (sexta
N) Tristium quod fuerit (fuit *N*) iudex cernitur (ostenditur *N*) *NV* 68 usque *N* 70 fuit ...
Tristium] fuit etiam triumphum unde in quarto Tristium *N*: in quarto tristium quod fuerit triumphum *V*

Puto in patria propria plures habuit vxores ut ipse testatur in quarto Tristium:

- 75 Paene mihi puero nec digna nec utilis vxor
est data, quę tempus per breue nupta fuit. (U 84r)
Illi successit, quamvis sine crimine coniunx,
non tamen in nostro firma futura toro.
Ultima, quę mecum seros permansit in annos,
sustinuit coniunx exulis esse viri.

80 Tertia fuit de domo Fabia ut ipse ait in primo de Ponto cum dicit:

Ille ego de vestra cui data nupta domo est.

Habuit filiam ut dicit in quarto Tristium:

Filia me mea bis prima fecunda iuuenta,
sed non ex vno coniuge, fecit auum.

85 Moribus facillimis dicitur fuisse et statura communi ac macilentus.

Nunc videndum est quę opera nobis reliquerit. Nam puerilia ignibus dedit et
quędam placitura ut ait in quarto Tristium:

- 90 Multa quidem scripsi, sed quę vitiosa putavi,
emendaturis ignibus ipse dedi.
Tunc quoque, cum fugerem, quędam placitura cremaui,
iratus studio carminibusque meis.

Reliquit Epistolas ut ait in quarto Tristium:

Carmina cum primum populo iuuenilia scripsi,
barba resecta mihi bisue semelue fuit.

95 Et in secundo de Sine Titulo siue de Amoribus:

Aut quod Penelopes verbis reddatur Vlyssi
scribimus.

74-79 *ibid.* 4.10.69-76. 81 *Pont.* 1.2.136. 83-84 *Tr.* 4.10.75-76. 88-91 *ibid.* 4.10.61-64. 93-94 *ibid.* 4.10.57-58. 96-97 *Am.* 2.18.21-22.

73 puto ... testatur] plures uxores habuit ut (unde *N*) ipse dicit (dicit *om. N*) *NV* in *om. N*
75 tempus per breue *UNV*: breue per tempus *V* 80-81 tertia ... est *om. NV* 82 habuit ...
Tristium] in eodem de filia *N*: *om. V* 84 post auum *add.* vtque sit exiguum pene quod coniuge
cara quod careo patria pignoribusque meis *V* 85 moribus ... macilentus *om. N* dicitur fuisse
moribus facillimis *V* et *om. V* ac macilentus *U*: habitudine corporis aliquantulum macilenta
V 86 nunc ... reliquerit] restat nobis uidere que nobis opera reliquerit et per ipsum demonstrare
V que opera reliquerit ipsemet testatur eodem *N* 86-91 nam ... meis *om. NV* 92 reliquit ...
Tristium] post pueriles lusus quando iam totondisset barbam scripsit Epistolas, opus mirabili arte
confectum, ut ipse ait in quarto Tristium *V* post lusus pueriles cum semel aut bis barbam deposuisset,
heroidarum epistolas scripsit, opus mirabili arte confectum *N* 93 scripsi] lusi *N* 95 et ...
amoribus] in secundo de Sine Titulo post scribimus *transp. N*: *om. V* 97 scribimus *om. V*

Scripsit v libros de Amoribus (U 84v) quos in tres redegit. Vnde ait:

100 Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli,
tres sumus. Hoc illi praetulit autor opus.

Scripsit tres libros de Arte Amandi ut ait in secundo de Tristibus:

105 Neue, quibus scribam, possis dubitare libellos,
quattuor hos versus e tribus vnus habet:
'Este procul, vitte tenues, insigne pudoris,
queque tegis medios instita longa pedes.
Nos venerem tutam concessaque furta canemus,
inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit.'

Postea cum hoc displiceret Augusto, scripsit de Remedio Amorum vbi ait:

110 Ad mea, decepti iuuenes, praecepta venite,
quos meus ex omni parte fefellit amor.

Scripsit etiam XII libros Fastorum ad Germanicum, filium Drusi adoptatum a Tiberio; tamen vi tantum reperiuntur. De libris Fastorum dicit in secundo Tristium:

Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos
cumque suo finem mense libellus habet.

115 Scripsit tragoediam ut testatur in secundo Tristium:

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale coturnis,
queque grauis debet verba coturnus habet.

99-100 *ibid.* 1, praef. 102-107 *Tr.* 2.245-250. 109-110 *Rem.* 41-42. 113-114 *Tr.* 2.549-550. 116-117 *ibid.* 2.553-554.

98 scripsit etiam *V* libellos *V* unde ait *om. NV* 99 fueramus *NV*: -tis *U* 101 scripsit *U*: postea *V* libros tres de Arte Amandi scripsit *N* ut ipse ait *V*: unde igitur (?) *N* secundo *UN*: undecimo *V* de Tristibus] Tristium *N* 106 nos venerem tutam *U*: nil nisi legitimum *NV* 108 hoc] id *N* Augusto displiceret *N* scripsit libellum de *V* scripsit ... ait] de Remedio librum sic incepit *N* Amorum *om. V* vbi *U*: in quo *V* 110 meus] suus *N* 111 etiam *U*: preterea *NV* ante Germanicum *add. Cesarem N, post Germanicum add. Cesarem V* 111-112 adoptatum a Tiberio *U*: naturalem et adoptium Tiberii filium *N*: et per adoptionem Tiberii filium *V* 112 tamen vi] ex his *N* tantum reperiuntur *U*: solum (solum sex *N*) inueniuntur *NV* de ... Tristium] de quibus sic ait in tertio Tristium *NV* inter 113 et 114 *add. sunt qui dicant sex solum scripsisse et exponunt sex Fastorum menses et totidem libellos quia ait ipse Ovidius V* 114 *om. N* 115 scripsit et *NV* tragediam *NV*: -dia *U* ut] unde *N* testatur *U*: ipse ait *V, om. N* secundo *U*: quarto *NV* 116 *add. in marg. non reperitur U*

Scrpsit xv libros transformationum, quod opus (U 85r) non corexit, ipso dicente in primo Tristium:

- 120 Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus.

Et in primo etiam:

Emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.

Et in secundo Tristium:

- 125 Dictaque sunt nobis, quamuis manus vltima coepto
defuit, in facies corpora uersa nouas.

Scrpsit Epithalamium Maximi ut ait in primo de Ponto:

Ille ego qui dixi uestros hymeneos ad ignes,
et cecini fausto carmina digna toro.

- 130 Demum missus ab Augusto in exilium in Pontum Euxinum cum iam quinquagenarius esset, partim in itinere, partim in Ponto scripsit v libros de tristitia sua et ibidem iv qui de Ponto inscribuntur in modum epistolarum. De quibus cum sint vltimi ex his qui reperiuntur, non nisi in ipsis habetur mentio; et opusculum quod exponimus in Ponto scripsit. Scripsit etiam de triumpho Caesaris Augusti ut ait in
135 tertio de Ponto:

Vtque suo faueas mandat, Rufine, triumpho,
in vestras veniet (*sic*) si tamen ille manus.
Est opus exiguum nostrisque conatibus impar:
quale tamen cunque est, ut tueare, rogo.

120-121 *ibid.* 1.7.13-14. 123 *ibid.* 1.7.40. 125-126 *ibid.* 2.555-556. 128-129 *Pont.* 1.2.131-132. 136-139 *ibid.* 3.4.3-6.

118 praeterea scripsit *V* scripsit *post* transformationum *transp.* *N* xv libros transformationum *U*: metamorphoseon libros xv *NV* quod opus *U*: sed *V*: quos *N* non corexit] inemendatos reliquit *N* ipso dicente *U*: ut ait *V*: de quibus *N* 119 *post* Tristium *add.* sic loquitur *N* 120 mutatus *V* 122-123 et in primo Tristium: hos quoque sex uersus etc. et infra: emendaturus si licuisset eram *V*: *om.* *N* 124 *om.* *NV* 125-126 *post* 121 *transp.* *V* 127 Maximi *om.* *NV* ut ipse ait *V*: unde *N* 128 duxi *V* ignem *NV* 130-132 demum ... epistolarum] demum cum iam quinquagesimum annum ageret ab Augusto in exilium (in exilium *om.* *N*) missus est in pontum Euxinum (in Euxinum pontum relegatus fuit *N*) in quo exilio (quo tempore *N*) partim in itinere (itinere *corr. in marg.* *V*) partim in Ponto scripsit libros v (libellos v scripsit *N*) de tristitia sua (sua tristitia *N*) et in Ponto quatuor libros (libellos quattuor *N*) in modum epistolarum (in ... epistolarum *om.* *N*) *NV* 132-134 De quibus ... scripsit¹ *om.* *NV* 134 etiam *U*: sermone getico etiam *N*: praeterea *V* ante de *add.* in exilio suo *V*, in ponto *N* de triumpho] triumphum *N* Caesaris *om.* *V* Augusti *om.* *N* ut ait] unde ipse *N* 139 *post* rogo *add.* hoc non reperitur *U*

140 Scripsit aliud opusculum de laudibus Caesaris ut ait (U 85v) ipse in libro quarto de Ponto:

A, pudet, in Getico scripsi sermone libellum,
structaque sunt nostris barbara uerba modis.
Materiam quaeris ? laudes de Caesare dixi.
145 Adiuta est nouitas numine nostra dei.
Nam patris Augusti docui mortale fuisse
corpus, in aetherias numen abisse domos.

Causas exilii varias esse comperio: vnam manifestam, scilicet propter Artem Amandi, alias occultas. De prima loquitur in primo Tristium:

150 Tres procul obscura latitantes parte uidebis,
hi quoque, quod nemo nescit, amare docent.
Hos tu vel fugias, vel, si satis oris habebis,
Oedipodas facito Thelegonasque voces.

Et in quarto de Ponto ait:

155 Carmina nil prosunt; nocuerunt carmina quondam,
primaque tam miserae causa fuere fugae.

Et in secundo de Ponto ait:

Neue roges, quae sit, tristem quam scripsimus Artem;
innocuas nobis haec vetat esse manus.
160 Et quid preterea peccarim, quærare noli,
ut pateat sola culpa sub Arte mea.

Et in secundo de Ponto ait:

Naso parum prudens, artem dum tradit amandi, (U 86r)
doctrinæ pretium triste magister habet.

165 Et in tertio de Ponto:

142-147 *ibid.* 4.13.19-20, 23-26. 150-153 *Tr.* 1.1.111-114. 155-156 *Pont.* 4.13.41-42.
158-161 *ibid.* 2.9.73-76. 163-164 *ibid.* 2.10.15-16.

140-141 quod de Tristibus et de Ponto scripserit nemo dubitat. Idcirco pretereo probationes *V*:
om. N 142 in *U*: et *NV* 145-147 *om. NV* 148 ante causas *add.* Non puto Ovidium
scripsisse triumphum getico sermone sed aliud opusculum de laudibus Caesaris. Si triumphum
sermone getico scripsisset, quomodo potuisset eum Rufinus defendere eiusdem sermonis ignarus?
Credamus poete etiam si falsum dicat? *V* cause exilii uarie ab ipso poeta commemorantur *N*
comperio *U*: inuenio *V* post comperio *add.* apud ipsum Ovidium *V* 149 loquitur *om. N*
149-153 De prima ... voces *om. V* 150-154 tres ... ait *om. N* Thelegonasque *U*, rectius
Telegonosque 154 et *U*: primo *V* de Ponto (*in marg. V*^c) *UV*^c: Tristium *V* ait *om. V*
156 primaque *UNV*^c: penaque *V* 157 in tertio eiusdem *N*: *om. V* 161 patet *V* mea est *N*
162-169 et ... locis *om. N* 162 secundo de Ponto ait *U*: eodem *V* 165 *om. V*

Nec satis hoc fuerat; stultus quoque carmina feci,
 artibus ut possis non rudis esse meis.
 Pro quibus exilium misero mihi tradita merces,
 id quoque in extremis et sine pace locis.

170 Item in secundo de Tristibus sic ait de libro Artis Amandi:

Ergo quæ iuueni mihi non nocitura putauī
 scripta parum prudens, tunc nocuere seni.

Et in primo de Ponto:

175 Cuius te solitum meminī laudare libellos,
 exceptis domino qui nocuere suo.

Ad probandum quod causa exilii fuit liber de Arte Amandi sunt et alia multa. Sed de his satis cum apud ipsum poetam variis in locis comperiantur.

Videtur poeta alias sui exilii causas afferre, obscuris quidem sententiis, in quarto Tristium:

180 Aut timor, aut error, nobis prius obfuit error.

In tertio Tristium libello:

Inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector,
 peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.
 Non equidem totam possum defendere culpam,
 185 sed partem nostri criminis error habet.

In secundo de Tristibus: (U 86v)

Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
 Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi est.
 Inscius Actheon vidit sine veste Dianam,
 190 praeda fuit canibus non minus ipse suis.

166-169 *ibid.* 3.3.37-40. 171-172 *Tr.* 2.543-544. 174-175 *Pont.* 1.2.133-134.
 180 *Tr.* 4.4.39. 182-185 *ibid.* 3.5.49-52. 187-190 *ibid.* 2.103-106.

169 *post* locis *add.* in primo de Ponto: scis mihi quod salae penae bibuntur aquae. Quod in mense Decembris iuerit in exilium, uide in primo de Ponto *V* 170 item *U*: et *NV* in ... Amandi] in eodem *N* ait *U*: scribit *V* Artis Amandi *U*: de Arte *V* 171 inueni uel iuueni *U* 173-175 *post* 177 *transp.* *U*: *om.* *NV* 176-177 sunt et alia multa ad probandum hanc manifestam causam quod liber de Arte fuerit exilii causa quae legentibus opera Nasonis fient manifesta *V*: *om.* *N* 178 uidetur ... sententiis] alias et causas set obscuras pluribus in locis tetigit *N* uidetur ipse poeta *V* obscuris quidem sententiis *U*: quas obscuris uerbis uariis in locis affert *V* in] unde *N* 181 *ante* in *add.* et *V* libello *om.* *NV* 182 inscia ... uiderunt] inscia uiderunt scelus est quod *N* crimen *U*: scelus *NV* plector *U*: nostra *NV* 184 possum totam *N* 185 criminis *NV*: carminis *U* 186 de Tristibus *U*: Tristium *NV* 187 *cur*² *UN*: cum *V* noxia *U*: conscia *NV* 188 culpa *N*: causa *UV*

Quidam ob hoc putant quod Ouidius viderit Augustum cum puero, sed hoc est diuinare. Alii putant eum concubuisse cum Liuia vxore Augusti per haec carmina in libro de Ponto. Secus apud Sidonium Ouidius quesivit stuprare filiam Tiberii.

195¹ Foemina sed princeps, in qua fortuna uidere
se probat et certe crimina falsa tulit.

In secundo Tristium:

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
alterius facti culpa silenda mihi est.

In tertio de Ponto inducit Apollinem negantem causam exilii fuisse librum de Arte
200 Amandi cum ait:

Vtque haec, sic vtinam defendere caetera possem,
scis aliud, quod te laeserit, esse magis.

Nunc de tempore exilii dicendum est, quo profectus. Nam mense Decembri exulauit ut ipse ait in primo de Ponto; et erat quinquagenarius ut ostendit in quarto
205 Tristium:

Postque meos ortus Pisea uinctus oliua
abstulerat decies praemia victor eques, (U 87r)
cum maris Euxini positos ad leua Tomitas
querere me leşi principis ira docet.

210 Hic manifeste ostenditur olympiadas x continere L annos cum quo coheret principium contra Ibim cum ait:

193 Sid. Apoll., *Carm.* 23.158-161. 194-195 *Pont.* 3.1.125-126 197-198 *Tr.* 2.207-208. 201-202 *Pont.* 3.3.71-72. 204 *rectius*, *Tr.* 1.11.13. 206-209 *ibid.* 4.10.95-98.

191-195 *om. N* 191 quidam ... viderit *U*: putatur uidisse *V* 192 *post* diuinare *add.* sicut si quod dicatur quod uidit Liuiam, uxorem Augusti, nudam *V* alii putant *U*: putant nonnulli *V* per *U*: propter *V* 193 libro *U*: secundo *V* secus ... Tiberii *om. V* 196 secundo Tristium] eodem *N* 199-202 *om. N* 199 de Ponto *V*: *om. U* 199-200 inducit ... ait *om. V* 202 aliud] aliquid *V* *post* magis *add.* si quis plura querit, Nasonis opera diligenter legat *V* (*uide inf.*, l. 224) 203 nunc ... profectus] nunc de tempore dicamus quo in exilium profectus *V*: *om. N* 203-204 nam ... de Ponto *U*: quod in mense Decembris iuerit in exilium, uide in primo de Ponto (*post* 169 *transp.*) *V*: *om. N* 204-205 et erat ... Tristium] quinquagenarius erat quando in pontum relegatus fuit in secundo Tristium *N*: *om. V* 206 postquam *V* 208 ad *NV*, *sed d sup. lin. add. N*: a *U* 209 querere *UN*: quaerere *V*: quare *V* docet *U*: iubet *NV* 210-211 hic ... ait] decem olympiades sunt quinquaginta anni. Olympias enim spatium est quinque annorum, in quo spatio semel fiebant Olympia apud Pisam Archadiae <ubi> duo uictores premia accipiebant. Significat ergo Ouidium agere quinquagesimum annum quando missus est in exilium ab Augusto in Scythiam et in principio huius inuectiue contra Ibim ait *V*: singulis enim olimpiadibus semel apud Pisam urbem Archadiae Olympia fiebant et quelibet olympias annos quinque continebat *N*

Tempus ad hoc, lustris mihi iam bis quinque peractis,
omne fuit Musae carmen inerme meae.

Sexto anno exilii periit apud Tomitas in Scythia, aetatis autem LVI. Tamen ossa
215 Romam portari iussit ut ait in tertio Tristium:

Ossa tamen facito parua referantur in vrna,
sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.

Mandauit etiam hae<c> carmina sepulchro inscribi quæ sunt in tertio Tristium:

220 Hic ego qui iaceo, tenerorum lusor amorum,
ingenio perii Naso poeta meo.
At tibi, qui transis, non sit graue, quisquis amasti,
dicere 'Nasonis molliter ossa cubent'.

Hic optime ostenditur ingenium nocuisse, id est ipsam Artem Amandi quam
scripsit. Si plura quæris circa Nasonis vitam, apud eiusdem Nasonis opera inuenies,
225 maxime in libro de Tristibus et de Ponto.

FINIS

212-213 *Ib.* 1-2. 216-217 *Tr.* 3.3.65-66. 219-222 *ibid.* 3.3.73-76.

212-213 *om. N* 213 *post meae add.* iam erat in exilio cum inuectiuam scripsit. Idem in quinto Tristium: Et quod detractat presentia liuor iniquus ullum de nostris dente momordit opus *V* 214 periit apud Tomitas] apud Tomitas mortuus est *N* in ... LVI *om. NV* 214-215 tamen ... Tristium] suaque ossa Romam iussit deportari unde ad uxorem scribens ait *N* 215 ut ... Tristium *U*: ad uxorem libro *V* 218 mandauitque *N* etiam *om. N* hec ... inscribi] ut hec carmina suo sepulchro inscriberentur *N* inscribi sepulchro *V* que ... Tristium *U*: ut ait in libro quarto *V*: *om. N* 221 tibi *UN*: tu *V* 223-225 haec probatissima causa exilii *V*: *om. N*

APPENDIX I

Anonymous Accessus C

Accessus to the *Metamorphoses* dating from the early to mid-twelfth century are relatively rare. At present our knowledge of this tradition rests upon two principal texts. The first, transmitted in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4610, fols. 61v-62r, s. XI/XII (henceforth labelled *Anonymous accessus A*), introduces a set of glosses to the *Metamorphoses*. Its text was first studied and partially edited by Meiser in 1885.⁴⁶ The second *accessus*, here referred to as *Anonymous accessus B*, survives in the following three

⁴⁶ Meiser, 'Über einen Commentar zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid', *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philol.- und hist. Klasse (1885) 47-89.

manuscripts only: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14482, fol. 27r-v, s. XII; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter a.V.4, fols. 1v-3v, s. XII; and Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. S. 2008 4^o, fol. 1v, s. XII/XIII. This *accessus*, recently edited by Demats from the Copenhagen witness,⁴⁷ fuses two originally separate introductions to the *Metamorphoses*. The first (ll. 1-40 of Demats' printed text) is drawn almost verbatim from the text of Anonymous *accessus* A (Clm 4610). The second introduction (ll. 52-90 of Demats' printed text) examines the traditional four categories of *titulus*, *materia*, *intentio*, and *utilitas*, focussing in particular on the *materia* of the poem, which is defined as *de mutacione* and receives extensive subclassifications.

Anonymous *accessus* C, preserved in ms. Salzburg a.V.4, fols. 5v-6v (s. XII) and here edited for the first time, shares many features in common with Anonymous *accessus* B. The commentator recounts neither the life nor the works of Ovid, but stresses the *materia*, *utilitas*, and *intentio* of the poem. His treatment of the subject matter (*materia*) is particularly elaborate and striking. Contrary to later medieval commentaries (*post* 1250) which defined *materia* in a rigid, fourfold schema (*mutacio naturalis*, *spiritualis*, *magica* and *moralis*), discussion in the early introductions remains more fluid. Anonymous *accessus* C, for example, separates *mutacio* into two broad categories (ll. 5-9): *naturalis* and *non naturalis* (the first category encompassing solely Ovid's creation myth, the second dealing with all other forms of transformation in the epic). Throughout this section the commentator generally classifies transformation on the basis of external physical change (e.g., *de animato ad animatum*, *de inanimato ad inanimatum*), but, in his discussion of the myths of Lycaon and Actaeon (ll. 22-24), he does reveal an awareness of the process of spiritual and psychological metamorphosis which so preoccupied later commentators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The question of literary form and genre is also raised. Narrative may deal with the true and false and can be divided into the historical, moral, fictional, and purely fabulous (ll. 25-36). These are then illustrated in two ways: first, with reference to other ancient writers (Juvenal, for instance, represents *vera moralis*, while Sallust illustrates *vera historialis*); secondly, with reference to the stories presented in the *Metamorphoses* itself (the episode of the Trojan War illustrates historical fiction and Phaëthon's story represents the purely fabulous). This fourfold division of narrative, found likewise in Anonymous *accessus* B, survives into the Renaissance and was incorporated into certain humanist introductions to the *Metamorphoses* (see above, p. 164).

Finally, Anonymous *accessus* C advances traditional opinions concerning the *intentio* and *utilitas* of the poem. Ovid's *intentio* is twofold (ll. 39-44): either to delight and reform (*delectare et prodesse*, a commonplace undoubtedly drawn from Horace's precepts in *Ars poetica* 333-334) or to regain favour of the Roman people and the emperor through the poet's praise of Augustus and the poet's efforts to direct men's souls to the eternal by

⁴⁷ Demats, *Fabula* (above, n. 2), pp. 179-181. Karl Young, 'Chaucer's Appeal to the Platonic Deity', *Speculum* 19 (1944) 1-13 reproduces this *accessus* from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14482, fol. 27r-v. A more detailed discussion of the relationship between Anonymous *accessus* B and Arnulf of Orléans' *accessus* to the *Metamorphoses* is contained in F. T. Coulson, 'New Manuscript Evidence for Sources of the *Accessus* of Arnoul d'Orléans' (above, n. 5).

stressing the mutability of mortal existence. Similarly, the *utilitas* of the poem resides for Ovid in securing the forgiveness of the emperor, while the work provides the medieval reader with a useful compendium of mythological lore (ll. 45-47). Such opinions circulated amongst all twelfth-century commentators and were repeated with minor variations down to the Renaissance.

S = Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter a.V. 4, ff. 5v-6v (s. XII)

S^c = S uel a librario uel a manu coaeva correctus

(f. 5v) Incipit Ovidii Metamorphosios. Meta Grece, Latine de, morphosios transformationis et hic Greca prepositio meta preponitur genitiuo quia Greci carentes ablatiui sepe utuntur genitiuo et datiuo in loco ablatiui. Et quia agit de ablatiui <m>utatione, uidendum est quot modis fiant mutationes.

- 5 Aliquando fiunt mutationes de materia naturali, aliquando de materia non naturali. De materia naturali sicut de elementis quorum natura exigebat ut segregarentur, sicut ignis ab aqua etc. De non naturali materia sicut de Licaone qui mutatus est in lupum. Mutatio de non naturali materia quandoque fit corpore et qualitate, aliquando corpore et non qualitate, aliquando qualitate et non corpore: qualitate et corpore ut Licaon in lupum; corpore et non
- 10 qualitate ut draco in saxum; qualitate et non corpore ut corpus nigrum in album, unde habebimus in sequentibus 'qui color a<lbus> e<rat> n<unc>'. Mutatio que fit corpore et qualitate aliquando fit de animato ad animatum ut Licaon in lupum; de inanimato ad inanimatum ut 'furcas subi[g]ere columne'; de animato ad inanimatum vt draco in saxum; de inanimato ad animatum, vt statua Pigmalionis in puellam. Mutatio que fit de animato
- 15 ad animatum aliquando fit de animato ad animatum sensibile vt Licaon in lupum; aliquando fit de animato ad animatum insensibile vt Dapne in laurum. Arbores enim dicuntur animate que unam anime continent uim. Anima habet tres uires: vegetationem, sensibilitatem, rationem. Quas alicubi (f. 6r) totas, alicubi per partes exercet: totas ut in homine sensibilitatem, vegetationem, rationem; per partes ut in asino et in arbore. In asino
- 20 exercet tantum duas: sensualitatem, uegetationem; unam in arbore, scilicet uegetationem, et ideo dicuntur arbores uiuere. Mutatio que fit de animato ad animatum sensibile aliquando fit corpore, aliquando spiritu vt Licaon in lupum, aliquando fit corpore et non spiritu ut Acteon, aliquando spiritu et non corpore vt Agaue que lacerauit filium suum Pentheum putans eum esse aprum.
- 25 Sicut mutationum uidistis, ita uidete uarietates materiarum. Materia dicitur quasi mater rei. Materia est de quo aliquid fit, per quod aliquid fit, in quo aliquid fit, ut littera de incausto, per pennam, in pergameno. Materia alia uera, alia falsa. Vera hoc modo

6-7 *Met.* 1.26-31. 7 *ibid.* 1.232-239. 11 *ibid.* 2.541. 13 *ibid.* 8.700. *ibid.* 11.58-60. 14 *ibid.* 10.280-286. 16 *ibid.* 1.548-552. 23 *ibid.* 3.193-198. 23-24 *ibid.* 3.721-724.

1 metamorphosios S^c: -seos S 3 ablatiui² scripsi: -uo S mutatione] utione uel fort. matione (?) S 4 quot scripsi: quod S 7 licaone scripsi: liacone S 10 et *sup. lin. add.* S^c 16 insensibile] in *sup. lin. add.* S^c 22 spiritu *sup. lin. add.* S^c et *sup. lin. add.* S^c 25 uidistis in *marg. add.* S^c

subdiuiditur: vera alia moralis ut in Iuuenali et Horatio, alia historialis vt in Lucano, Salustio. Falsa hoc modo subdiuiditur: falsa alia que si non fuit, fieri potuit; alia que nec
 30 unquam fuit nec fieri potuit. Ideo diximus hec quia Ouidius omnia supradicta materiarum genera imitatur. Veram moralem habet ubi inducit Pvtagoram et Orphevum; veram insto-
 rialem habet vbi dicit de Troiano bello; falsam nec u<er>i similem habet ubi dicit de Phetonte quod equitaret currum solis; falsam ueri similem habet ubi dicit de Cephalo et Progne uxore eius. Sed his materiarum generibus utitur dissimiliter. Quidquid enim de uera
 35 siue morali siue historiali tractat, facit incidenter; de falsa uero tractat principaliter, de qua, ut tanto conuenientius tractare ualeat, aliquid ueritatis interserit.

Materia Ouidii sunt fabule secundum quod participant mutationi, uel secundum quosdam laudes Augusti Cesaris. Secundum diuersas materias uidete diuersas intentiones. Intentio sua est secundum priorem materiam delectare et prodesse dicendo fa(f. 6v)bulas;
 40 uel secundum quosdam intendit laudare Augustum et sub specie illius hortari quosdam ad celestia, ostendens ista terrena esse uariabilia per omnia vt hoc modo hortetur nos ad celestia que sunt inmutabilia. Et ipsum Augustum laudando et quoslibet ad celestia hortando intendit Augusti gratiam et Romani populi fauorem adquirere, quam tunc amisit quando librum de Amore composuit.

45 Secundum diuersas intentiones uidete diuersas utilitates: specialem quantum ad Ouidium, gratiam scilicet Augusti Cesaris; generalem quantum ad nos quia fabule que alibi tanguntur hic plenarie inueniuntur et celeste regnum ad quod ipse nos hortatur.

31 ibid. 15.1-478 et lib. 10
 7.690-862. 39 Hor., *Ars* 333.

32 ibid. 12.1-13.421

33 ibid. 2.150-322.

33-34 ibid.

31 genera in marg. add. S^c 32 nec sup. lin. add. S^c 33-34 falsam ... eius in marg. add. S^c
 35 siue² sup. lin. add. S^c

APPENDIX 2

Supplement to the accessus of William of Orléans

Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität F II 27, f. 23vb (s. XIV)

... Ouidius proprium nomen est actoris et dicitur Ouidius quasi ouum diuidans et, sicut
 IIII sunt in ouo, scilicet testa, pellicula, albumen et meditullium, ita Ouidius in libro suo
 etiam de quatuor elementis tractauit et diuisionem ipse demonstraui. Per testam intelligitur
 firmamentum; per pelliculam tenuissimam intelligitur aer qui tenuis est et subtilis; per
 5 albumen intelligitur aqua; per meditullium intelligitur terra que rotunda et solida est. Et
 hac ratione dicitur Ouidius. Naso est cognomen actoris et dicitur Naso a magnitudine nasi,
 non quia magnum nasum haberet sed quia, sicut canis venaticus tenet rostrum suum uersus
 terram, ita Ouidius ingenium suum uersus materiam. Et hac ratione dicitur Naso. Plubii
 (*sic*) dicitur a Plubio patre suo.

2 et bis ut uid. MS. 8 plup ante plubii expunxit MS.

10 Methamorphoseos dicitur a metha quod est de, et morphos quod est mutacio, et usya quod est substantia, quasi liber loquens de mutacione substantiarum.

Ethice supponitur quia tractat de moribus referendo mutaciones.

More aliorum poetarum tria facit: proponit, inuocat, et narrat. Proponit vbi dicit 'in noua fert animus'; inuocat vbi dicit 'dii ceptis'; narrat ubi dicit 'ante mare' etc. Hiis visis
15 supradictis ad licteram accedamus.

APPENDIX 3

A Probable Source of Sozomeno's accessus

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Diez B Sant. 2, f. 5r-v (s. XIII/XIV)

(f. 5r) Qvoniam maius opus Ouidii pre manibus habemus, de uita ipsius in principio uideamus. De Phrygia quidam uenit in Ytaliā qui uidelicet Solemus dicebatur, qui totam regionem a nomine suo composuit et etiam appellauit. Vnde ait Ouidius in libro Fastorum:

Huius erat Phrygia Solemus comes unus ab Yda,
5 a quo Sulmonis menia nomen habent.

De cuius regionis opido Peligno natus fuit Ouidius. Vnde ait in libro de Sine Titulo 'hoc ego composui Pelignis natus aquis'. Idem in libro Tristium:

Sulmo michi patria, gelidis uberrimus undis,
milīa qui nouies distat ab urbe decem.

10 Vnde quidam dicunt quod Sulmo dicebatur opidum iuxta illud 'pars me Sulmo tenet Peligni tertia iuris' etc. In illo tempore natus fuit Ouidius in quo fuit bellum. Iste autem Ouidius natus fuit a patre Lucio et fratrem habuit primogenitum anni solius interuallo. Vnde ipse ait:

Nec stirps prima fui; genito sine fratre creatus,
15 qui quater ante tribus mensibus ortus erat.

Et pariter ambo additi sunt ad notitiam licterarum. Vnde in eodem:

Protinus excolimus teneri curaue parentis
imus ad ingignes urbis ab arte uiros.

Fratri suo placuit rethorica. Ipse uero animum suum uersibus scribendis applicuit. Vnde
20 ipse ait:

Frater ad eloquium uiridi tendebat ab euo,
et michi iam puero celestia sacra placebant.

4-5 *Fast.* 4.79-80. 6-7 *Am.* 2.1.1. 8-9 *Tr.* 4.10.3-4. 10-11 *Am.* 2.16.1. 14-15 *Tr.* 4.10.9-10. 17-18 *ibid.* 4.10.15-16. 21-22 *ibid.* 4.10.17, 19.

Sepe pater monuit ut artem uersificatoriam relinqueret, artibus aliis animum apponendo.
Vnde ipse Ouidius ait:

- 25 Sepe pater dixit 'studium quid inutile carpis?'
 Motus eram dictis, totoque Licone relicto
 scribere temptabam uerba soluta modis,

id est prosayca. Sed tamen Ouidius animum suum non potuit a uersibus reuocare. Vnde in eodem:

- 30 Sponte sua carmen numeros ueniebat ad aptos;
 quidquid conabar dicere, uersus erat.

Preterea Ouidius uersus suos a pueritia incepit populo recitare. Vnde in eodem:

Carmina cum primum populo iuuenilia legi,
barba resecta michi bisue semelue fuit.

- 35 Preterea uxorem habuit paruo tempore duraturam. Vnde ipse ait:

Et michi iam puero nec digna nec utilis uxor
est data, que tempus per breue nupta fuit.

Secundam autem uxorem habuit quam amisit exilio compellente. Vnde ipse ait:

- 40 Illi successit, quamuis sine crimine coniunx,
 non tamen in nostro firma futura thoro.

Filiam autem dicitur habuisse uel priuignam que duobus maritis coniuncta legitimum prolem peperit ex ambobus. Vnde in eodem:

Filia me mea bis prima fecunda iuuenta,
non tantum ex uno coniuge, fecit auum.

- 45 Frater autem Ouidij xx annis iam perfectis morte preoccupatus est temporali. Vnde in eodem:

Iamque decem uite frater geminauerat annos,
cum periit, et cepi parte carere mei.

- 50 Fratre suo mortuo, rogatu Maximi principis, tribunatu deposito ad artem iocosam animum suum applicuit diligenter, primo scribens librum Heroydum, secundo librum de Sine Titulo, tertio librum Artis Amatorie per quem meruit exulare. Vnde in Ouidio de Ponto:

Neue roges, quid sit, scripsimus sculta<m> quoque.

Alie autem cause sue relegationis taliter (f. 5v) assignantur. Quarum una est quoniam ad imperatricem anelauit quam Corinam falso nomine nuncupauit. Vnde in Tristibus:

25-27 *ibid.* 4.10.21, 23-24. 30-31 *ibid.* 4.10.25-26. 33-34 *ibid.* 4.10.57-58.
36-37 *ibid.* 4.10.69-70. 39-40 *ibid.* 4.10.71-72. 43-44 *ibid.* 4.10.75-76. 47-48 *ibid.*
4.10.31-32. 52 *Pont.* 2.9.73.

55 Mouerat ingenium totum cantata per orbem
nomine non uero dicta Corina michi.

Alia uero fuit tertia causa sue relegationis quoniam uidit Cesarem puero abutentem. Vnde ipse ait:

Hei michi! quid uidi? cur noxia lumina feci?

60 Que cause sufficienter in hiis duobus uersibus concluduntur:

Ad loca Pontina te misit Naso ruina
triplex: doctrina tua, uisus et ipsa Corina.

Ad interrogationem autem Augusti Cesaris quarto scripsit Remedium Amorum, quinto Ouidium Methamorphoseos ubi se reddit commendabilem ad Augustum. Sexto uero
65 composuit Ouidium Fastorum ad reuerentiam Germanici qui futurus erat pontifex Romanorum ut Augusti gratiam impetraret Germanico suffragante. Sed cum numquam eum placare posset, profectus est in exilium et librum Methamorphoseos deseruit incorruptum et in itinere sui exilii composuit librum de Tristibus. Vnde dicit in eodem:

70 Lictera quecumque est toto michi facta libello,
est michi sollicito tempore facta uie.

In quo ad presentis operis recommendationem Romam hos uersiculos direxit:

Orba parente suo quicumque uolumina legis,
hiis saltem uestra detur in urbe locus.
75 Quoque magis faueas, non sunt hec edita ab illo,
sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.
Si quid in hiis igitur uitij rude carmen habebat,
emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.

Tandem Ouidius positus in Sitia composuit Ouidium de Ponto et Ouidium in Ybym, id est contra inuidum.

80 Vita auctoris sufficienter inquisita, multa preter hoc inquirantur, scilicet materia auctoris, intentio scribentis, utilitas auditoris, titulus carminis, cui parti philosophye supponatur.

Sed quia materia pendet ex titulo, primo titulum uideamus qui talis est: Publii Nasonis Ouidii primus liber Methamorphoseos incipit. Cum dicitur primus, bene dicitur quia sequitur secundus; sunt enim quindecim libri ipso attestante Ouidio in Tristibus ubi dicit
85 'sunt michi, ter quinque, mutata uolumina forme'. Causa uero efficiens per titulum declaratur in titulo qui talis est: Publii Nasonis Ouidii Methamorphoseos primus liber incipit. Publius dicitur a Publia familia; ita dictus et ita cognomen est. Naso uero agnomen est a nasi impositum quantitate. Ouidius uero nomen est. Secundum ethimologiam tamen dicitur Ouidius quasi 'ouum diuidens', id est secretam mundi originem aperiens et
90 declarans. Methamorphoseos, id est de mutatione substantiarum.

55-56 *Tr.* 4.10.59-60. 59 *ibid.* 2.103. 61-62 Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum* 469.
69-70 *Tr.* 1.11.1-2. 72-77 *ibid.* 1.7.35-40. 85 *Tr.* 1.1.117.

Sed quia de mutatione mentionem fecimus, sciendum est quod est mutatio naturalis, magica, et moralis, et spiritualis. Naturalis mutatio est quando de spermate fit homo, de ouo pullus, et de grano seges. Magica mutatio est quando per artem magicam hec seges ex aliis aliis transibit in agros. Moralis mutatio est quando de homine fit lupo, unde

95 versus:

Si lupo est arces, lupo est feritate lupina
nam lupo esse potest proprietate lupi.

Spiritualis mutatio est quando de sano fit insanus, ut Achamas qui uxorem uidens cum filiis credidit se uidisse leenam cum catulis. Vel aliter potest mutatio uariari de re animata ad rem animatam ut Licaon in lupo; de re inanimata ad rem inanimatam ut domus Baucis in templum; de re inanimata ad rem animatam ut statua Pigmalionis in feminam; de re animata ad rem inanimatam ut draco in saxum qui uoluit deuorare caput Orphei. Et he mutationes sunt materie huius libri.

105 Intentio auctoris est ad laudem Augusti Cesaris incoatam materiam terminare. Intentio Nasonis est deificationis Iulii Cesaris probatio. Vel etiam fabularum siue mutationum a principio mundi usque ad suum tempus declaratio manifesta.

Utilitas est legentis cognitio fabularum ad accidentem audientiam aliorum. Vel ut nos dirigant ad creationem uel creatorem. Auctoris nulla est utilitas. Iratum enim Augustum numquam potuit emollire.

110 Ethicus et phisicus dicitur, unde ethice et phisice supponitur liber iste. Phisicam autem supponit quando de mutatione loquitur naturali ut cum de uno elemento fit aliud elementum.

More aliorum poetarum tria facit quia proponit, inuocat, et narrat. Proponit ubi dicit 'in noua fert animus'; inuocat ubi dicit 'dii ceptis nam uos mutastis' etc.; narrat ubi dicit
115 'ante mare et terras'.

Et est sciendum quod auctor utitur in hoc loco illo metro quo describentes facta illorum heroydum solebant uti.

Hiis itaque uis ad licere seriem accedamus.

The Ohio State University.

96-97 Joh. de Garl., *Integ.* 85-86. 98-99 *Met.* 4.512-523. 100 *ibid.* 1.232-239.
100-101 *ibid.* 8.698-702. 101-102 *ibid.* 10.280-286. 102-103 *ibid.* 11.58-60. 105 *cf.*
ibid. 15.845-851.

AN EARLY BYZANTINE COMMENTARY ON THE JESUS PRAYER: INTRODUCTION AND EDITION

Robert E. Sinkewicz, C.S.B.

THE two best known texts that treat the Jesus Prayer are those by Nicephorus the Hesychast, entitled *On Vigilance and the Guarding of the Heart*, and by pseudo-Symeon, entitled *On Holy Prayer and Attention*.¹ Both of these works, as their titles indicate, treat a more general subject and include some discussion of the Jesus Prayer and its practice. Two other works on the Jesus Prayer are published or partially published. In this case, they are both commentaries dealing specifically with the prayer itself. The first of these is attributed to Mark Eugenikos and bears the title, *On the Words of the Divine Prayer, or, On the Prayer, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me'*.² The other text is anonymous and is found in a manuscript of the eighteenth or nineteenth century; it is entitled in J. Gouillard's French translation, *Instruction pour le mystère de la prière de l'esprit: Seigneur Jésus-Christ, Fils de Dieu, ayez pitié de moi*.³ All of these texts belong in the category of monastic spirituality and are dated to the late Byzantine period. References to the Jesus Prayer can, however, be found much earlier, even in monastic writers of the patristic period.⁴ These references, however, are very brief and appear also in the context of monastic spirituality.

The *Commentary on the Jesus Prayer*, here edited for the first time, has a special importance for two reasons. First, it must bear a date earlier than A.D. 1105, the date of the earliest manuscript copy.⁵ Second, the context is that of a dogmatic

¹ For the text of Nicephorus see PG 147.945-66 and *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, ed. Nikodemos the Hagiorite and Makarios of Corinth, 4 (Athens, 1961), pp. 18-28. And for pseudo-Symeon see I. Hausherr, *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste* (*Orientalia christiana* 9; Rome, 1927).

² Ed. E. Bulović, "Ἡ ἐρμηνεία τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Μάρκου 'Ἐφέσου', *Κληρονομία* 7 (1975) 345-52.

³ The Greek text has never been published. For the translation see J. Gouillard, *Petite Philocalie de la prière du cœur* (Paris, 1953), pp. 221-28.

⁴ See, for example, the list of references given in A. Grillmeier, "Das 'Gebet zu Jesus' und das 'Jesus-Gebet'. Eine neue Quelle zum 'Jesus-Gebet' aus dem weißen Kloster" in *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History: Festschrift Albert van Roey*, ed. C. Laga, J. Munitiz, L. van Rompay (*Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta* 18; Louvain, 1985), p. 188 n. 2.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library Baroccianus graecus 15.

commentary on the prayer, rather than that of an exposition of monastic spirituality.

The commentary takes the formula 'Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have mercy on us. Amen' and interprets the opening invocation as an arsenal of four weapons (Lord, Jesus, Christ, and 'our God') directed against particular heresies. The heresies in question are all christological in nature. The commentary survives in two versions. For the second of the two, the manuscripts offer two recensions. These three forms of the text will be referred to as CJP 1, 2 and 3. The longer version (CJP 1) is distinguished from the shorter one (CJP 2/3) in that it names the heretics and offers more details on the particular heresies countered by the prayer.

In the longer version the names of the heresiarchs mentioned are Arius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Nestorius, Bishop Theodore of Pharan, Honorius of Rome, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Peter the Terrible (presumably, Peter the Fuller). Arius is a well-known figure, although it is interesting that his heresy is here treated in a christological context. Eutyches (c. 378-454) is regarded in Orthodox tradition as the founder of monophysitism. Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria from 444-451, supported Eutyches and presided over the 'Latrocinium' at Ephesus in 449. Nestorius is familiar enough to pass without comment. The next four personages were all supporters of the heresies of monotheletism or monoenergism and were all condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 680. Finally, Peter the Fuller was a monophysite patriarch of Antioch in the fifth century. In the four 'dogmatic' sections of the commentary (i.e., those treating *Κύριε*, *Ἰησοῦ*, *Χριστέ*, and *ὁ θεός*), where the various heretics are listed, there are further doctrinal details in CJP 1 not found in CJP 2 (or 3). The additional elements are as follows:

Κύριε + καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ νῖδὸν θεοῦ (20)

Ἰησοῦ + καὶ τῇ θεότητι τὰ πάθη προσαρμόζοντας (23)

Χριστέ + καὶ δύο νιόυς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μυθολογοῦντας καὶ δύο ὑποστάσεις, καὶ μὴ εἶναι Θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοτόκον ἀλλὰ Χριστοτόκον λέγοντας (26-28)

ὁ θεός + καὶ μίαν φύσιν ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ ἐν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν (32).

The question of a date and context for the *Commentary on the Jesus Prayer* is a difficult one. The longer version is most likely prior to the shorter because it is easier to account for the excision of details relevant to the original circumstances of composition but later considered superfluous in the monastic milieu where the commentary undoubtedly circulated.

If the normal context of the Jesus Prayer is monastic spirituality, then a reason is required to explain the shift in the case of this text from a spiritual to a doctrinal context. Prior to A.D. 1105 there were two periods that could have given rise to this commentary, namely, the seventh to eighth centuries that marked the close of

the christological controversies and the end of the eleventh century that witnessed a resurgence of christological debates.

In the patristic period there were two episodes in which the Jesus Prayer was associated with doctrinal questions. In Upper Egypt sometime between 431 and 451 Shenoute, the abbot of the White Monastery at Athripe, wrote a work that is now referred to as the *Catechesis against Apocryphal Texts and against Other Errors*. A passage in this text explains that certain questions had been raised about the propriety of prayer *to* Jesus, rather than *through* Jesus. Shenoute defended the former, basing his justification on the Nicene *homousios* doctrine. Although there is no mention of a Jesus Prayer formula in the text, there is clear evidence of a special devotion to the name of Jesus and the repetitive invocation of the name. For Shenoute, prayer to Jesus is addressed not only to the God-Man but also to the consubstantial Trinity.⁶

Sometime between the middle of the seventh and the middle of the eighth century similar objections were again raised against the invocation of the name of Jesus. The evidence comes from a Coptic inscription found in a monastery oratory at Kellia in Egypt. This inscription reports the objection that the constant repetition of the invocation 'Lord Jesus' excludes the other persons of the Trinity. The author of the text replies that the Trinity is indivisible and hence any invocation of the Son is also addressed to the Father and the Holy Spirit.⁷

Thus, in Egypt at least, there had been a certain amount of doctrinal reflection on the Jesus Prayer, but this occurred in the context of criticisms voiced against the practice. Other witnesses to the prayer during the patristic period are restricted to the context of monastic spirituality. Nevertheless, CJP 1 presents a number of precise references to christological heresies of the later patristic period, specifically, monoenergism and monotheletism. This, coupled with the list of names, suggests a dating of the commentary to the late seventh or early eighth century.

The second possibility for a context lies in the christological debates of the late eleventh century. These are represented by the first anathema against John Italos in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* and by the abjurations required of Neilos the Calabrian.⁸ In both cases the problem focused on the mode whereby the humanity of Christ was divinized, whether by *φύσις* or by *θέσις*. The extremes represented by these terms are monophysitism and nestorianism. However, although these problems emerged before the end of the eleventh century, the situation did not become serious until the following century when further christological issues were

⁶ Grillmeier, 'Das "Gebet zu Jesus"', 187-202.

⁷ A. Guillaumont, 'Une inscription copte sur la "Prière de Jésus"', *Orientalia christiana periodica* 34 (1968) 310-25.

⁸ J. Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie, édition et commentaire', *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (1967) 56-57, 300-303.

raised by Eustratios of Nicea, Soterichos Panteugenos and by the debate over the 'Pater maior me est'.⁹ But in the case of the *Commentary on the Jesus Prayer*, the short form was already in existence by 1105. If the longer version was composed near the end of the eleventh century, surely it would have been retained with all its details as quite relevant to the current theological situation. Thus, the more probable context is that of the earlier christological debates of the seventh to eighth centuries. Then, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the commentary was revived through whatever copies could be found, certainly of the shorter version but probably of the longer as well.

One further problem remains regarding the dating of the commentary: a few manuscripts attribute the work to Michael Psellos, principally manuscripts of CJP 3 (STVW and Iveron 382). Among the manuscripts of version 1, only a single manuscript attributes the work to Psellos, namely, D. Attribution to Psellos is not offered by any manuscript of CJP 2. Five manuscripts contain genuine works of Psellos but do not ascribe this commentary to his authorship (ABCMP). Two of these manuscripts give the text of Psellos' unedited commentary on the *Κύριε ἐλέησον* (BC).¹⁰

Michael Psellos, the great eleventh-century polymath, was not adverse to commenting on just about anything that crossed his path. However, his commentaries exhibit a distinctive style and range of interests. The language of the commentary bears little resemblance to the high Byzantine style affected by Psellos. The only suggestion of any literary pretensions in the commentary is the use of the verb *πέλει* in version 1, where it stands out in a rather peculiar fashion. But then only one manuscript of this version attributes the text to Psellos. The treatment of the subject matter in the *Commentary on the Jesus Prayer* is simple, brief and unsophisticated. Such treatment would be very uncharacteristic of Psellos. The attribution of this text to Michael Psellos more likely arose from the similarity of its title to that of Psellos' genuine work, the *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον*.

The thirty-one manuscripts enumerated below indicate that the commentary was popular and enjoyed a long history. Mark Eugenikos was clearly familiar with it and even paraphrased certain portions of it in his own work on the Jesus Prayer. The relevant sections in Mark are Bulović, pp. 349.12-350.1 and 350.22-351.2. In the first section Mark follows closely CJP 2.12-20. However, in the formula of the Jesus Prayer *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν* is replaced with *υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ*. The second section in Mark is a looser paraphrase of CJP 2.22-32, but here Mark changes to the *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν* formula. This section of the Markan text concludes with the phrase *ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος στίχος τῆς προσευχῆς περιεκτικὸς ὧν ἐφάνη*. This suggests that Mark was using CJP 2 rather than CJP 3. There still remains the

⁹ Gouillard, *ibid.*, pp. 206-26.

¹⁰ This text is found in Paris gr. 1182, fols. 268r-269r and in Paris gr. 1302, fols. 212r-213v.

possibility that Mark was familiar with CJP 1. The manuscripts of Mark's text offer a diagram (Bulović, p. 349) which directs the various elements of the prayer against certain heretics: namely, Paul of Samosata, Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Peter the Fuller, anthropolaters, monophysites, and, in the *Philokalia* version, Armenians and theopaschites.¹¹ CJP 1, however, does not mention Paul of Samosata, anthropolaters, monophysites, or Armenians and theopaschites. Nor does Mark give any indication of the additional doctrinal elements present in CJP 1. Moreover, the formula of the prayer used here is the one with the phrase *νὴ ἐ τοῦ θεοῦ*. If the diagram is original to the text, Mark was either familiar with CJP 1 and modified the list of heretics, or he supplied the names from his own store of patristic learning, which was indeed considerable.

The formula of the Jesus Prayer used in the commentary edited here is one of the less common ones. The more usual formula was 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me'. However, as Kallistos Ware has demonstrated, there was a certain fluidity with respect to the formula.¹² It is interesting to note that the infamous Barlaam the Calabrian (c. 1290-1348) criticized the hesychast monks for replacing the traditional formula which used the phrase *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν* with their own innovation which offered the alternative *νὴ ἐ τοῦ θεοῦ*. It is quite conceivable that Barlaam was familiar with the CJP text.¹³

*The Manuscripts*¹⁴

CJP 1

- A = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Fonds Grec, ms. 1302, fols. 211v-212r (13th cent.).
 - B = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Gr. 384, fol. 52r (14th-15th cent.).
 - C = Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου 378, fols. 111v-112v (16th cent.).
 - D = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vaticanus graecus 1744, fol. iii^rv (15th cent.).
 - E = Cambridge, Trinity College 1408 (O.8.33), fols. 250r-251r (16th cent.).
- Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu (formerly in Constantinople), Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος 77, fols. 239r-240r (18th cent.).

¹¹ The *Philokalia* version is found in vol. 5 (Athens, 1963), p. 86.

¹² 'The Jesus Prayer in St Gregory of Sinai', *Eastern Churches Review* 4 (1972) 3-22.

¹³ Barlaam's words are quoted in the Synodal Tome of 1341 (PG 151.688D-689B).

¹⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Paul Moore who provided me with an initial list of twenty-six manuscripts. The remaining manuscripts were discovered with the help of the Greek Index Project of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. In the course of this search for manuscripts of the *Commentary*, I discovered a number of references that may lead to several new texts on the Jesus Prayer.

CJP 2

- G = Oxford, Bodleian Library Baroccianus graecus 15, fols. 391v-392v and 394r-v (c. A.D. 1105). This is a deluxe codex with titles and initials in gold, several miniatures and ornamented paschal tables. These tables, on fols. 36v-39r, cover the years from 1105 to 1140. There is a description of the manuscript in I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 1: *Oxford, Bodleian Library* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 54-55, no. 37 (description) and pp. 178-79, nos. 201-206 (plates). The folios that give the text of the Jesus Prayer commentary are of the same material as the rest of the codex and were transcribed by the same copyist.
- H = Oxford, Bodleian Library Baroccianus graecus 146, fol. 406v (A.D. 1451).
- I = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo gr. Ψ.II.20 (De Andrés 455), fol. 85v (13th cent.).
- J = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reginensis graecus 57, pp. 51-52 (A.D. 1358/59).
- K = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Palatinus graecus 361, fols. 204v-206r (15th cent.).
- L = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Thesaurus antiquus, ms. gr. 26 (coll. 340), fol. 302v.
- M = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Philipps 1503 (gr. 99), fol. 52r-v.
- N = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 15 sup. (gr. 506), fols. 103v-104r (14th cent.).
- O = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 55.10, fols. 100v-101r (15th cent.).
- P = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Vossianus gr. Q. 54, fols. 462r-463r (15th-16th cent.).
- Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Philipps 1491 (gr. 87), fols. 40v-41r (13th cent.).
- Meteora, Μονή Μεταμορφώσεως 577, fols. 113v-114v (14th cent.).

CJP 3

- Q = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Palatinus graecus 328, fols. 157r-158v (14th-15th cent.).
- R = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barberinianus graecus 291, fol. 151r-v (15th cent.).¹⁵
- S = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vaticanus graecus 1119, fol. 161r-v (15th cent.).
- T = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vaticanus graecus 1150, fols. 129v-130v (16th cent.).
- U = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Appendix gr. VII 38 (coll. 1385), fol. 189r (16th cent.).

¹⁵ The latter part of the codex (fols. 216v-259r) contains several anti-Palamite texts. For example, fols. 216v-217v present a small collection of excerpts attributed to 'Palamas the Heresiarch' or 'Palamas, the infamous polytheist'. Fol. 218r has an excerpt from 'Isidore, his fellow heretic'. This is followed immediately (fols. 218r-222v) by Gregory Akindynos' *Confession of Faith*. On fol. 6r above the headband ornament there is inscribed in red ink *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*.

V = Athens, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς βουλῆς 83, fols. 184v-185r (16th cent.).

W = Athens, Μορφωτικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἑθνικῆς Τραπέζης sine numero, fol. 42v (15th cent.).

Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 382 (Lambros 4502), fol. 691r (15th cent.).

Lesbos, Πρῶτον Γυμνάσιον Μυτιλήνης Selymbria 4, fol. 29v (14th cent.).

Unclassified Commentary Texts

In several cases there was insufficient information given in a catalogue to classify the text in the manuscript. In at least one, and possibly two, instances the commentary is completely different from the one edited here.

Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας K41 (1328), fol. 199r (18th cent.).

Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας K128 (1415), fols. 163r-192r, exact folio location not known (18th cent.).

Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας K3 (1290), 15th cent. On fol. 22r-v there is a text with the title *Ἐξήγησις τῆς εὐχῆς Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· Ἀμήν*. This is the specific form of the prayer associated with the commentary edited here but the title is unique.

Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας Λ135 (1626), 15th cent. On fols. 451r-452r there is a work with the title *Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Κύριε ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ*. This may also be the commentary edited here.

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1908 (olim G.II.1), 13th-14th cent. The manuscript has suffered badly from water damage. The present fol. 1 is apparently the second of three folios of a commentary on the Jesus Prayer. Most, but not the beginning, of the commentary on *Χριστέ* is available. Only the occasional phrase can still be read. This section of the commentary is clearly dogmatic and christological in content: Nestorius and Dioscorus are mentioned; the words *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις* also appear. On the verso of fol. 1 in the *ἐλέησον* section the phrase *τὸ πνεῦμα θεὸς κηρύσσεται* can be read. Origen is mentioned in the *ἡμᾶς* section. Since only several words of the *ἀμήν* commentary survive, the text must have continued onto a third folio which is now lost. A catena on the Psalms begins on fol. 2. Although this is definitely not the commentary edited here, it clearly belongs in the same category of a dogmatic interpretation of the Jesus Prayer. We can only hope that another manuscript of this text will be found.

Constitution of the Text

Although there are a large number of manuscripts, it is not always possible to establish the text with absolute security. For CJP 1 I have followed the text of A, B and D. For CJP 2 I have followed the text of the oldest manuscript (G) wherever

possible. And for CJP 3 I have simply adopted the readings of the majority of the manuscripts. To some extent I have allowed familiarity with the text of all three versions to influence my choice of individual readings.

CJP 1

Τὸ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ἀμήν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀσυλλογίστως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως παρεδόθη ἡμῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ὥραν λέγεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ βραχὺς πέφυκεν οὗτος ὁ στίχος, τῶν δογμάτων ἅμοιρος οὐδαμῶς πέλει, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σκέψεως καὶ μελέτης πολλῆς τῇ
5 συνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος συνετέθη παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων εἰς ἀναίρεσιν πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων καὶ ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κυρίου.

Ἐκάστη γὰρ λέξις δογμάτων καὶ ἐνταλμάτων κυριακῶν καὶ θεοσεβείας πεπληρωμένη ἐστίν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν αἰρετικῶν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἔλεγον, καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεὸν μόνον, καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ
10 ἄνθρωπον τέλειον, κατὰ φαντασίαν ὑποδύομενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. οἱ δὲ καὶ θεὸν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ ἄνθρωπον, οὐ τὰς δύο φύσεις συνιέντες εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ φύσεις δύο, οὕτω καὶ δύο ὑποστάσεις καὶ δύο υἱοὺς ἔλεγον. οἱ δὲ συνδραμεῖν εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν τὰς δύο δοξάζοντες καὶ αὐτὰς
15 τὰς φύσεις φυρθῆναι καὶ συγχυθῆναι εἰς ἓν δογματίζοντες, καὶ μίαν φύσιν ἐξηλλαγμένην δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεσθῆναι τῶν φύσεων ἀπεδείκνυν. τὰς φύσεις φυρθῆναι καὶ συγχυθῆναι εἰς ἓν δογματίζοντες, καὶ μίαν φύσιν ἐξηλλαγμένην δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεσθῆναι τῶν φύσεων ἀπεδείκνυν.

Ἄλλ' ὁ στίχος οὗτος διὰ μὲν τοῦ Κύριε, ὁ τῆς θείας δηλωτικὸν ἐστὶ φύσεως, τὸν Ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονας αὐτοῦ, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγοντας
20 αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ, ἀποκηρύττει.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὐσίαν δηλοῖ, τὸν Εὐτυχέα καὶ Διόσκορον καὶ τοὺς συμμύστας αὐτῶν ἐπιστομίζει, τοὺς θεὸν μόνον οἰομένους τοῦτον καὶ τῇ θεότητι τὰ πάθη προσαρμόζοντας.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Χριστέ, ὃ ἐστὶ, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπε, τὸν Νεστόριον καὶ τοὺς σὺν
25 αὐτῷ ἀποπαύει, τοὺς διηρημένας ἀλλήλων τὰς ὑποστάσεις εἶναι δοξάζοντας, καὶ δύο υἱοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μυθολογοῦντας καὶ δύο ὑποστάσεις, καὶ μὴ εἶναι Θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοτόκον ἀλλὰ Χριστοτόκον λέγοντας.

1 Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ BDE: Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Ψελλοῦ εἰς τὸ D: Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ C: Ἑρμηνεία solum A 5 ὥραν adest in ABD, deest in CE 6 οὐκ ante ἅμοιρος add. B 8 πασῶν post ἐκπλήρωσιν add. E 11 καὶ² deest in D 11-14 οἱ δὲ ... ὑπόστασιν deest in E 13 οὐ deest in CD(E) συνιέντες ABD: συνάγοντες C 16 δογματίζοντες AB: ἔδογματίζον CDE 27 ἁγίαν ABD: κυρίως C; κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς E

- Διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁ θεός, Θεόδωρον τὸν τῆς Φαρὰν ἐπίσκοπον, Ὀνώριον Ῥώμης,
 30 Σέργιον τε καὶ Πύρρον, Πέτρον τὸν δειλὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς
 ἀποτρέπει. καὶ ληρωδοῦντας ἀποδεικνύει τοὺς σύγχυσιν τολμῶντας λέγειν
 καὶ μίαν φύσιν ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ ἐν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν. ἀσύγχυτον
 τὴν θείαν φύσιν δηλῶν ἀντεῦθεν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, καὶ δύο οὐσίας ἐν
 μιᾷ ὑποστάσει συνηνωμένας παρίστησι.
 35 Καὶ οὕτως [ἀπαρτίζων] τὸ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δόγμα,
 ἐπάγει τὸ *ἡμῶν*, ἀδελφικῶς ἀλλήλους τοὺς πιστοὺς συνάπτων καὶ διὰ τῆς
 ἀγάπης συνδέον, ἐν ἧ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ φημί, τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἅπαν
 ὑπάρχει τὸ πλήρωμα.

- Οὕτω γοῦν τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν περιλαβὼν τὴν συμπλήρωσιν,
 40 προστίθῃσιν τὸ *ἐλέησον*, διὰ γὰρ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῆς
 συμπληρώσεως τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐλεοῦμεθα.

Εἴτα ἐπάγει τὸ *ἡμᾶς*, τῆς ἀγάπης ἐχόμενον, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐπιφέρει τὸ
ἀμήν, ὃ ἐστι, γένοιτο, εὐκτικῶς ἐπικυρῶν τὰ εἰρημένα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ
 βεβαιότητι.

30 δειλὸν ABD: δεινὸν CE 35 οὕτως CDE: οὕτω B, οὕτ (abbr.) A ἀπαρτίζων
 conieci 36-37 συνάπτων ... συνδέον ABCD: συνάπτων ... συνδέον A²E 37-38 τῶν ...
 πλήρωμα: ἐν αὐτῇ ἅπαν τὸ πλήρωμα ὑπάρχει C 37-40 τοῦ νόμου ... τῶν δογμάτων deest
 in E 40-44 διὰ ... βεβαιότητι desunt in E 42 τῆς ἀγάπης ἐχόμενον deest in B
 ἐχόμενον BC: ἐχόμενος AE

COMMENTARY ON THE PRAYER

‘LORD JESUS CHRIST, OUR GOD, HAVE MERCY ON US. AMEN.’

In regard to the prayer, ‘Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have mercy on us. Amen.’, it was not simply by chance and without rhyme or reason that it was passed down to us to be said at all times. For if this prayer is short, it is by no means bereft of doctrinal teachings; rather, it was composed by the holy Fathers with much thought and study along with the aid of the Holy Spirit for the purpose of refuting all heresies and for fulfilling the Lord’s commandments.

Each word is filled with the Lord’s doctrinal teachings and commands and with true orthodoxy. For among the heretics, some used to claim that Christ is a mere man and not also the Son of God. Others claimed that he is solely God and not also perfect man, in that he put on the appearance of the humanity. Others, while confessing that he is both God and man, failed to bring the two natures together in one hypostasis; rather, they maintained that, just as there are two natures, so there are also two hypostases and two sons. Still others, believing that the two come together in one hypostasis and propagating the doctrine that the natures themselves were mixed together and compounded into one reality, advanced proofs to show also that one distinct nature was constituted through both natures.

But by the word 'Lord', which designates the divine nature, this prayer proscribes Arius and those of like mind, who hold that Christ is a mere man and not also Son of God.

By the word 'Jesus', which indicates the human substance, it muzzles Eutyches, Dioscorus and their fellow initiates, who consider him as solely God and who associate the sufferings [of Christ] with the Godhead.

By the word 'Christ', which is an invocation of both God and Man, it puts a stop to Nestorius and his followers, who think the hypostases are separate from each other, who circulate fabulous stories about two sons and two hypostases in the one Christ God, and who hold that the Mother of God is not the holy Theotokos, but rather, Christotokos.

By the word 'God' it deters Theodore, the bishop of Pharan, Honorius of Rome, Sergius and Pyrrhus, Peter the Terrible, and all their cohorts. It shows up the foolish prating of those who dare to speak of confusion, of one distinct nature, of one will and energy. While it points thereby to the divine and human nature unconfused, it affirms also two substances united in one hypostasis.

Completing in this way the orthodox doctrine of Christ, it adds the word 'our', which joins believers fraternally to one another and binds them together through love, in which, namely in love, lies all the fullness of the Law and the commandments.¹⁶

Then, after it has thus embraced the utter fullness of doctrinal teachings and commandments, it adds on the phrase 'have mercy', for we receive mercy through orthodox belief in doctrinal teachings and through fulfilling the commandments.

Then, it adds the words 'on us', which carry the note of love, and concludes with the 'Amen', which means 'May it be so!', confirming in the form of a prayer what was said in truth and surety.

CJP 2

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ. ΑΜΗΝ.

Ἐκάστη λέξις πεπληρωμένη δογμάτων καὶ θεοσοφίας ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῶν αἰρετικῶν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ θεὸν
 5 μόνον κατὰ φαντασίαν ὑποδυόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· οἱ δὲ καὶ θεὸν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ ἄνθρωπον, τὰς δύο φύσεις οὐ συνῆγον εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δύο φύσεις, οὕτω καὶ δύο ὑποστάσεις καὶ υἱοὺς δύο ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ συνδραμεῖν εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν τὰς δύο φύσεις δοξάζοντες, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις φυρθῆναι καὶ συγχυθῆναι εἰς ἑαυτὰς ἐδογματίζον,

1 εἰς τὸ GLOP: τοῦ H; τοῦ στίχου τῷ I; τοῦ στίχου τοῦ JN; τοῦ στίχου τὸ K; τοῦ στίχου M
 2 ἀμὴν deest in GM
 3 θεοσεβείας IM; φιλοσοφίας LP; τε καὶ σοφίας O
 9 φυραθῆναι JKM

¹⁶ Cf. Rom 13:10.

10 καὶ μίαν φύσιν ἐξηλλαγμένην δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεσθῆναι τῶν φύσεων ἀπεφαίνοντο.

Διὰ μὲν τοῦ *Κύριε*, ὃ τῆς θείας δηλωτικόν ἐστι φύσεως, τοὺς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγοντας αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος ἀποκηρύττει.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ *Ἰησοῦ*, ὃ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὐσίαν δηλοῖ, τοὺς θεὸν πάλιν μόνον 15 οἰομένους τοῦτον ἐπιστομίζει.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ *Χριστέ*, τοὺς διηρημένους ἀλλήλων τὰς ὑποστάσεις εἶναι δοξάζοντας ἀποπαύει.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁ *θεός*, τοὺς τὴν σύγχυσιν τολμῶντας λέγειν ἀποτρέπει καὶ ληρωδοῦντας ἀποδεικνύει. ἀσύγχυτον τὴν θείαν φύσιν δηλῶν κἀντεῦθεν 20 δηλαδὴ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, καὶ δύο οὐσίας ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει συνηνωμένας παρίστησιν.

Καὶ οὕτως ἀπαρτίζων τὸ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δόγμα, ἐπάγει τὸ *ἡμῶν*, ἀδελφικῶς ἀλλήλοις τοὺς πιστοὺς συνάπτων καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνδέων, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν περιλαβὼν τὴν συμπληρωσιν, προστίθησι τὸ *ἐλέησον*, διὰ γὰρ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐλεούμεθα.

Εἶτα πάλιν ἐπήγαγε τὸ *ἡμᾶς*, τῆς ἀγάπης ἐχόμενος, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐπήγαγε τὸ *ἀμήν*, ὃ ἐστι, γένοιτο, εὐκτικῶς ἐπικυρῶν τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ 30 ἐπιβεβαιῶν.

Οὕτω παντὸς δογματικοῦ τε καὶ ἐνταλματικοῦ πεπληρωμένος ἀγαθοῦ, ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος στίχος ὑπὸ τῶν θείων πατέρων ἡμῖν παραδέδοται.

11 ἀποφαίνονται G; φίνωντὸ H; ἀπέφανον I; ἀπεφάναντο J; ἀπεφένοντο K; ἀπεμφαίνοντο O 14 πάλιν deest in M μόνον deest in GHN; μόνον πάλιν LP 15 οἰομένους: ἰωμένους HK; ὀρωμένους N τοῦτον GM: τούτους HIJKLNOP ἀποστομίζει JLP 17 δοξάζοντας: νομίζοντας JKN 18 τὴν ante σύγχυσιν deest in HIKLMNOP ἀποτέρεται H; ἀποτρέπεται IJM 19 λοιδοροῦντας HK; ληροῦντες M 22 τὸν deest in JK Χριστοῦ sine articulo KN τὸ ὀρθόδοξον H; ὀρθόδοξον sine articulo IJKMN 23 ἀλλήλους G (ut uid.), J 24 συνδέον HK 25 παραλαβὼν H 27 πληρώσεως LP 29-30 καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα ἐπὶ [...] G; καὶ βεβαιῶν τὰ εἰρημένα H 31-32 desunt in G 32 θείων: ἀγίων LOP ἡμῶν HIJK

COMMENTARY ON THE PRAYER

'LORD JESUS CHRIST, OUR GOD, HAVE MERCY ON US. AMEN.'

Each word is filled with doctrinal instruction and divine wisdom. For among the heretics some used to claim that Christ is a mere man; others, that he is solely God, merely putting on the appearance of the humanity. Others, while confessing that he is both God and man, failed to bring the two natures together in one hypostasis; rather, they maintained that, just as there are two natures, so there are also two hypostases and two sons. Still

others, believing that the two natures come together in one hypostasis, propagated the doctrine that the natures themselves were mixed together and compounded with themselves, and they declared that one distinct nature was constituted from both natures.

By the word 'Lord', which designates the divine nature, this prayer proscribes those who hold him to be a mere man.

By the word 'Jesus', which indicates the human substance, it in turn muzzles those who consider him as solely God.

By the word 'Christ' it puts a stop to those who think that the hypostases are separate from each other.

By the word 'God' it dissuades those who dare to speak of confusion and shows up their foolish prating. While it points clearly thereby to the divine and human nature unconfused, it affirms also two substances united in one hypostasis.

Completing in this way the orthodox doctrine of Christ, it adds the word 'our', joining believers fraternally to one another and binding them together through love, in which is found all the fullness of the Law and the commandments.¹⁷

So then, after it has embraced the utter fullness of doctrinal teaching and the commandments, it adds on the phrase 'have mercy', for we receive mercy through orthodox belief in doctrinal teachings and through fulfilling the commandments.

Then, in turn, it added the words 'on us' to carry the note of love and concluded with the 'Amen', which means 'May it be so!', confirming and ratifying what was said in the form of a prayer.

And so, this brief prayer is handed down to us by the divine Fathers, filled with every kind of teaching and commandment concerning what is good.

CJP 3

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ. ΑΜΗΝ.

Παντὸς δογματικοῦ τε καὶ ἐνταλματικοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πεπληρωμένος
 ὑπάρχων ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος στίχος ὑπὸ τῶν θείων πατέρων ἡμῖν παραδέδο-
 5 ται. ἐκάστη γὰρ λέξις πεπληρωμένη δογμάτων καὶ θεοσοφίας ἐστί. οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ τῶν αἰρετικῶν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ θεὸν
 μόνον κατὰ φαντασίαν ὑποδυόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· οἱ δὲ καὶ θεὸν
 ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ ἄνθρωπον, τὰς δύο φύσεις οὐ συνῆγον εἰς μίαν ὑπό-
 στασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ φύσεις δύο, οὕτω καὶ δύο ὑποστάσεις καὶ δύο υἱοὺς

1 τοῦ Ψελλοῦ ST; Ψελλοῦ V, τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ W ἐρμηνεία deest in V εἰς
 τὸ QSTV: τοῦ RU 2 ἀμήν deest in U 3 ἀγαθῶν ST 4 ἡμῖν QSTV: ἡμῶν RU
 5 θεοσεβείας ST; σοφίας W 9 υἱοὺς δύο Q

¹⁷ Cf. Rom 13:10.

- 10 ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ συνδραμεῖν εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν τὰς δύο φύσεις δοξάζοντες, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις φυρθῆναι καὶ συγχυθῆναι εἰς ἑαυτὰς ἐδογματίζον, καὶ μίαν φύσιν ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεσθῆναι τῶν φύσεων ἀπεφάναντο.

Διὰ μὲν τοῦ *Κύριε*, ὁ τῆς θείας δηλωτικὸν φύσεώς ἐστι, τοὺς ψιλὸν

- 15 ἄνθρωπον λέγοντας αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος ἀποκηρύττει.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ *Ἰησοῦ*, ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὐσίαν δηλοῖ, τοὺς θεὸν πάλιν μόνον οἰομένους τοῦτον ἐπιστομίζει.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ *Χριστέ*, τοὺς διηρημένας ἀλλήλων τὰς ὑποστάσεις εἶναι δοξάζοντας ἀποπαύει.

- 20 Διὰ δὲ τοῦ *ὁ θεός*, τοὺς σύγχυσιν τολμώντας λέγειν ἀποτρέπει καὶ ληρωδοῦντας ἀποδεικνύει. ἀσύγχυτον τὴν θείαν φύσιν δηλῶν κἀντεῦθεν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, καὶ δύο οὐσίας ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει συνηνωμένας παρίστησι.

- Καὶ οὕτως ἀπαρτίζων τὸ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δόγμα, 25 ἐπάγει τὸ *ἡμῶν*, ἀδελφικῶς ἀλλήλοις τοὺς πιστοὺς συνάπτων καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνδέων, ἐν ἧ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἅπαν ὑπάρχει τὸ πλήρωμα.

Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν περιλαβὼν τὴν συμπληρωσιν, προστίθησι τὸ *ἐλέησον*, διὰ γὰρ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τῶν δογμάτων

- 30 καὶ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐλεούμεθα.

Εἶτα πάλιν ἐπήγαγε τὸ ἡμᾶς, τῆς ἀγάπης ἐχόμενος, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐπήγαγε τὸ *ἀμήν*, ὃ ἐστι, γένοιτο, εὐκτικῶς ἐπικυρῶν τὰ εἰρημένα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ βεβαιότητι.

Addenda

Dr. Paul Moore passed on to me some information he recently obtained from Professor E. Litsas which has enabled me to make the following identifications:

Lavra K3 (1290), fols. 220v-221r = CJP 2

Lavra K41 (1328), fol. 199r-v = CJP 3 (with the author attribution τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελλοῦ)

Lavra A135 (1626), fol. 451r-v = CJP 1.

This information should be noted in reference to what was said on p. 214 above.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

- 11 δύο ante φύσεις add. QR φυραθῆναι QRV 13 ἀπεφαίνοντο QST 14 καὶ ante διὰ add. R φύσεώς ἐστι transp. ante δηλωτικόν R; δηλωτικόν ante ἐστι transp. ST; δηλωτικόν post ἐστι transp. U 17 ἰομένους Q; ἰωμένους S; οἰωμένους T^{ac}, οἰομένους T^{pc} τοῦτον deest in RU; τούτους V 18 ὑποστάσεις; φύσεις RU 20 ὁ deest in RUV
21 λοιρωδοῦντας R; λοιρωδοῦντας S 24 τὸ ante περὶ deest in Q τῶν deest in RU
ὀρθόδοξον U 25 ἀλλήλους STV τοῖς πιστοῖς QRST 26 συνδέον U ὑπάρχων Q
28 παραλαβὼν RU 31 ἐπάγει RU 32 ἐπήνεγκε QST

ANY CORNER OF HEAVEN: HELOISE'S CRITIQUE OF MONASTICISM

Linda Georgianna

IN *Héloïse and Abélard*, Étienne Gilson wrote:

The correspondence of Héloïse and Abélard lies open in front of us. We can gloss it to our hearts' content, and search for newer and stranger hypotheses to explain its origin. A lot of this kind of thing has been done already, and no doubt the future will see a great deal more of it. But the wisest and most convincing of all hypotheses is that Héloïse is still the author of the letters of Héloïse and Abélard of those of Abélard. If there are decisive or even urgent reasons for admitting the contrary, they have not yet come to light, ...¹

How contemporary these words seem in light of recent criticism on the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise. Beginning in 1972 with John F. Benton's challenging argument that the letters falsely attributed to Heloise and Abelard were the product of an elaborate pattern of 'fraud, fiction, and borrowing', an intense reexamination of the authenticity question followed, capped in 1980 by Benton's own stunning retraction of most of his earlier arguments and tentative move toward yet another, less elaborate but no less hypothetical, theory of inauthenticity.² Reluctantly

¹ (Paris, 1938; 2nd revised edition, 1948), trans. L. K. Shook (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), p. 166. In this article I have used for all letters except Abelard's so-called *Historia calamitatum* and Heloise's so-called *Problemata* the excellent edition of J. T. Muckle, 'The Personal Letters between Abelard and Heloise', *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953) 47-94 and 'The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply', *ibid.* 17 (1955) 240-81. In the notes that follow, I will cite these letters by number and page according to Muckle's editions (for example, 5.246=Letter 5, p. 246). For the *Historia calamitatum*, I have used the third edition of Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1967). The *Problemata* appear in PL 178.677-730. Most of the correspondence, with the exception of the *Problemata*, has been translated along with several additional relevant documents by Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (Baltimore, 1974). There is some confusion concerning how the letters should be numbered. Both Muckle and Radice number the letters beginning with Heloise's first letter, rather than with Abelard's autobiographical letter to a friend which in fact seems to initiate Heloise's letters. Thus the letter with which this essay is primarily concerned, Heloise's third letter, is referred to as Letter 5 here, following Muckle's edition, but as Letter 6 in many other studies.

² 'Fraud, Fiction and Borrowing in the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise' in *Pierre Abélard — Pierre le Vénérable* (Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 546; Paris, 1975), pp. 469-506; see also the extensive debate following this controversial address, pp. 507-11, and 'A Reconsideration of the Authenticity of the Correspondence of Abelard

agreeing that no convincing evidence has emerged to disprove the theory that Abelard wrote the letters attributed to him, Benton now suggests that Abelard probably wrote Heloise's letters too. The arguments offered for this new hypothesis are tenuous at best; but more importantly they seem largely to repeat earlier arguments considered and rejected long ago by Gilson and others.³ Nevertheless, Benton's newest claims seemed to demand a response, and Peter Dronke has recently offered an updated and more specific version of the textual arguments first advanced by Gilson in answer to Bernhard Schmeidler and Charlotte Charrier, Benton's predecessors in this debate.⁴ Peter von Moos recently argued after considering Benton's latest claims that, in the absence of substantial new developments, we set aside for now the authenticity issue which, in spite of its positive effects, has tended to eclipse all other issues concerning the correspondence.⁵ Dronke would seem to agree in that he isolates his most recent brief comments on the authenticity question in an afterword appended to his extended and sensitive literary study of Heloise's letters. Having come full circle, we find ourselves once again without any 'urgent reasons' to doubt what the manuscript tradition unfailingly asserts, namely, that Abelard and Heloise wrote the letters attributed to them.

and Heloise' in *Petrus Abaelardus (1079-1142): Person, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Rudolf Thomas et al. (Trierer Theologische Studien 38; Trier, 1980), pp. 41-52. These two important volumes of essays will hereafter be cited as *Colloque* and *Trier 1980*. Benton's retraction was due largely to the convincing refutation of his earlier arguments by Chrysogonus Waddell, in still unpublished research.

³ What we might call the classic arguments against the authenticity of the correspondence were made by: Ludovic Lalanne, 'Quelques doutes sur l'authenticité de la correspondance amoureuse d'Héloïse et d'Abélard', *La correspondance littéraire* 1 (1856) 27-33; Bernhard Schmeidler, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise: eine Fälschung', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 11 (1913) 1-30, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise als eine literarische Fiktion Abälards', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 54 (1935) 323-38, and 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abaelard und Heloise dennoch eine literarische Fiction Abaelards', *Revue bénédictine* 52 (1940) 85-95; Charlotte Charrier, *Héloïse dans l'histoire et dans la légende* (Paris, 1933), especially pp. 3-30, 182-229. It was these arguments that Gilson countered in *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 145-66. Numerous summaries, refinements and reevaluations have followed the Schmeidler-Gilson debate. See especially: Muckle, 'Personal Letters', 48-67; Jacques Monfrin, 'Le problème de l'authenticité de la correspondance d'Abélard et d'Héloïse' in *Colloque*, pp. 409-24; Peter von Moos, *Mittelalterforschung und Ideologiekritik: Der Gelehrtenstreit um Heloise* (Kritische Information 15; Munich, 1974) and 'Was kommt nach der Authentizitätsdebatte über die Briefe Abaelards und Heloises?' in *Trier 1980*, pp. 75-100; D. E. Luscombe, 'The Letters of Abelard and Heloise since "Cluny 1972"' in *Trier 1980*, pp. 19-39. The most innovative approaches to appear since Gilson's study, in addition to von Moos' studies just cited, are Peter M. Dronke, *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies* (Glasgow, 1976) and Jean LeClercq's 'Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts', *Speculum* 48 (1973) 476-90. The most recent contributions to the authenticity debate are cited below in n. 4.

⁴ 'Excursus: Did Abelard Write Heloise's Third Letter?' in *Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 140-43. For a different but equally compelling argument which can be read as a response to both of Benton's theories, see C. S. Jaeger, 'The Prologue to the *Historia calamitatum* and the "Authenticity Question"', *Euphorion* 74 (1980) 1-15.

⁵ 'Was kommt nach der Authentizitätsdebatte', 75-100.

Thus it seems appropriate that we follow von Moos' advice, and Gilson's as well, and get on with investigating the contents, context, and style of the letters, all subjects which deserve further attention and which may ultimately cast more light on the authenticity debate than more narrowly conceived studies devoted solely to that issue.⁶

In connection with Heloise's letters in particular several crucial questions remain. While the unity and context of Abelard's letters to Heloise have been thoughtfully explored, it is the disunity of Heloise's letters to Abelard that dominates criticism.⁷ Even though most scholars now see no reason to doubt the historical authenticity of Heloise's letters, they have frequently raised questions concerning authenticity of a different sort, asking, in effect, which is the more 'authentic' Heloise, the 'très sage Heloys' so admired by her medieval contemporaries as the holy abbess of the Paraclete who apparently composed the final two extant letters to Abelard dealing with monastic and biblical questions, or the 'woman of sensuous mind' apparently revealed in the early letters, the grieving, inconsolable lover of Abelard who is haunted by memories of the past, and whose persistent, unrequited passion is so familiar to readers throughout the Western world.⁸ A sharp break between what we might call a serious and a sensuous Heloise is reinforced by editors who divide the correspondence into two distinct halves and invent separate titles for them, such as 'The Personal Letters' and 'The Letters of Direction'.⁹

⁶ Leclercq's study of the relationship between psychology and rhetoric in the letters is a good example of how more broadly based studies can help to resolve the authenticity question. See 'Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts', cited above in n. 3. See also Jaeger, 'The Prologue to the *Historia calamitatum*', and Luscombe, 'The Letters of Heloise and Abelard', 23-31.

⁷ On the unity of concerns in Abelard's letters see Mary Martin McLaughlin, 'Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women: Twelfth Century "Feminism" in Theory and Practice' in *Colloque*, pp. 287-333.

⁸ Not only have Heloise's first two letters been adapted and translated into many languages and literary forms, but this romantic Heloise has also been recreated for Caedmon Records by Claire Bloom, reading from Heloise's early letters opposite Claude Rains' Abelard. (The other side contains readings from The Song of Songs.) D. W. Robertson, Jr., *Abelard and Heloise* (New York, 1972), pp. 54, 120-24, argues that medieval readers would have responded only to the holy and wise Heloise (whom he identifies as the 'historical Heloise') and that the notion of a romantic Heloise is an anachronism, a theory which Dronke forcefully counters in *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies*. Muckle, Heloise's editor, is suspicious of the authenticity of parts of Heloise's first two letters primarily because of the split they suggest between 'a religious superior bound by religious vows, and ... a woman of sensual mind, serving Abelard and not God' ('Personal Letters', 59). On the 'myth of Heloise' tragically bound to her love for Abelard see von Moos, 'Le silence d'Héloïse', 425-30 and passim, who calls this romantic myth 'a vulgarization' of the more complex story that the letters tell.

⁹ Radice, *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, uses these titles. Muckle's edition distinguishes similarly between 'The Personal Letters' and those 'on Religious Life'. Muckle is so concerned to keep the 'personal' material intact that he prints the opening of Heloise's third letter twice, at the end of the

Most criticism has focused on the so-called personal letters, whose dramatic, detailed self-analysis make them anomalous in the literature of the period. Heloise's third letter, her longest and most learned by far, in which she examines the monastic life of women and requests a new religious rule, is treated far less often and with much less enthusiasm.¹⁰ R. W. Southern's estimate of Abelard's two responses to Heloise's request might well be extended by most readers to apply equally to Heloise's third letter: 'They are by no means readable and they are seldom read. They have no personal interest.'¹¹ For many critics, feminist, romantic, and more clerically-minded alike, Heloise's third letter represents primarily an act of submission or repression of her personal experience, a willed silence on the subject of her love for Abelard and her grief over losing him. Too often this letter is dismissed as providing evidence only of Heloise's conversion or her capitulation to Abelard's personal power or the power of his arguments.¹² Gilson, one of the few earlier critics to analyze the letter in any detail, does so apart from his extensive and subtle reading of the first two letters and in a very different historical context, reserving his study of Heloise's ideas about religious life for his conclusion, in which he depicts Heloise as a proto-Renaissance thinker.¹³ Among more recent critics, only Dronke has treated Heloise's third letter as worthy of serious attention, especially as it sheds light on the continuity of her letters.¹⁴

This article will explore the significance of Heloise's third and most neglected letter, especially when viewed in the context of contemporary controversies concerning the monastic life as well as other forms of spirituality. This discussion should help us to see that, in fact, Heloise's concerns in this letter rather closely resemble ideas expressed in other letters. Although primarily concerned with Heloise's third letter, the aim of this essay throughout is to suggest that we can understand better both Heloise and those aspects of twelfth-century spirituality which she epitomizes if we treat her works as a coherent and imaginative whole,

so-called personal letters and again at the beginning of the so-called religious letters, because he judges it to be 'of a personal character' ('Letter of Heloise', 240).

¹⁰ For discussions or descriptions of this letter see: Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 134-40; Charrier, *Héloïse dans l'histoire et la légende*, pp. 220-29; Peter M. Dronke, 'Heloise and Marianne: Some Reconsiderations', *Romanische Forschungen* 72 (1960) 236-40 and 'Heloise' in *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 127-34.

¹¹ 'The Letters of Abelard and Heloise' in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York, 1970), p. 101.

¹² See, for example, Peggy Kamuf, *Fictions of Feminine Desire: Disclosures of Heloise* (Lincoln, Neb., 1982). In her perceptive study of Heloise's first two letters, she dismisses the third letter as evidence that Heloise 'capitulates to Abelard's consistent substitution of the Christian symbolic context for the personal, erotic one', and incorrectly identifies Heloise's tone in the opening of her third letter as 'almost cynical' (pp. 8-9).

¹³ *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 134-43.

¹⁴ 'Heloise and Marianne: Some Reconsiderations', 236-40, and especially 'Heloise', 127-34.

rather than as a disjointed series of documents, explicable only in terms of forgery, interpolation, or repression.

In arguing for the unity of the letters, it is not necessary to assert the simple and neatly sequential development that some readers have found there, namely, the exemplary story of how Abelard was first converted himself, then converted Heloise from worldly love to the religious life. The literary model frequently invoked by these readers is the popular conversion narrative, and the supposed gap between Heloise's second and third letters is to be explained by Heloise's private and unrecorded moment of conversion, in which she dramatically renounces her past and embraces a new life of devotion.¹⁵ One finds no evidence anywhere in her works that Heloise renounces her past, or that she translates her previously complex analysis of her history into the simple 'before' and 'after' pattern of oppositions so prominent in conversion stories of the period, including Abelard's own. On the contrary, the difficulty of converting or dismissing one's memories is a large part of Heloise's subject throughout her correspondence with Abelard; it is the *absence* of a traditional conversion experience that informs the whole of her correspondence with Abelard and her notion of the spiritual life as well. Heloise is as eager to 'authenticate' her experience as scholars are to authenticate her letters. But she rejects all externally imposed models, literary as well as spiritual, that presume a conventional conversion, seeking instead a new spiritual model which adequately describes her complex spiritual state.¹⁶

In her first two letters, Heloise examines her personal history. She dwells particularly on the devastating emotional and spiritual consequences of her inability to repent of her worldly love for Abelard, in spite of having lived for many years,

¹⁵ On the exemplary nature of the correspondence see: Robertson, *Abelard and Heloise*, pp. 119-35; Benton, 'Fraud, Fiction and Borrowing', 473; von Moos, 'Le silence d'Héloïse', 431 n. 12 and 456-68; and Luscombe's review of the issue in 'Letters of Heloise and Abelard', 25-31. On many points, my views are in sympathy with those of von Moos, and I am frequently indebted to his discursive essay. Yet I am finally confused by von Moos's so-called method, the elaboration of which takes up much of his lengthy article. On the one hand, he deplores 'the method of interpreting works according to the norms of our own times', yet he never does tell us just how we are to arrive at the sought after 'objective' view. He suggests, following Jauss, that we attend carefully to the earliest reception of Heloise's works, but factual evidence in this area is thin, as von Moos admits, and seems contradictory. Such evidence requires as much interpretation as the letters themselves. Finally, von Moos acknowledges that none of us can be 'pure medievalists' (p. 463). The distinction between the 'impure' medievalist who, like von Moos himself, 'leaves traces of the values which are interesting to him' and the apparently 'naïve' medievalist who interprets 'according to the norms of his own times' remains unclear. Perhaps it is simply that the one, like Heloise herself, confesses his true position, while the other conceals it. The question then becomes the extent to which the 'confusion' should be the central focus of literary criticism.

¹⁶ Dronke, 'Heloise', 130 makes a similar point. On the absence of a traditional conversion experience, see also Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 95-97.

outwardly at least, the penitential life as defined in the Rule of St. Benedict. In her third letter, rather than repressing or converting her past, Heloise begins to generalize from her own experience, transforming what had seemed a unique spiritual predicament into a theoretical exploration of some basic assumptions of the monastic life as conceived by St. Benedict. Her assessment of the institution of monasticism can be seen as growing directly out of her previous descriptions of her own experience of the wide gap between her turbulent spiritual life and the seemingly static, external religious rule which she professes and teaches as Abbess of the Paraclete. In her third letter, Heloise moves away from viewing hers as solely a personal predicament caused by a particular and unjust set of circumstances and toward a highly sympathetic view of all Christians alike, men and women, monks and laymen, called to spiritual love, yet weak and troubled, bending frequently under the heavy burden of the Law, and more in need of spiritual comfort and direction than of prescriptive rules governing external behavior. If we view the correspondence of Heloise as a whole, we can trace the progress of a kind of evangelical awakening, to use Chenu's term for the twelfth-century apostolic movement which eventually brought widespread spiritual and institutional reform, especially in the area of lay spirituality.¹⁷ In her exploration of the relationship between external religious rules and an *unruly* inner life, between the most revered, traditional spiritual goals on the one hand and the most worldly memories and desires on the other, Heloise moves away from a theology of perfection as defined by Abelard and St. Benedict as well; instead, she challenges Abelard and later spiritual writers to provide a new kind of rule for the inner life.¹⁸

What many would see as the gap between the sensuous and the serious Heloise, or the unconverted and the converted Heloise, occurs immediately after the opening paragraphs of her third letter. Because this passage is often referred to but rarely quoted, it deserves to be given here in full:

So that you cannot reprove me as disobedient in any way, I have imposed the curb of your injunction even on the words of my immoderate grief, so that in writing at least I may temper what is not so much difficult as in fact impossible to control in speaking. For nothing is less under our control than the heart; rather than being able to command it, we are forced to obey it. And so when its desires stimulate us, no one can repel their sudden impulses from easily breaking forth into action and more easily flowing into words, which are the ever-ready signs of the heart's passions.

¹⁷ *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century. Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), especially 'Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life', pp. 202-38, and 'The Evangelical Awakening', pp. 239-69.

¹⁸ For somewhat differing but often sympathetic views of the structure of Heloise's letters seen as a whole, see: Monfrin, 'Le problème de l'authenticité', 419-21; von Moos, 'Le silence d'Héloïse', 425-68; and Dronke, 'Heloise', 127-39.

Thus it is written: 'Out of the overflowing of the heart, the mouth speaks.' I will restrain my hand, therefore, from writing words that I cannot hold back my tongue from speaking. Would that the heart that grieves were as ready to obey as the hand that writes.

Yet you have the power to bring some remedy for my grief, even if you cannot entirely remove it. For, as one nail is inserted to drive out another, so a new thought expels the old, when the heart intent on other things is forced to dismiss or interrupt its remembrance of the past. But, in fact, so much the more does any thought occupy the heart or lead it away from other things as *what* is thought is judged the more worthy and *where* we direct our heart seems the more compelling (*necessarium*).¹⁹

Although all readers agree that this passage marks a turning point in the correspondence, there is no consensus on what this turning signifies. Those who would see the correspondence as a spiritual conversion narrative locate the signs of it here. Yet few of these readers provide any textual analysis to support their claim. Robertson takes this paragraph as proof of Heloise's conversion, but the only evidence he cites is the fact that Heloise never again writes of her passion:

... Abelard's [second] letter proved efficacious, for in her reply Heloise says nothing further about her personal difficulties, but asks instead for instruction on the origin of nuns, and for a rule that she and her nuns may follow at the Paraclete. ... There is no further talk about abandoning the Paraclete, but instead an expressed desire for Abelard, the founder, to establish its rule. ... Heloise, that is, has now resolutely turned away from worldly joy and worldly sorrow to devote herself wholeheartedly to her profession.²⁰

¹⁹ 5.241-42: 'Ne me forte in aliquo de inobedientia causari queas, verbis etiam immoderati doloris tuae frenum impositum est iussionis ut ab his mihi saltem in scribendo temperem a quibus in sermone non tam difficile quam impossibile est providere. Nihil enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus, eique magis obedire cogimur quam imperare possimus. Unde et cum nos eius affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit ut non in effecta facile prorumpant, et se per verba facilius effluant quae promptiores animi passionum sunt notae, secundum quod scriptum est: *Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur*. Revocabo itaque manum a scripto in quibus linguam a verbis temperare non valeo. Utinam sic animus dolentis parere promptus sit quemadmodum dextra scribentis.'

Aliquod tamen dolori remedium vales conferre si non hunc omnino possis auferre. Ut enim insertum clavum alius expellit, sic cogitatio nova priorem excludit cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitur aut intermittere. Tanto vero amplius cogitatio quaelibet animum occupat, et ab aliis deducit, quanto quod cogitatur honestius aestimatur, et quo intendimus animum magis videtur necessarium.' Translations from the Latin are my own, although they are often indebted to the excellent translation of Radice, *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*. I have also consulted the translation of C. K. Scott Moncrieff, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (London, 1925).

²⁰ *Abelard and Heloise*, pp. 134-35. It is difficult to see how anything in Heloise's previous letters can be interpreted as 'talk about abandoning the Paraclete'. On the contrary, Heloise's loyalty to the Paraclete and to her responsibilities as fosterer of the abbey's interests are evident throughout the correspondence. On Heloise as an effective patroness of the Paraclete, see Luscombe, 'The Letters of Heloise and Abelard', 22-23.

Dronke, however, more willing than Robertson to read literary texts closely, points out that in this passage Heloise's silence on the subject of her grief is imposed from without, by Abelard, and accepted by Heloise reluctantly at best, hardly characteristics to be desired in a conversion exemplum. Furthermore, Heloise explicitly and repeatedly distinguishes here between interior and exterior reality, between the words that issue from the heart and those written by the hand. Since genuine conversion, as Heloise well knows, is an affair of the heart, it would seem that she is pointedly forewarning her reader not to confuse what Robertson calls a 'sincere interest in her profession' with proof of interior conversion.²¹ Heloise's willed silence concerning her heart's grief does not justify reading into that silence proof of conversion. In fact, as Dronke has pointed out, silence about the details of one's conversion would be unusual, to say the least, in a conversion exemplum, the climax of which is typically some unmistakable sign of God's grace (the miraculous voice of a child singing 'Take up and read' in St. Augustine's conversion story is a good example).²² If Heloise's correspondence is to be classed as an exemplary conversion narrative, it is of a kind so different from those preceding it as to require a redefinition of the genre.²³

If Robertson reads Heloise's silence as evidence of her conversion, many others have read the same silence concerning her grief as evidence that she persisted heroically in her passion for Abelard.²⁴ Even Gilson, far more sensitive to the subtleties of Heloise's thought than most critics, cautiously interprets Heloise's silence to mean that she probably persisted in her passion, and even 'gloried' in

²¹ Robertson's description of Heloise's turn as 'whole-hearted' is particularly unfortunate given what Heloise says here about her heart.

²² See 'Heloise', 129. For a useful account of the popular conversion narrative see Jean-Charles Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale (des origines à 1230)* (Geneva, 1967), pp. 33-44.

²³ Lester K. Little, 'Intellectual Training and Attitudes toward Reform, 1075-1150' in *Colloque*, p. 245 notes 'an obvious and great need for a study of medieval conversion experience.' In the twelfth century, the term 'conversio' (literally 'turning') could refer to several quite different events or states: the dramatic and often sudden change of heart so often described in conversion stories; the less dramatic change marked by one's entry to life in a monastery; or, simply, the monastic life itself. Abelard and Heloise frequently use the term (they use *conversio* and *conversatio* interchangeably) to refer to their entrance into religious life, and both make clear that this original 'conversio' bore no relationship to true spiritual conversion or change of heart, because, as Abelard says, their change of life was instigated by shame alone rather than by grace (see Monfrin, *Historia calamitatum*, II. 623-625). While in his later letters Abelard prefers to gloss over the differences between the two kinds of conversion, implying that spiritual conversion inevitably follows upon entrance to monastic life, Heloise almost always follows her use of the term 'conversio' with some ironic reminder of the gap she continues to perceive between true conversion and her hasty entrance into religious life at Abelard's command.

²⁴ For abundant evidence of the tendency by critics to 'read' Heloise's silence as the sign of her heroic passion, see von Moos, 'Le silence d'Héloïse', 425-30.

it. Following his complex analysis of the spiritual torment described in Heloise's first two letters, Gilson writes:

Nothing, not a single line, justifies our thinking that she ever changed [in her grief over her loss of Abélard]. Urged by Abélard to adopt an attitude towards God more in conformity with her state, she prefers to change the topic; for as long as Abélard was there, it would be quite impossible for her not to start in all over again. Thus Héloïse is reduced to silence, but for the same motives that ruled all her other acts—obedience. ... We never know whether this was a disciplinary silence, once more carrying out the will of Abélard, or whether it was a kind of reconciliation to the will of God. We shall never know, and there are few reasons, humanly speaking, to suspect the latter. The iron will she everywhere displayed would hardly allow her to betray the passion in which she gloried. She could refuse to speak about it. But nothing from her pen has ever denied it.²⁵

One can sense in this passage Gilson's struggle not to draw conclusions impossible to prove from Heloise's silence. Yet the question of Heloise's conversion is most intriguing, and it is difficult, once drawn into it, not to choose sides. But such choices, based as they are upon 'reading' silences, go beyond the limits of literary analysis and become what Gilson labels his, 'human' choices. Perhaps less critical concern with Heloise's silence would lead us to examine more closely the subjects about which she chose *not* to be silent. Heloise's third letter does not offer evidence of a conversion in any conventional sense. But it does suggest that the kind of conversion she seeks is not the traditional event, sudden and miraculous, but rather an intellectual, emotional, and spiritual process, slow and painful at times, whose success is always reversible and always in doubt.

Only if we are intent on reading what is not there can we fail to follow the logic of this letter's *exordium*, in which Heloise lends urgency and force to her request by closely linking her personal with her institutional concerns. Her argument seems rather straightforward: I can and will control my written words to you, but thus far, Heloise says, I have found it 'difficult', even 'impossible', to control my spoken words, which issue directly from my heart's immoderate grief. My situation is not unusual, for the heart is notoriously uncontrollable. But a remedy is still possible and is entirely in your power. A new subject for reflection, one as compelling as my preoccupation with our past, might 'dismiss or interrupt' my old thoughts. The subject that Heloise proposes concerns religious history and monastic rules for women, and she asks Abélard to provide her with specific materials for thought: a history of the order of nuns and a new rule for the women of the Paraclete.

Although clear and forceful, Heloise's request is not without ironies which only become evident as we read through the letter that follows. Heloise's request to

²⁵ *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 101-102.

Abelard, couched in the tender terms of courtly love, claims that Abelard alone has the power 'to bring some remedy' for Heloise's grief by redirecting her thoughts. Yet, in the long, closely argued and immensely learned letter that follows, Heloise demonstrates that she is prepared to do the job herself.²⁶ For as she becomes increasingly engaged in her analysis of the monastic duties imposed upon women, she writes with the same passion and intensity of thought that she earlier brought to her analysis of her personal life.²⁷ Such intensity is not surprising once we see how closely related the two subjects are in fact. Of course, Heloise here as elsewhere depends heavily upon Abelard's thought for key ideas in her argument. Not only is Abelard's dialectical style evident in the spirit of open inquiry which Heloise brings to her examination of the Benedictine Rule, but also several of Abelard's most fundamental moral principles underlie Heloise's analysis of the religious life. Yet the fact remains that it is Heloise, not Abelard, who first applies these principles to the subject of monastic life. Abelard's reputation as a monastic reformer, as recently described by McLaughlin, rests largely on his two treatises written in response to Heloise's letter, treatises in which Abelard frequently makes use of slightly altered versions of Heloise's arguments.²⁸ Thus the grieving wife's modest request to her husband for guidance is not quite as humble and submissive as it might first appear. There is a further and perhaps greater irony in this request, which will become apparent after we have studied briefly the substance of Heloise's analysis of the Rule of St. Benedict.²⁹

We will return again to the opening of Heloise's third letter, but here only one further observation should be made, and that concerns the serious claims Heloise makes for the subject of this often-neglected letter. Having established her heart's grief as an extremely powerful, and up to now at least, inevitable preoccupation,

²⁶ Kamuf, *Fictions of Feminine Desire*, p. 17 discusses 'the pretext of submission', arguing that Heloise's strategy is always to 'keep alive the possibility of an erotic subtext'. See also Dronke, 'Heloise', 134.

²⁷ Dronke, in a stylistic analysis of Heloise's letters, notes frequent examples of the same 'highly-wrought diction' in her third letter as that which predominates in her previous letters; see 'Heloise's *Problemata* and *Letters*: Some Question of Form and Content' in *Trier 1980*, p. 55.

²⁸ See 'Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women' (cited above, n. 7).

²⁹ See also Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 134-40 on the ironies of Heloise's apparently 'harmless' request. In seeming to disguise her intent, Heloise is by no means being coy. Instead she may find herself caught between two conflicting ideologies recently described by Penny Shine Gold as follows: 'The Christian monastic experience for women was characterized by a basic contradiction entirely absent from the male experience. On the one hand, monastic life offered one of the few non-domestic outlets for women's capabilities and talents and provided for both education and a certain degree of autonomy. ... On the other hand, female religious in the Christian tradition rarely, if ever, were able to achieve full autonomy or independence from male scrutiny, and women's ability to enter and enjoy the religious life was circumscribed by an ideology of feminine weakness that implied that female religious were unable to manage their own affairs' (*The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* [Chicago, 1985], p. 76).

Heloise works here to persuade Abelard that her new concern is equally compelling. In a sentence awkward to translate because it is so repetitive in its emphasis, Heloise forcefully asserts an equality between her old subject and her proposed new direction:

So much the more fully does any thought occupy the heart and lead it away from other things as what is thought is judged the more worthy, and where we direct our heart seems the more compelling (*necessarium*).³⁰

Her new project, she reiterates a few lines later, is 'absolutely necessary' (*admodum necessaria*), perhaps as commanding as the subject of her grief had been.

Thus, unlike many readers who would dismiss or slight Heloise's new concerns, she herself does not grant to her preoccupation with the past a higher rank than the subject of monastic life. She does say that the process of shifting from personal to institutional analysis is not easy: the image of one nail driving out another, borrowed from Cicero or perhaps Jerome, suggests a painful ordeal.³¹ But the process can succeed. Rather than being 'cynical', as one critic has described her,³² Heloise in fact moves from near-despair to hope in the great turn of this passage, in which she resolutely proposes a possible remedy for her grief, even as she describes the process of diverting her heart as difficult. Although Heloise portrays herself here as the victim of an uncontrollable heart, she neither glorifies her position nor assumes it is irremediable. If, as some critics argue, Heloise is awaiting either Abelard's return or God's call to conversion, she does not propose to wait in hopeless silence. The process Heloise proposes in the elaborate opening of this letter involves a willed act of imagination and intellect, her own more than Abelard's. Her study of the monastic life of women is not a dry, disinterestedly chosen piece of research, nor a sign of resignation or submission, but a subject chosen because she judges it to be as 'necessary' to her life as her passion for Abelard, and, for that reason, perhaps able to affect and even cure her grief.

Nevertheless, Heloise was by no means alone in judging the subject of religious rules and the monastic life as a 'worthy' subject at this time. For her own reasons and from her own perspective, Heloise in this third letter to Abelard joins the growing contemporary debate among religious groups over the meaning and purpose of the religious life. Beginning early in the twelfth century, with the rise of conservative Cistercian influence on the one hand, and the demands of the newly reformed Augustinian canons on the other, questions concerning the

³⁰ 5.242; see above, n. 15.

³¹ Muckle cites Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* 4.35.75 for this passage (5.242 n. 12), but both Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, p. 188 n. 21 and Dronke, 'Heloise', 305 n. 39 suggest that Heloise's wording more closely resembles Jerome, *Epist.* 125.14, which Heloise also cites in the *Problemata*.

³² See above, n. 12.

authority and the appropriateness of religious rules, especially the influential Rule of St. Benedict, began to reshape monastic intellectual life and ultimately redefined lay spirituality as well.³³ The quarrel between traditional Black Benedictines and the newer White Cistercians centered on their varying interpretations of the Benedictine Rule; each group justified its particular practices as more true to the spirit or the letter of St. Benedict's venerated Rule. The non-monastic canons, under pressure from both monastic groups to reform by allying themselves with an established religious order, added fuel to the controversy and expanded its scope by rejecting the Benedictine rule model and inventing an altogether new rule, the so-called Rule of St. Augustine. Ultimately, the controversy over the legitimacy of this or that rule, and over this or that interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, had effects beyond the religious houses themselves, as first preachers and schoolmen, and then the new friars at the beginning of the next century, denounced the legalism and presumption of all man-made rules and turned instead to the Gospel as the only truly 'legitimate rule' for Christians to follow.³⁴

But in spite of such broad, long-range effects, the debate over the authenticity and meaning of the Rule of St. Benedict was often, especially in its early phase, highly polemical and sometimes petty. Benedictine and Cistercian commentaries of the early and mid-twelfth century strongly suggest that this was, in its beginning at least, an insider's quarrel, one in which criticism concerning the length of another order's sleeves could carry real bite.³⁵ Heloise's contribution to the debate

³³ The best recent studies of the Cluniac-Cistercian debate are: Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* ([Kent, Ohio], 1977), pp. 21-32; David Knowles, 'Cistercians and Cluniacs: The Controversy between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable' in *The Historian and Character and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 50-75; Adriaan H. Bredero, 'Cluny et Cîteaux au XII^{ème} siècle: les origines de la controverse', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 12 (1971) 135-75. See also the lucid account of R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1970), pp. 230-72 and the somewhat opposing view of Cistercian ideals in Jean Leclercq, 'Profession according to the Rule of St Benedict' in *Rule and Life: An Interdisciplinary Symposium*, ed. M. Basil Pennington (Spencer, Mass., 1971), pp. 117-49. For the early history of the Augustinians and their quarrel with the Rule of St. Benedict, see J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 49-72. For an excellent recent overview of the larger context of the religious reform movement of the twelfth century, especially its rhetorical component, see Giles Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities' in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 37-67.

³⁴ On the evangelical movement, see Chenu as cited above, n. 13.

³⁵ Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, p. 111 refers to the Cluniac-Cistercian debate as a 'little monastic quarrel', and, if we consider some of its more extreme polemics, his is not an entirely unfair characterization. Nearly a century after the debate had begun, this parochial element in the debate was still prominent enough to arouse the indignation of the anonymous author of *Ancrene Wisse*: 'Ȝef ei unweote easked ow of hwet ordre ȝe beon, as summe doð, þe telleð me, þe sihed þe gneat & swolhed þ flehe, ondsweried of Seín Iames, þe wes godes apostel. ... Ȝef him puncheð wunder & sullich of swuch ondsware, easkið him hwet beo ordre, & hwer he funde in hali writ religiun openlukest descriueþ & isutelet þen is i Seín Iames canonical epistel. He ... descriueð religiun nowðer

is especially noteworthy because she takes up the position of an informed and interested outsider and thus avoids the provincialism of so many monastic commentaries of the period. And, indeed, she is an outsider in many ways. Obviously, the peculiar circumstances of her entry to the monastery made her in the beginning, at least, a detached participant in monastic life. In addition, in her education, dialectical style and habit of mind, indeed, in her self-image as a whole, she has far more in common with academics or schoolmen than with monks.³⁶ It is a connection she seems almost to flaunt at times, as when she frequently pairs biblical quotations and passages from pagan poets in support of an argument.³⁷ Yet, although she shares many interests with schoolmen, she writes on this issue of religious rules long before the schools take up the controversy.³⁸ Her critique of St. Benedict's Rule is learned, eclectic, somewhat contentious perhaps, but above all reasoned and theoretical. Although she clearly means her analysis of religious rules to have practical effects, so fully informed is her letter by what can only be called scholarly concerns of accuracy, thoroughness, and careful judgment that she easily avoids the more parochial extremes of both Benedictine and Cistercian apologists. Indeed, both Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter, the abbot of Cluny, monks who disagreed sharply in their attitudes toward the Rule of St. Benedict, honored the Paraclete with personal visitations and lavished praise upon the monastery's young abbess.³⁹

hwit ne blac, ne nempneð he in his ordre. Ah moni siheð þe gneat ant swolheð þe flehe, þet is, makeð mucche strengðe þer as is þe leaste. Pawel þe earste ancre, Antonie & Arsenie, Makarie & te oþre neren ha religiuse & of Sein Iames ordre? ... wið hare greате matten & hare hearde heren neren ha of god ordre, & hweðer hwite oðer blake as unwise ow easkið þe weneð þet ordre sitte i þe curtel' (*Ancrene Wisse. Edited from ms. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien [EETS ES 249; London, 1962], pp. 9-10).

³⁶ Little, 'Intellectual Training and Attitudes', 235-49 speaks generally of what could be called a dialectical or urban style which arises in the twelfth-century urban schools, and which is often described in terms of the opposing monastic habit of perception. On the monastic style, see the classic study of Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York, 1961), pp. 233-86 and Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, pp. 300-309. It would be useful if more literary critics joined historians in studying this important difference in styles.

³⁷ See, for example, 5.242 where Heloise sets side by side quotations from Jerome's letters to holy women and Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and later (5.251) Heloise daringly juxtaposes a phrase from a psalm with a line from Persius' satires on the necessity of self-knowledge. Gilson, *Heloise and Abelard*, p. 135 finds particularly ironic Heloise's use of Ovid, whom Heloise calls 'the doctor of sensuality and shame' to support highly ascetic St. Jerome.

³⁸ Although the subject was widely discussed in the monastic context beginning in the eleventh-century monastic reform movement, Chenu's earliest examples of academic interest in the *vita apostolica* occur in the last decade of the twelfth century. See *Nature, Man, and Society*, p. 250, and Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', 53-56. Heloise's letter on monastic life was written sometime after 1132, the approximate date of Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*, and before Abelard's death in 1142. The correspondence as a whole is usually dated 1132-35 (see Muckle's introduction, 'Personal Letters', 47-48).

³⁹ St. Bernard's best known attack upon traditional Black monks, the *Apology*, has been translated

Heloise's strategy in persuading Abelard to provide a new rule is to demonstrate the inadequacy of the Rule of St. Benedict as a suitable guide for religious women, and she brings to her task all of the objectivity and detachment that Abelard's dialectical training had evidently taught her. Consistently, she treats the Rule as a historical document, distanced in time and circumstances from her own age. Such a clear sense of history is unusual regarding any text in the Middle Ages, but particularly so regarding the venerated, almost sacred rule of St. Benedict. Although Heloise demonstrates great respect for Benedict as a wise legislator in his time, her chief concern is with the Rule as a current, practical guide for religious women. By paying close attention to the Rule itself, its background, form, and above all its particulars, Heloise builds a case against the widespread practice of interpreting Benedict's document as a universal rule, equally suitable to all religious men and women and to all times. She does so first by showing that Benedict's Rule was the product of its own time. She points out, for example, that Benedict composed his rule against the backdrop of earlier rules and institutes which influenced him to alter certain details, and she even engages in speculation about his possible sources and influences.⁴⁰ Furthermore, she deduces from her study of particular phrases that Benedict himself was strongly influenced by contemporary circumstances to make certain concessions 'according to the quality [or condition] of men or the times' (*pro qualitate hominum aut temporum*), such as allowing wine and some meat to his monks, when they refused to be persuaded that such luxuries are inappropriate to the monastic life.⁴¹ In describing the Rule as the product of its own particular history, Heloise strips it of the timeless aura so often assumed by monastic writers. In addition, she isolates numerous details in the Rule which suggest that it was written with a particular audience in mind. St. Benedict's Rule, Heloise asserts categorically, was clearly written 'for men alone' (*viris solummodo*), and she amasses details scrupulously collected from the Rule itself which amply demonstrate her conclusion.⁴²

by Michael Casey in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 1: *Treatises I*, edited M. Basil Pennington, 2 vols. (Spencer, Mass., 1970). Abelard, in a letter to Bernard, describes the latter's visit to the Paraclete as related to Abelard by Heloise (PL 178.335-40); see also Radice, *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, pp. 37-38. For Peter's famous encomium to Heloise, see Letter 115 in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1.303-308 and the translation by Radice, pp. 277-84.

⁴⁰ See 5.246-47, the paragraph beginning 'Cuius quidem discretionis'. Later (5.248) Heloise analyzes a brief passage from chapter 40 of the Rule as evidence of Benedict's concessions to the times and speculates that Benedict was probably referring in the passage to a section of the *Lives of the Fathers*, which she quotes for comparison.

⁴¹ References abound to Benedict's 'discretion', to his sensitivity both to the needs of individual monks and to the particular times in which he lives. See especially 5.244, 246-47, 248.

⁴² See below, p. 237.

For Heloise then, one cannot profess this or any other rule without first having studied the document itself, as she has, in a fairly rigorous way:

If indeed many of those who these days profess monastic vows rashly would attend more carefully and consider beforehand what it is that they promise in their vows, and examine diligently the actual tenor of the Rule, they would offend less through ignorance and sin less through negligence. But now nearly all alike rush without discretion to the monastic life, are received in disorder, and live in more disorder. Disdaining the Rule they are ignorant of with the same ease with which they profess it, they set up whatever customs they prefer as though they were law.⁴³

Her complaint is primarily that of a scholar, not a partisan, and thus her argument should not be confused with either the typical Cistercian or Benedictine position, although it has points in common with both. In its emphasis upon strict discipline, and in associating such discipline with strict observance of the details of the Rule of St. Benedict, Heloise seems to echo the Cistercian argument that monastic reform requires a return to the 'purity' of the Rule, observed in every detail 'to the last dot'.⁴⁴

Yet Heloise's sensitivity to the particularity of Benedict's Rule, rather than leading her to embrace the Rule as a tool for monastic reform, instead leads her to question its appropriateness to her own circumstances as a nun, which for her take precedence. Often she associates particulars of the Rule with specific conditions not relevant to current circumstances, a historical argument usually ignored by Cistercian apologists. In fact, the very specificity of the Rule, which the Cistercians stressed, becomes her strongest argument for rejecting Benedict's text as unsuitable to be a common rule for all religious. Furthermore, the particulars Heloise most often emphasizes concern Benedict's numerous references to the need for flexibility and adaptation of monastic practice according to individuals and to circumstances. This emphasis on flexibility associates Heloise more closely with Cluniac arguments used to defend their sometimes extremely loose interpretation of the Rule. Peter the Venerable and other traditional Benedictines argued that

⁴³ 5.246: 'Quod quidem hoc tempore multi monasticae religionis temerarii professores, si diligentius attenderent, et in quam professionem iurarent antea providerent, atque ipsum Regulae tenorem studiose perscrutarentur, minus per ignorantiam offenderent, et per negligentiam peccarent. Nunc vero indiscrete omnes fere pariter ad monasticam conversionem currentes, inordinate suscepti, inordinatius vivunt, et eadem facilitate qua ignotam Regulam profitentur eam contemnentes, consuetudines quas volunt pro lege statuunt.'

⁴⁴ On the Cistercian impulse to follow or even outdo St. Benedict in regulating every detail of daily life, see the opposing views of Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, pp. 251-59 and Leclercq, 'Profession according to the Rule', 138-39, and the balanced compromise of Giles Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life', 57-59. Many of the relevant early Cistercian documents have been translated by Bede K. Lachner as an appendix in Lekai's *The Cistercians: Ideal and Reality*, pp. 442-66.

Benedict intended his rule as a spiritual ideal rather than as a literal, universal guide.⁴⁵

But Heloise seems unwilling to accept wholeheartedly the Cluniac position. When she castigates those who disregard what she calls 'the actual tenor of the Rule', she seems to be speaking specifically of those who fail to attend to the original text of the Rule, which Cluniacs especially were often accused of ignoring in favor of 'whatever customs they prefer', as Heloise puts it. Such disdain for the particulars of the Rule, Heloise asserts in the strongly worded passage just quoted, proceeds from ignorance and a lack of diligence in studying the Rule as written, and such carelessness, she argues, leads to a growing 'disorder' in place of the *ordo* of the monastic life.

Once again, Heloise is not taking sides in a bitter, political dispute; rather, it is her critical sense of what it means to 'know' the Rule which is offended by loose readings of Benedict's highly particular text. For Heloise, to know the Rule is to study it closely, from both a historical and a practical perspective, before taking any religious vows. Women in particular, she argues, cannot be adequately instructed by a mere three readings of the Rule, as Benedict prescribes.⁴⁶ Her own thorough study of the Benedictine Rule, though completed over thirteen years after her unexpected entrance into religious life, leads her to conclude that, whether strictly or loosely interpreted, the Rule is at best inappropriate to the nuns of the Paraclete. Never intended as a common rule, Heloise argues, the Rule of St. Benedict should not be used indiscriminately by every variety of religious group.

Viewed in light of the controversy over the meaning and authority of the Rule of St. Benedict, Heloise's intentions in this letter seem quite clear. The religious rule which she was forced by circumstances to adopt is inappropriate as a suitable guide for women, she argues. Other religious groups have created new and more appropriate rules (she refers specifically to the Augustinian canons), and so Abelard should, as founder of the Paraclete, provide a new rule for his charges. Some specific changes are necessary, and Heloise outlines them in some detail.

The most particular changes grow out of the need Heloise sees to adapt the monastic life to the special circumstances of women, whom she frequently calls 'the weaker sex'.⁴⁷ In arguing this need, Heloise is, in fact, transforming into a more

⁴⁵ See especially Peter the Venerable's famous letter to St. Bernard in Constable's edition, 1.52-101.

⁴⁶ Although there were numerous exceptions including, of course, Heloise herself, women who entered the convent were generally less well-trained in the *trivium* than their male counterparts. They thus came to the Rule less well-prepared to study it with the rigor Heloise seems to demand. On female education in the Middle Ages, see Joan M. Ferrante, 'The Education of Women in the Middle Ages in Theory, Fact, and Fantasy' in *Beyond Their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia A. Labalme (New York, 1980), pp. 9-42.

⁴⁷ On the 'ideology of feminine weakness' in monastic literature, see Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 76-115.

general version a personal complaint that she has made previously to Abelard. Her complaint against the Rule of St. Benedict, as currently practiced, is similar to her complaint against Abelard in her previous letters: both overlook differences between individuals. Throughout her first two letters, Heloise laments the differences between Abelard's circumstances and her own: he is converted, she is not; he is strong, she is weak; he is thoroughly holy, she is a hypocrite; he is castrated, and therefore without desire, while she is tormented by desire. Abelard rarely acknowledges these differences, instead repeatedly emphasizing 'our conversion from the world to God' (my emphasis), with the hope of persuading Heloise to adopt his rhetoric.⁴⁸ In her third letter, after agreeing to set aside the subject of her personal complaint to Abelard, Heloise turns to a generalized and institutional version of the differences between his circumstances and hers. Her analysis of the Rule of St. Benedict is built upon the most fundamental and general example possible of the differences between men and women that make some particulars of the Benedictine Rule clearly inappropriate as a common rule. In a strategy designed, one suspects, to shock Abelard into recognizing their differences, Heloise begins her new, institutional complaint with a boldly contentious example. How can we women be expected, she asks, to follow a religious rule that requires long underwear (*femoralia*) and close-fitting wool clothes when the 'monthly purging of [our] superfluous humors' (*humoris superflui menstruae purgationes*) makes such an injunction impossible to keep? Adding example after example, ranging from the physical weakness of women which makes the required harvest work inappropriate, to the reputed humidity of the woman's body, which makes her less susceptible to the intoxicating effects of wine, Heloise argues with a flood of observed details that Benedict did not have women in mind when he composed his Rule.⁴⁹

This extraordinary sensitivity to the particularity of life is a hallmark of Heloise's thought and provides another strong link between her personal and institutional concerns. In his previous letter, Abelard had asked his wife, whom he addresses as 'the bride of Christ', to replace her worldly attachment to him with an analogical, spiritual love of Christ, providing her with meditations on the black bride of the *Song of Songs*, the passion of Christ, and a moving prayer on the marriage bond. Yet when Heloise responds agreeing not to write again of her personal grief, the subject she chooses as a 'worthy' replacement is not the elaborate spiritual analogy outlined by Abelard (love Christ as you would a husband) but the basic, everyday details of monastic life, with which this letter,

⁴⁸ Kamuf, *Fictions of Feminine Desire*, pp. 10-43 is especially sensitive to the sexual dialectics of the letters, the rhetorical strategies used by both Heloise and Abelard to gain the upper hand in the ongoing debate that runs through the correspondence. In Kamuf's view, Heloise consistently tries to reestablish 'the destabilizing experience of the erotic' (p. 19) while Abelard 'adopts the aim of bringing Heloise to embrace castration—her own as well as his' (p. 36).

⁴⁹ 5.242-46. Dronke, 'Heloise', 130 makes a similar point.

especially its first half, is saturated: tunics and underwear, work and sleep, meat and wine, guests and pilgrims, apple juice and date palms. And not one of these subjects is treated in the least bit metaphorically by Heloise. Her substitution of actual for Abelard's metaphorical details is telling. Religious rules, as a genre, are almost obsessive in their concern for minute details, and perhaps it is this obsession with the particular that Heloise finds so 'necessary' in her new theme.

Seen in this way, her concern for the particular in religious rules seems closely related to her attitude toward her memories as described in her previous letters. Indeed, what Heloise stresses about her memories and their effects on her is their particularity:

Not only what we did, but also the times and places in which we did it, are so fixed along with your image in my heart that in those recalled details I reenact all with you.⁵⁰

Similarly, early in her first letter, after summarizing in some detail Abelard's autobiographical letter, she complains that the sorrows renewed by his account were the greater the more carefully 'each single event' (*singula*) was described.⁵¹ In Abelard's case, the singular events of his life are convertible, or at least they have been converted, into spiritual analogies or signs of God's providential power. That, in brief, is the argument of his autobiographical letter which precipitates the correspondence between Abelard and Heloise some years after the events themselves have occurred. But, for Heloise, the same detailed memories remain wholly intact, 'singular', unmanipulable, and thus they retain all of their original associations with pleasure, guilt, and desire. What is perhaps suggested here is that while Abelard's is fundamentally a philosophical or logical temperament, Heloise's habit of mind is primarily influenced by imagination and memory.

Perhaps it is this distinction in their attitudes toward the past that Heloise alludes to in the famous but enigmatic superscription to her third letter: 'Domino [*or suo*] specialiter, sua singulariter', usually translated as 'To Abelard, her lord [*or hers*] in a special sense, from Heloise, who is singularly his.'⁵² There is consider-

⁵⁰ 3.81: 'Nec solum quae egimus, sed loca pariter et tempora in quibus haec egimus, ita tecum nostro infixata sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam,....'

⁵¹ 1.68.

⁵² *Domino* appears in Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 802, the most reliable manuscript among the seven extant copies of this letter, but in the other manuscripts the more symmetrical *suo* is read. For varying interpretations of these superscriptions see: Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 102-103; Dronke, 'Heloise and Marianne', 236-37 and 'Heloise', 127-28; and Radice, *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 159 and n. 1. *Domino* is a particularly interesting reading in light of Heloise's arguments concerning her relation to Abelard, because it is an ambiguous term whose confusion is compounded by its context. In his previous letter, Abelard had repeatedly used the terms *Dominus* referring to God and *domina* referring to Heloise, especially in the beginning of his letter, where he argues that Heloise was mistaken in thinking of Abelard as her *domino* (3.77) because she became *his domina* when she

able play in this as in all of Heloise's superscriptions, which she seems to treat as something of a rhetorical contest with her former teacher and husband.⁵³ Of particular interest here is Heloise's allusion to her differences with Abelard in terms of Abelard's own philosophical language.

First of all, as Dronke has observed, in using the term *specialiter* Heloise is echoing a phrase from the close of Abelard's previous letter, in which he asks Heloise to remember him 'qui specialiter est tuus'.⁵⁴ While Abelard had used the

became the bride of Christ, her true *Dominus* (4.83). Again at the end of his letter, Abelard repeats the term *Dominus* no fewer than five times, always referring unmistakably to Christ, whom he has asked Heloise to take instead of Abelard as her only lord. Thus, when Heloise responds with a letter addressed to her *Domino*, we cannot help but wonder whether she refers to God or to Abelard. One suspects that the ambiguity is intentional, but that her primary referent is still Abelard. Gilson, *Heloise and Abelard*, pp. 102-103 interprets *Domino* in the superscription to refer to God and suggests that the salutation signifies Heloise's acknowledgement that 'in so far as concerns the logical species—the nun—she is the Lord's.' Radice's translation follows Gilson's closely: 'God's own in species, his own as individual' (*Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 159). However, this interpretation not only overlooks the previous play upon the term in the letters, as just outlined, but also would argue for a radical departure from Heloise's usual style of address. In all of her letters the first term of Heloise's salutation consists of some form of address to Abelard. In her first salutation, in fact, she addresses her letter 'Domino suo', but there she modifies that ambiguous phrase by further defining her addressee as her 'master', 'father', 'husband', and 'brother', a conundrum whose only solution could be Abelard, Heloise's earthly husband and master at the same time that he is her spiritual father and brother. Given Heloise's consistency in always addressing her letters to Abelard, however elliptically, it seems unlikely that suddenly in her third letter she would adopt a new form of salutation. It should also be added that at the very end of her third letter Heloise refers unambiguously to Abelard as her *domino* (5.253). It would seem, then, that in her superscription *domino* refers primarily to Abelard, although she is now willing to qualify what had previously been described as Abelard's absolute mastery. In all likelihood, however, Heloise would welcome any confusion on her reader's part between Abelard and God as the appropriate referent for the first term of her superscription, in that it might serve to remind Abelard of the profound differences in their respective frames of reference. On the form of Heloise's salutations, see also Muckle's introduction ('Personal Letters', 50-51).

⁵³ This is especially true in the superscription of Heloise's first letter (1.68): 'Domino suo immo patri, coniugi suo immo fratri, ancilla sua immo filia, ipsius uxor immo soror, Abaelardo, Heloisa.' While Abelard had ended his letter of consolation to a friend with an orderly series of pious reflections on the nature of divine providence and the clear path of righteousness, Heloise, in her superscription, reminds Abelard of the less orderly human perspective, particularly how very confusing her circumstances are, now that Abelard is both her secular master and her spiritual father, her husband and her brother. Heloise continually scrambles what Abelard depicts as clear, logical relationships. On Heloise's tendency to undo Abelard's logical statements, both in her salutations and elsewhere, see Kamuf, *Fictions of Feminine Desire*, pp. 9-19.

⁵⁴ 'Heloise and Marianne', 237. There Dronke states without further explanation that 'the philosophical sense of "specialiter" would seem forced' and prefers to translate the term simply as 'especially'. But recently Dronke has revised his view; see 'Heloise', 127-28 for his new interpretation which agrees with the argument presented here. Indeed, it seems that Heloise, in juxtaposing 'specialiter' and 'singulariter', is precisely forcing a distinction upon the reader which can best be explained with reference to the philosophical distinction between species and individuals. This issue was, of course, of more than passing interest to Abelard, who not only treats the issue thoroughly in his philosophical writings but also builds the whole structure of his autobiographical letter upon the debate with his teacher, William of Champeaux, over the relation between individual things and

word in its most general sense, Heloise responds by playing upon the subtle philosophical distinctions between what is special and what is singular. Abelard, both in his dealings with Heloise after their marriage and in his academic study of logic, persistently confines his interests to *species*, to classes of things. In his letters to Heloise, for example, he conspicuously avoids forms of personal address, addressing her instead as a spiritual sister or as a bride of Christ. In distinguishing between Abelard's 'special' relation to his spiritual bride and her 'singular' relation to him, Heloise reminds Abelard of an important difference in their relationships toward the past.

Heloise's complaint to Abelard, especially as described in her second letter, is that the details of her past remain *singular* and thus less easy for her than for Abelard to coerce into some logical pattern.⁵⁵ Indeed, it is the particulars of her past which coerce Heloise, rather than the abstract pattern that Abelard would impose upon those images, times and places that remain 'fixed' in Heloise's heart. The image of Heloise driven by the singular events of her past, so often alluded to in her first two letters, is recalled not only in her salutation but also in her request for a new thought to serve as a nail: 'As one nail is inserted to drive out another', Heloise says, emphasizing how much force will be required to ensure that a new but equally 'necessary' thought will drive out the old. The necessities in Heloise's life, it seems, are the particulars, and she insists that they be accounted for and dealt with, whether they be the current details of her monastic life, the prescribed details of the monastic rule, or the highly charged details of her personal past.

If Heloise had ended her third letter to Abelard with her argument for the necessity of specific changes that Abelard should include in his new monastic rule, she would have performed the important service for the nuns of the Paraclete of

universals. Abelard portrays himself as the winner of the debate and champion of the integrity of individual things as quite distinct from universals. Here Heloise, addressing her teacher, is perhaps subtly replaying that debate with herself in the starring role of defender of singulars, while Abelard is identified with William's old position. I am indebted to Mary Bartholomy, a graduate student at the University of California, Irvine, for pointing out to me the various ways in which Heloise, more than Abelard, could appropriately be called a 'nominalist'.

⁵⁵ I would interpret what Abelard calls 'Heloise's old complaint' rather broadly. Abelard refers twice in Letter 4 to Heloise's '*veteram illam et assiduam querelam*' (4.83,87). In both cases, he interprets the complaint as being directed against God's justice, and as having to do with Heloise's questioning of the divine order of things. Heloise does specifically complain that God treated Abelard unjustly, but her complaint is directed more toward the human rather than the divine order, for the human order, from her point of view at least, is full of incongruous details. Abelard's letters suggest that it is much easier for him than for Heloise to ascend to the eighth sphere, as it were, ignoring details in order to concentrate on God's grand scheme. Yet, in the story of his own calamities, Abelard is continually torn between the providential view of his history and a more limited, less idealistic view embodied in the figure of Fortune. This difference in the attitude of Heloise and Abelard in reading their own histories is the subject of a study in progress.

realigning their rule and their religious life, and reserved for herself as well a place in the religious reform movement of the twelfth century. In addition, even had she stopped here, a strong link between her previous letters and this one would be clear: Heloise is as committed to her new subject as to her old because both concern what we might call the power of the particular. Yet, despite her knowledge of and interest in the details of monastic life, Heloise is not so naive as to assume that particular rules concerning food and clothing have the same emotional force as the particulars of one's memories and desires. When she begins to examine the end or goal of regulating the details of daily life in monasteries, namely, the spiritual ideal that religious rules are meant to serve, she then begins to question the very particularity that normally defines the genre of religious rules. Just as Heloise's request to Abelard in the beginning of her letter was not as straightforward as it seemed at first (since her object in this letter is less to request guidance than to offer it), so too the guidance that she offers Abelard proves contradictory. Less than halfway through her letter, Heloise slowly begins to turn her argument dialectically against itself: what begins innocently enough as a request for specific and relatively minor changes in an existing rule becomes, as Gilson observed long ago, a broad, speculative argument questioning the whole enterprise of attempting to regulate the interior, spiritual life by means of external, bodily rules.⁵⁶

The first signal of a change in emphasis comes quite early in the letter. While pursuing the argument that 'weak women' should not be subjected to a common rule with monks, Heloise begins to equate religious rules with the Old Law of retribution, not only the Rule of St. Benedict but all rules that go beyond the precepts of the Gospel in regulating spiritual life. Glossing a passage from a sermon by John Chrysostom which asserts that laymen must conduct themselves like monks in all matters except for continence, Heloise writes:

From these words we can easily gather that whoever adds the virtue of continence to the precepts of the Gospel will achieve monastic perfection.

And would that our religious life could reach as high as to fulfill the Gospel, rather than go beyond it, and would that we not seek to be more than Christians. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, this is why the holy Fathers decided not to fix for us as for men any general rule, as though it were a new law, nor to burden our infirmity with a great many vows. ...⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 134-40 for an illuminating discussion of Heloise's critique of monastic rules in light of the Renaissance emphasis on reason in religion.

⁵⁷ 5.245: 'Ex quibus quidem verbis aperte colligitur quod quisquis evangelicis praeceptis continentiae virtutem addiderit, monasticam perfectionem implebit.

Atque utinam ad hoc nostra religio consendere posset ut Evangelium impleret, non transcenderet, nec plusquam christianae appeteremus esse. Hinc profecto, ni fallor, sancti decreverunt Patres non ita nobis sicut viris generalem aliquam regulam quasi novam legem praefigere, nec magnitudine votorum nostram infirmitatem onerare,...

Heloise's remarks are curious in a number of ways. What John Chrysostom gives as a complaint against laymen who assume too much freedom from strict religious observance, Heloise sees in a very different light, as extending the definition of monastic perfection beyond the walls of the monastery to include all those who combine celibacy with a virtuous life lived according to the precepts of the Gospel, which are available and equally applicable to all Christians. Heloise's complaint is directed not at laymen but at monks who, by adding numerous and burdensome man-made rules to the precepts of the Gospel, become presumptuous and perhaps hypocritical in attempting to be 'more than Christians'. The conclusion Heloise draws here, that perhaps the early Church Fathers did not provide a rule for women because they saw the danger of presuming to improve upon the Gospel, seems incongruous with the rest of the passage. Although it does serve to bring Heloise back to her ostensible argument concerning the 'infirmity' of women, the conclusion seems illogical in being restricted to rules for women. Obviously the dangers in trying to outdo the Gospel inhere equally in rules for men and women, and writers of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries will not hesitate to say so.⁵⁸ But Heloise is here making an argument against elaborate rules and observances well before the evangelical movement has really taken hold, and her hesitancy to draw the most radical conclusion is therefore understandable.

Yet this tendency to equate man-made rules with a 'new law', with all of the associations of legalism and presumption that that term carried with it, grows stronger as Heloise's letter continues, and by the end the distinction between the particular needs of men and women drops out altogether. Pitting what she calls 'the freedom of the Gospel' (a popular tag of the evangelical movement) against the burdening constraints of the Law, Heloise mounts an argument that love, not the law, is the object of the spiritual life; thus rules regulating outward behavior are inadequate and perhaps irrelevant to the ideal of personal, spiritual perfection. They may even be counterproductive, Heloise suggests, in that they tend to confuse 'spirit' with 'matter', inner virtue with the mere 'show of virtue'.⁵⁹

Examples abound of Heloise's tendency to shift her argument from the special needs of women to the spiritual needs of all religious men and women. She refers several times to the new Augustinian canons whose simple rule and unencumbered way of life, though far from following strict, monastic observances, have won them

⁵⁸ Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 137-38 makes a similar point, but views Heloise's remarks in light of Erasmus and other Renaissance thinkers. We need not look so far ahead to find strongly worded objections to overly exclusive man-made rules for religious life. See Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, pp. 221-22, and especially his analysis of the views of Peter the Chanter, pp. 256-57; Jean Leclercq, François Vandenbrouke, and Louis Bouyer, *A History of Christian Spirituality*, vol. 2: *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), pp. 257-58; and Linda Georgianna, *The Solitary Self. Individuality in the Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 15-18.

⁵⁹ See 5.249-50,252.

favor and respectability. There is more than a hint of rebellion in her tone when she reminds Abelard that the canons are men 'who consider themselves not at all inferior to monks, although we see them wearing linen and eating meat.'⁶⁰ Again, she does not distinguish between men and women when she castigates those religious who hastily profess the detailed Rule of St. Benedict, then ignore its precepts. However, immediately following her reproval Heloise writes:

We must take precautions not to presume for women a burden under which we see nearly all men fall or else they abandon it. We observe that the world has grown old, and man himself along with everything else of the earth has lost his natural vigor. And so too, in the words of Truth, the love not just of many but of nearly all men has grown cold, so that clearly it is necessary to temper or change according to man's condition in the present those rules which were written for men.⁶¹

Here Heloise seems to return to the premise of feminine weakness only to abandon it within a few lines, moving quickly from the weakness of women to the weakness of all men and all living things of the world. Clearly, it is 'man's condition' that has become Heloise's subject; the need for spiritual redirection is universal in an aging world where nearly all Christians fall beneath their burdens.

In the final third of Heloise's letter, she grows more bold and drops all pretense of arguing from the sole premise of women's weakness. Instead, she turns to the universal terms of Abelard's theology for her argument. Using monastic rules regarding the eating of meat as an example of the misdirected effort to control unimportant details, Heloise pleads in Abelardian terms for less emphasis in religious rules on 'those areas lying between good and evil, which are called indifferent.'⁶² Echoing Abelard's views so closely that one editor has concluded that either Heloise is quoting Abelard directly or Abelard's later works draw from Heloise's letter, Heloise repeatedly distinguishes between intentions, which determine sinfulness, and outward actions, which are always morally neutral.⁶³ In

⁶⁰ 5.245.

⁶¹ 5.246: 'Providendum itaque nobis est ne id oneris feminae praesumamus in quo viros fere iam universos succumbere videmus, immo et deficere. Senuisse iam mundum conspicimus hominesque ipsos cum ceteris quae mundi sunt pristinum naturae vigorem amisisse, et iuxta illud Veritatis ipsam caritatem non tam multorum quam fere omnium refriguisse ut iam videlicet pro qualitate hominum ipsas propter homines scriptas vel mutari vel temperari necesse sit Regulas.'

⁶² See 5.248. Heloise's tone grows quite indignant as she asks: 'Ubi umquam, quaeso, carnes a Deo damnatae sunt vel monachis interdictae?'

⁶³ See especially 5.251: 'Non itaque magnopere quae fiunt sed quo animo fiant pensandum est, si illi placere studemus, qui cordis et renum probator est, et in abscondito videt...', and Muckle's introduction ('Personal Letters', 55-56). While Muckle cites Abelard's Rule for the Paraclete as the closest approximation of Heloise's wording, Abelard's *Ethics* may provide an even closer parallel, in that it repeats even the same biblical quotations in support of the notion of intentionality: 'Deus uero solus qui non tam quae fiunt, quam quo animo fiant attendit, ueraciter in intentione nostra reatum pensat et uero iudicio culpam examinat. Vnde et probator cordis et renum dicitur, et in abscondito uidere' (*Peter Abelard's Ethics*, ed. D. E. Luscombe [Oxford, 1971], p. 40.9-12; see also

language that must have sounded familiar to the author of *Scito te ipsum*, Heloise points out that what distinguishes Jew from Christian, and Old Law from New Dispensation, is that 'true Christians are totally occupied with the inner man' rather than with outward works.⁶⁴ Relying frequently on passages from Paul to the Romans, also a key text in Abelard's moral theology, Heloise argues that 'love alone distinguishes between the children of God and those of the devil.'⁶⁵ And the love that God requires is not necessarily achieved by adhering to man-made and therefore arbitrary religious rules, but by accepting the grace and 'freedom of the Gospel' (*evangelicae libert[as]*).⁶⁶

Heloise boldly assigns to the category of morally indifferent acts a host of subjects ordinarily regulated by traditional religious rules. She not only rejects the rules governing the eating of meat but implies that all fasting regulations which go beyond what the Church generally requires of Christians may be inappropriate, since Christians should seek 'to abstain more from vice than from food'.⁶⁷ On the subject of physical labor, Heloise is even more strident, perhaps in response to increasing complaints during this period, especially from male Cistercian houses, about 'idle' nuns who expected nearby monks to attend to their material needs.⁶⁸ Heloise attacks this argument directly and on several fronts. Noting that she in no way intends to shirk labor 'when necessity demands it', she nevertheless flatly denies that work in itself has any spiritual value, a denial that seems to fly in the face of the Cistercian emphasis on the value of physical labor. Using battle imagery, Heloise derides those who 'bitterly complain less about what tyrants take from them by force' (*rapiunt*) than about their obligation, sanctioned by apostolic concession and even by Christ himself, to provide for the material needs of holy women who are wholly occupied with spiritual things.⁶⁹

Heloise's argument concerning the primacy of the interior life overrules governing external behavior captures remarkably well the essence of the coming evangelical movement, which will rebel against overly elaborate and elitist religious rules in favor of an ideal of personal perfection as defined by the simple precepts

p. 28.9-11 for very similar phrasing of the same idea). For a thorough discussion of Abelard's theory of intentionality, see Robert Blomme, *La doctrine du péché dans les écoles théologiques de la première moitié du xii^e siècle* (Louvain, 1958), pp. 115-44.

⁶⁴ 5.250: 'Unde quicumque sunt vere Christiani sic toti circa interiorem hominem sunt occupati....'

⁶⁵ 5.248.

⁶⁶ 5.251.

⁶⁷ 5.252.

⁶⁸ On the often hostile relations between male and female Cistercian houses see: Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, pp. 347-63; Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 76-115; Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, pp. 314-18; and Sally Thompson, 'The Problem of Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries' in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227-52.

⁶⁹ 5.252.

of the Gospel. Nevertheless, her argument also seriously undermines the modest request, with which her letter began, for certain specific changes in the existing rule model. It certainly puts Abelard in a difficult position. On the one hand, Heloise has requested of him a new religious rule, and she has framed her request in terms of the most urgent obligation: if Abelard wants her to set aside her immoderate grief and preoccupation with their past, he has it in his power, she says, to offer a worthy replacement for her loss, in the form of a suitable and workable religious rule. On the other hand, she seems to reject, as either irrelevant or at least inadequate, much of the stuff of which religious rules are made, specific precepts regulating the external lives of monks and nuns, their food, drink, clothes and work. Furthermore, her rejection takes a peculiarly Abelardian form, showing how Abelard's own moral theology casts considerable doubt upon what she sees as a basic premise of the Rule of St. Benedict: that the inner life can be to some extent controlled and perhaps even judged by outward behavior. Thus Heloise's letter seems to fall into rather disjointed halves: one questions whether certain particulars of the Benedictine Rule are appropriate for women, while the other questions whether most rules regarding external particulars can affect the inner lives of Christians.

The object of Heloise's request, then, seems not to be a traditional religious rule at all, but some new form of rule that will help more directly to guide the inner life. But how? For Heloise, the goals of the spiritual life are absolute and strictly interior. The passages discussed above, as well as numerous other passages concerning the worthlessness of works without faith or love, make that much clear. Yet religious rules, as Heloise knows them, have more to do with works than with love. Although she never doubts that certain works are essential to religious life, namely, celibacy and poverty, she in fact has very little to say about them. The only facet of traditional religious rules in which Heloise shows very much interest is prayer. Close to the very end of her third letter, she begins to emphasize what she has only mentioned in passing until now, namely, that her rejection of bodily regulations is meant to foster increased attention to the *Opus Dei*, or divine office. In the area of prayer, Heloise actually requests more detailed prescriptions, asking Abelard to concern himself especially with directions regarding the order and distribution of psalms, and who should read the night offices.⁷⁰ Heloise's continuing interest in prayer is attested indirectly by the many prayers, hymns, and sermons which Abelard composed and delivered to the Paraclete at what he says was Heloise's 'urgent request'.⁷¹ Thus the religious life which Heloise imagines can

⁷⁰ 5.252-53.

⁷¹ Abelard prefaces *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius paraclitensis* (ed. Joseph Szövérfy, 2 vols. [Albany, N. Y., 1975]) with a typical note of urgency: 'Ad tuarum precum instantiam, soror mihi Heloisa...' (2.9). See also Radice, *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, pp. 32-34.

be defined, outwardly at least, quite simply. 'It should be enough for our infirmity', Heloise reasons, if religious women live 'continently and without possessions, wholly occupied with the divine office'.⁷²

It may seem surprising that in spite of Heloise's request for rules regarding prayer, and her ample arguments against rules regarding exterior things, we hear very little in this letter about what she implies is the only goal of the religious life, that is, a loving spiritual relationship with God. The absence of this topic is especially noticeable in light of Abelard's previous letter, in which he invites Heloise to join in a rich, spiritual relationship with Christ, urging her, for example, to participate imaginatively as one of the women who witnessed the passion and death of Christ. His meditation on the Passion, in its vivid detail and in its emotionalism, is reminiscent of the justly famous meditations of Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167), included as part of his religious rule for recluses, *De institutione inclusarum*.⁷³ A close contemporary of Heloise, Aelred seems to have shared some of her concerns regarding religious rules, for he divides his rule for women into an 'outer' followed by an 'inner' rule. For Aelred, however, the relationship between the two rules is not problematic: the richly sensuous meditations on the life of Christ, which compose his inner rule, serve as a kind of reward for the recluse who has achieved success in living the ascetic life defined in the outer rule. Aelred's emphasis on detailed, external rules follows directly from his faith in the Cistercian ideal of exact observance of the Rule of St. Benedict.⁷⁴

But in Heloise's case, as we have seen, the ascetic life as defined in the Benedictine Rule has not led to the withdrawal from the world that both Aelred and Abelard have assumed. Unconvinced of any automatic relationship between the interior life and the observance of a religious rule, Heloise consistently avoids the meditative mode in her works. Even in her last extant communication with Abelard, the so-called *Problemata*, Heloise is still taken up with particular, probing, and scholarly questions about Scripture. In the letter that we have been examining, instead of ending with a description of, or even a yearning for, the rich spiritual love that Abelard had depicted, Heloise provides as if in its place the image of a rather severe, probing God, who demands our love but who seems to judge its quality by searching out our 'hidden thoughts' or 'secret places', where

⁷² 5.246: 'Satis nostrae esse infirmitati et maximum imputari debet, si continenter ac sine proprietate viventes et, officiis occupatae divinis, ipsos Ecclesiae duces vel religiosos laicos in victu adaequemus, vel eos denique qui regulares canonici dicuntur et se praecipue vitam apostolicam sequi profitentur.' Note how quickly Heloise moves from women's 'infirmity' to their ability to equal the new canons and the very leaders of the Church in their religious practice.

⁷³ For the text of Aelred's rule, see Charles Dumont, ed., *La vie de recluse. La prière pastorale* (Sources chrétiennes 76; Paris, 1961). On Aelred's meditations, see Dumont, pp. 29-39 (introduction).

⁷⁴ On the form of Aelred's rule, see Georgianna, *Solitary Self*, pp. 42-49.

'evil thoughts' of 'adultery or murder' may be lurking in our hearts. He is a God who demands pure, disinterested love but who also 'tests the hearts and loins'.⁷⁵ In an earlier letter, where Heloise refers to the same phrase from Ps 8, it is no wonder that she speaks not of God's love but of his judgment.⁷⁶ The rule that Heloise imagines, then, is far from Aelred's inner rule, or the inner rule of love later composed by the author of the *Ancrene Wisse*, who borrows the term 'inner rule' from Aelred.⁷⁷ Heloise focuses on the interior life more as a theoretical than as an applied principle. In comparison with Abelard's or Aelred's meditations, or the emphasis on love in the *Ancrene Wisse*, Heloise's argument for a new rule seems rather technical.

Other readers, especially Gilson, have noted the 'absence' of God in Heloise's first two letters, where the subject matter, Heloise's continuing desire and torment, makes obvious the gap Heloise experiences between herself and God. But in her third letter also, in spite of its religious subject, God is at least far distant, if not altogether absent, not because Heloise has defiantly excluded him, but because she has yet to find him. Her third letter provides proof that she is still searching, intellectually as well as emotionally, and is best understood, in my view, as a more institutionally-centered version of what she has asked of Abelard all along: consolation and guidance for an unruly heart, her own as well as the hearts of others who might fear God's judgment even as they seek his love. While some might believe that professing and following an established religious rule ensures salvation, Heloise proves herself throughout her letters as not the sort to take consolation so easily, nor is her faith in the institution of monasticism so secure. Abelard has reasoned that Heloise ought to take what consolation the religious life has to offer, redirecting her heart and her desire to Christ. Nowhere in her letters does Heloise refuse; instead, she asks, in effect, *how*. She prefaces her request for a religious rule with a thought reminiscent of a passage in Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*: 'Nothing is less under our control than the heart', to which Heloise adds emphatically, 'rather than being able to command it, we are forced to obey it'.⁷⁸

This aphorism provides a key to understanding not only Heloise's third letter but all of her letters to Abelard. The immediate context bears repeating: Abelard has asked Heloise to stop dwelling on her loss and turn her attention instead to her present spiritual life. Heloise, in fact, has focused in her first two letters on her present spiritual life, complex and less than ideal though it might be, but Abelard has rejected her version of herself because it is unconverted, still 'turning' toward

⁷⁵ 5.251.

⁷⁶ 3.81.

⁷⁷ On the *Ancrene Wisse* as a religious rule, see Georgianna, *Solitary Self*, pp. 18-31.

⁷⁸ PL 77.72B. In a section on guarding one's thoughts and keeping silence, Gregory writes: 'Nil quippe in nobis est corde fugacius, quod a nobis toties recedit, quoties per pravus cogitationes defluit.'

the past. In her third letter, Heloise agrees willingly to change the direction of her letters to Abelard, but she also emphasizes that she cannot so easily change her heart's turning, because her heart is not yet subject to her will. The clear implication in Heloise's request for a new religious rule is that neither Abelard nor St. Benedict's Rule has as yet taught her and her charges a way to control their hearts.

This statement is not meant to make Heloise sound perverse, and certainly not 'cynical', anymore than Augustine is perverse or cynical in wondering in book 8 of his *Confessions* why he can will his hand but not his heart to obey his commands. Heloise's supposed blasphemy and defiance in her two most famous letters are misreadings stemming from unfamiliarity with Heloise's contentious, dialectical style, and, perhaps, with her third letter. At heart, Heloise is certainly not a libertine, nor is she primarily the Roman heroine that Gilson and even Heloise herself portrays her at times to be.⁷⁹ Instead, she remains throughout her letters a thoroughly Christian thinker, influenced by some of the twelfth-century's most sophisticated theology, a moral rigorist who learned her moral theology from Peter Abelard, one of the age's least compromising of moral theologians.⁸⁰ At times, she seems to outdo the master in her spiritual demands. Indeed, it is primarily *because* she is so uncompromising in her spiritual goals that she seems so sinful and sensuous in her two early letters and that she boldly demands a new religious rule in her third letter to Abelard. While Abelard depicts her as winning the heavenly 'crown' by continually overcoming her desire, Heloise sees herself in her first two letters as having lost the battle because, in spite of her efforts, her desire continues, or at least her memory of the pleasures of satisfying carnal desire. Unlike Abelard, who distinguishes between desire and consent, the constitutive element of sin, Heloise seems to equate the two and thus to damn herself.⁸¹ While

⁷⁹ Gilson, highly sensitive to Heloise's use of classical models and texts, speaks frequently of Heloise as a Roman heroine, characterizing the sentiments motivating her to take the veil at Abelard's command as 'not Christian [but] completely Roman' (*Héloïse and Abélard*, p. 91). Earlier Gilson opposes 'Abélard's Christian submission to Providence' to 'Héloïse's acceptance of Stoic principles which she found in Seneca and Lucan' (p. 86). However, Gilson also writes what remains the most illuminating study of Heloise's *Christian* crisis in his chapter called 'The Mystery of Heloise'. He perhaps comes closest to the truth when he describes Heloise as 'haunted by the double ideal of Roman and Christian greatness' (p. 141).

⁸⁰ On the rigor and idealism of Abelard's moral theology, especially in terms of human responsibility and accountability, see Richard E. Weingart, *The Logic of Divine Love: A Critical Analysis of the Soteriology of Peter Abailard* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 169-184 and Paul L. Williams, *The Moral Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Lanham, Md., 1980). Williams argues throughout his study that Abelard's logic grows out of his moral theology (and not vice versa) and that in both areas Abelard remained throughout his life the moral 'perfectionist—uncompromising in his demands and single-minded in his purpose' (p. 37).

⁸¹ Compare 3.80-81 with Abelard's *Ethics*, especially pp. 4-21 where Abelard repeatedly distinguishes between desire—or will—and consent. In order to 'win a crown', as Abelard puts it, one must 'restrain' or 'resist' desire, not 'extinguish' it (p. 6). If Heloise's confusion of desire and consent is not Abelard's legacy, her constant self-searching is. Williams notes that above all 'Thus Abelard

Abelard repeatedly pictures Heloise as the model bride of Christ because she appears to be a successful abbess, Heloise, once again rigorously following Abelard's theology, presents herself as ungrateful and offensive to God. In his Redemptive theory, Abelard argues that Christ's death was purely an act of love, calling for an equally pure and disinterested love on man's part.⁸² Heloise seems to agree, and having searched her heart, judges that while she may have loved Abelard disinterestedly, she has yet to respond to God with the wholly disinterested act of love which she believes that he requires.⁸³

Thus the argument that Heloise uses in her third letter as the basis of her plea for a new religious rule, namely, that outer works can add nothing to faith, is not finally a comforting or liberating thought for Heloise. A simpler religious rule, rather than being merely a concession to female weakness, as Heloise sometimes characterizes it, may in fact make more acute the problem of her own salvation, because it demands that its followers focus squarely on the interior life that has caused Heloise so much torment. Although she seeks a less burdensome exterior rule, she remains uncompromising in her belief that her salvation depends upon fulfillment of the most basic and irreducible requirements of the spiritual life. In her second letter, she defines what she sees as the only legitimate goal of the spiritual life in its most absolute form: 'to do good and to turn from evil', as the psalm says, and to do both, Heloise adds, for the love of God alone.⁸⁴ While Abelard writes consistently of their mutual conversion 'from the world', Heloise is unable to consider herself converted until she can 'turn from evil' absolutely by means of 'true contrition' (*vera poenitentia*) for her sins, the same condition that Abelard argues in his *Ethics* is essential to forgiveness.⁸⁵ But pure contrition, as it will come to be called later in the century, the sorrow which springs solely from love of God rather than fear of punishment, is very rare, Heloise realizes, agreeing with Ambrose that it is easier to find an innocent man than a truly repentant one.⁸⁶

stressed the importance of knowing one's self in regard to the quality and rightness of one's intentions. This constant self-scrutiny, this hounding search for self-knowledge, was the legacy of Abelard's ethics...' (ibid., p. 145).

⁸² Most of Abelard's teaching on the Incarnation and Redemption is found in his *Commentaria in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, recently edited by E. M. Buytaert in *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica* (CCM 11; Turnhout, 1969). See also the analysis of Weingart, *The Logic of Divine Love*, pp. 66-96. On Abelard's definition of disinterested love and Heloise's understanding of it, see Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 47-65 and *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard*, trans. A. H. C. Downes (London, 1940), pp. 158-66; Weingart, *The Logic of Divine Love*, pp. 169-76; and Williams, *ibid.*, pp. 159-63.

⁸³ 3.81; see Gilson, *Héloïse and Abélard*, pp. 95-96, especially n. 7.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ethics*, pp. 76 ff. See also the analysis of Weingart, *The Logic of Divine Love*, pp. 196-200, and Williams, *The Moral Theology of Peter Abelard*, pp. 145-60.

⁸⁶ 3.80. On the concepts of perfect and imperfect contrition, see Payen, *Le motif du repentir*, pp. 81-83 and Amédée Teetaert, *La confession aux laïques dans l'église latine depuis le VIII^e jusqu'au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1926), pp. 258-60.

Indeed, Heloise reminds Abelard in her second letter, absolute contrition and conversion came to Abelard through the 'grace' of his castration, which literally and spiritually cut him off from his past and what he calls the sole source of his desire.⁸⁷ In fact, for Abelard, castration is an accurate *emblem* for true conversion, and in a remarkable passage Abelard associates both castration and conversion with cleansing, freedom from desire, and a return to innocence.⁸⁸

This sudden, complete conversion, though rarely achieved so violently, was a popular motif in eleventh and twelfth century literature. And it is precisely what Heloise has *not* yet experienced. Neither her experience in the world nor her penitential life in the monastery has taught her a way of cutting herself off, so to speak, from her past and her desires. Yet that is what both she and Abelard believe God requires of those who love him, and what St. Benedict's Rule hopes to encourage by means of strictly regulating the exterior life. Lacking pure contrition and pure love, Heloise can find no place for herself in the spiritual landscape created for her. Abelard in his letters and Benedict in his Rule describe that landscape in terms of heroic armies, combat, victories and losses, strength and power, weapons and crowns.⁸⁹ In fact, Heloise finally rejects this traditional heroic description of her spiritual life. At the very end of her second letter, Heloise writes:

I do not wish you to exhort me to virtue and call me forth to the battle, saying 'Virtue is made perfect in weakness' and 'He will not be crowned who has not struggled rightfully.' I do not seek the crown of victory. It is enough for me to avoid danger. Avoiding danger is safer than engaging in battle. In whatever corner of heaven God places me, it will be enough for me. None will be envious of another there, where whatever each has will be sufficient.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ 3.81.

⁸⁸ 4.93.

⁸⁹ Abelard relies on heroic imagery throughout his letters, beginning with the *Historia calamitatum*, and is especially drawn to classical and biblical quotations which employ battle imagery. Heroic language is such an indispensable habit of mind for Abelard that, even after Heloise's rejection of it, he continues to describe her spiritual state in heroic terms. See especially 4.92-93, beginning with Abelard's allusion to Pompey's reproach to Cornelia after his defeat at Pharsalia. Since according to Abelard, Heloise had recalled Cornelia's lament to Pompey when she (Heloise) entered the convent of Argenteuil (*Historia calamitatum*, ll. 632-638), he probably felt it appropriate to quote a nearby passage from the same work (Lucan's *Bellum civile*). But as I argue here, Heloise ultimately rejects such heroic portrayals of her situation. St. Benedict's Rule also relies often on battle imagery to describe the spiritual life, especially in the prologue, which is addressed to 'you ..., whoever you may be, who are renouncing your own will to do battle under the Lord Christ, the true King, and are taking up the strong, bright weapons of obedience.' The translation is that of Leonard Doyle, *St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries* (Collegeville, Minn., 1948), p. 1.

⁹⁰ 3.82: 'Nolo, me ad virtutem exhortans, et ad pugnam provocans, dicas: *Nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur*; et: *Non coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit*. Non quaero coronam victoriae. Satis est mihi periculum vitare. Tutius evitatur periculum, quam committitur bellum. Quocumque me angulo coeli Deus colloget, satis mihi faciet. Nullus ibi cuiquam invidet, cum singulis quod habebunt suffecerit.'

Heloise caps this essentially non-heroic view of spirituality with a quotation from Jerome, an ironic choice considering that Jerome is Abelard's favorite model of spiritual heroism: 'I confess my weakness; I do not wish to fight in the hope of victory lest I lose the victory at some time. What need is there to let go of what is certain and strive after what is uncertain.'⁹¹ Here Heloise, who has herself often described her struggle in hyperbolic terms, finally rejects Abelard's larger-than-life portrayal of her spiritual state, probably for the same reason that she had rejected Abelard's abstract, providential view of their conversion, because it does not adequately account for the complex, unidealized particulars in her life, which for Heloise still have extraordinary power. Measured by Abelard's absolute standards of pure love, true contrition, final conversion and victories over desires, Heloise judges herself to have lost her spiritual battle for perfection. But this does not mean that Heloise capitulates to Abelard's arguments; still less does she glorify her failure. On the contrary, here and especially in her next letter Heloise begins, at first tentatively and then more surely, to break free from the very notion of absolute victory as a suitable spiritual ideal, to discover 'any corner whatever of heaven' reserved for herself and those like her who have quit the battle for perfection but who struggle on in weakness without any definitive victories or signs of spiritual progress.

Heloise's third letter to Abelard marks a turning point not because it demonstrates her conversion or even predicts it, but because in this discursive exploration of the meaning of the religious life she begins to move away from those definitions of the spiritual life which depend upon an absolute break with the world and the past. The theory of Heloise's conversion, so often evoked to 'explain' her third letter, seems extraneous once we examine more closely the supposed gap between Heloise's personal confessions of weakness and her request for a new religious rule. It is not that God is absent in the early letters but present in the later ones. As we have seen, Heloise's critique does not depend upon her experience of a rich interior spiritual life. On the contrary, she avoids the popular meditative mode of Abelard and Aelred as surely in her third letter as in her previous ones.

Nor can Heloise be described as sensuous in one half of the correspondence and serious in the other. She is highly serious throughout, as Gilson demonstrates, whether analyzing her own spiritual inadequacies or those of the Benedictine Rule. In her personal letters she concerns herself primarily with her failure to achieve Abelard's model of spiritual perfection, whether embodied in his heroic terminology, his logical but highly abstract treatment of their past, especially of their conversions, or his theology of pure contrition and disinterested love. In her third letter, she directs her attention toward a different but related model of perfection

⁹¹ 3.82: 'Fateor imbecillitatem meam; nolo spe victoriae pugnare ne perdam aliquando victoriam. ... Quid necesse est certa dimittere, et incerta sectari?' (*Adversus Vigilantium* [PL 23.367B]).

embodied in the Benedictine Rule, which in Heloise's reading becomes another example of a kind of misplaced heroism, depending as it does on highly regulated asceticism to achieve spiritual perfection. Arguing first of all that such an athletic approach to spirituality is inappropriate for religious women (and it may help to recall that *ascesis* comes from the Greek verb meaning 'to exercise'), she moves toward a reformulation of the same critique she had used in her so-called personal letters, except that now the issue is not how Abelard has treated her spiritual dilemma, but how the Benedictine Rule treats the spiritual life in general. Heloise argues that the Benedictine Rule as practiced, like Abelard in his dealings with Heloise, ignores crucial differences between weak and strong, overvalues morally neutral external works, and, most importantly, fails adequately to guide the often unruly inner life, even though for Christians the interior life is all that matters. In Heloise's view, the result of both Abelard's and St. Benedict's spiritual models is the same, a kind of inauthenticity that Heloise experiences as a wide gap between her interior experience and her external circumstances.

Heloise's search for her own authenticity takes the form in her third letter of a forcefully presented request that Abelard define the rules for attaining that 'corner of heaven' that she has described as her goal. The rule which she requests, though simpler than most religious rules, is not necessarily easier, for Heloise knows full well that the new rule cannot serve as a substitute for the rich spiritual life that Abelard has falsely presumed she already enjoys. In fact, that the one cannot possibly be confused with the other is, for Heloise, a strong point in the new rule's favor, because it lessens the danger she sees in all religious rules, namely, that they tend to substitute works for faith. What the new rule emphasizing the simple apostolic life of celibacy and prayer can do, Heloise suggests, in addition to providing some practical guidance on the subject of prayer, is to help the nuns of the Paraclete, including herself, to focus more directly on the Gospel's irreducible demands that true Christians seek to do good and avoid evil for the love of God, requirements which entail an ongoing interior struggle with one's motives, memories, and desires. Most of what is needed in the new rule can be summarized, Heloise asserts, in a line from Persius: 'Do not look outside of yourself.'⁹² Most other rules are superfluous. Heloise asks for guidance concerning prayer, because she sees prayer as providing her only hope, not of perfection, but of salvation. Fearful of God's judgment and sure that he judges only the 'hidden places' of the heart, whose secrets she has already revealed, Heloise hopes yet for grace, realizing that God accepts not only prayers of praise but also those asking for help. Only rarely does Heloise refer directly to this modest hope, but in the climax of her letter she begs Abelard to substitute interior for exterior rules, reminding him that God

⁹² 5.251: 'Ne te quaesiveris extra' (*Sat.* 1.7).

himself says that he prefers cries for help to outward sacrifices, saying, 'Call on me in time of trouble and I will rescue you, and you shall honor me.'⁹³

Heloise's call to Abelard for help is neither a sign of defeat nor of conversion. It is instead a reasoned, learned critique of contemporary monastic life in light of her own history as well as her theology. Few writers in the twelfth century were prepared to offer such a balanced theoretical and practical appraisal of the monastic life.

University of California, Irvine.

⁹³ 5.252: '... *invoca me in die tribulationis; et eruam te, et honorificabis me*' (Ps 49:12-15).

THE STRUCTURE OF DREAM VISIONS IN *PIERS PLOWMAN*

James F. G. Weldon

THE three versions of *Piers Plowman* present different dream vision structures. Only the B-Text with its eight interlinked dreams and two internal dreams has an integrated and coherent pattern; the A-Text (and its precursor, the Z-Text)¹ by comparison seems incomplete, in embryo, whereas the C-Text interrupts the tightly woven structure of the B-Text, modifies it almost beyond recognition, and in places casts it aside completely.² Yet the series of dreams represents one of the unique and telling features of *Piers Plowman*, for, as one critic says, 'It is the only poem in Middle English to employ connected multiple dreams, interspersed by significant observations and actions of the Dreamer in his waking moments.'³ However, it has not always been sufficiently appreciated that these dreams do not fit into a single framework and that the 'waking moments' consist of carefully developed formal elements. Each dream has its separate prologue and epilogue, and in terms of formal properties constitutes a separate dream vision poem. Langland, especially in the B-Text, experiments with the dream vision form, for the eight dream visions are not simply a single pattern repeated eight times, but a unified structure composed of interrelated yet contrasting *kinds* of dream visions,

¹ William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The Z Version*, ed. A. G. Rigg and Charlotte Brewer (Studies and Texts 59; Toronto, 1983). Most editors agree that the Z-Text is in the 'A-tradition', but Rigg and Brewer put forth a good argument for considering the Z-Text as the precursor of the A-Text; see pp. 12-20.

² Derek Pearsall, ed., *Piers Plowman by William Langland. An Edition of the C-Text* (York Medieval Texts, 2nd Ser.; London, 1978), p. 11, claims 'C may be less exciting, but it makes better sense', while on the jacket to this edition we read '... the C-revision presents a clearer and less cluttered argument than B, and sharpens the lineaments of the poem.' These statements may bear some truth with respect to certain themes and philosophical arguments, but not with respect to the dreams or the structure of dreams. The C-Text changes completely the prologue pattern of Dream 2 as established in the A- and B-Texts, thereby disrupting the structure (see n. 48 below). Again, the C-Text omits the epilogue to Dream 4, the prologue to Dream 5, and the prologue to the internal dream within Dream 5.

³ Elton D. Higgs, 'The Path to Involvement: The Centrality of the Dreamer in *Piers Plowman*', *Tulane Studies in English* 21 (1974) 2.

and this structure clarifies what has been termed 'the progress of the Dreamer'.⁴ *Piers Plowman* can be seen, then, as an interconnected sequence of dream vision poems, similar in some ways to the sonnet sequences of the Renaissance.

I do not wish to push the above analogy too far, nor to suggest that Langland's poem or any other medieval poem reflects the more rigorous and systematic classical aesthetics of a later age, yet at the same time one cannot totally ignore questions of form in the later Middle Ages. It is in the fourteenth century that the dream vision realizes its existence as a poetic form,⁵ and in no other period of English literature are there so many attempts to create, experiment with, and sophisticate the dream vision; Chaucer left a legacy of four such works. Spearing suggests that 'a new consciousness of and interest in the nature and status of literature begins to develop in the fourteenth century',⁶ and this in turn suggests a heightened awareness of distinct literary traditions and formal properties. The dream vision poem is simple in form, consisting of a prologue and an epilogue, which are usually marked by the falling asleep and awakening of the dreamer, a narrator or dreamer, and a dream or vision.⁷ These essential elements, while obvious, are nevertheless identifying, allowing us to isolate and recognize the tradition in which the author places the work, and, more importantly for *Piers Plowman*, allowing us to isolate, and by doing so to contrast and compare, single or grouped dream visions in a series or sequence. From this perspective, the eight dream visions of the B-Text emerge more clearly as distinct formal units, each of which can be examined on its own merits so that the similarities and differences among them can be more readily grasped.

While the vision represents the single most important formal element (the thematic 'core' or central truth before hidden or unknown but now revealed), the prologue 'informs' the dream or places it in perspective, sometimes to the extent that it vies with the dream itself in offering an interpretation of the poem, as in Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls* or even *The Book of the Duchess*. In the hands of Guillaume de Machaut or Chaucer, the prologue frequently becomes a subtle, constantly shifting means of modulating the expectations of the audience and of setting both the dream and the dreamer in a new and changing light. According to current theory, the function of the prologue, rather than its content *per se*, is its most significant feature. First, it identifies the work; it reminds us that we are in the presence of a certain kind of literary construct and prepares us to be receptive to relevant implications of motifs, styles, and character types, or in

⁴ John Lawlor, *Piers Plowman: An Essay in Criticism* (London, 1962) develops this concept throughout this influential study, to which I am deeply indebted.

⁵ A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 4.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ See *ibid.*, pp. 4-5, and Constance B. Heatt, 'Un autre fourme: Guillaume de Machaut and the Dream Vision Form', *The Chaucer Review* 14 (1979) 97-100, especially 99-100, 107.

Middleton's words, 'the force of the prologue is not to forecast any particular event or content, but to declare that this is a literary event rather than an authoritative or factual discourse.'⁸ Second, the prologue prepares the audience for the dream which follows; part of the 'morphology' of the dream vision, argues Hieatt, is 'the motivating or symbolic prologue, providing clues for the interpretation'.⁹ Finally, the prologue largely creates the character of the dreamer, whether by alluding to convention,¹⁰ by shaping him anew, or by doing both at once. From the prologue, we discover whether the poem is in the erotic tradition of the *Roman de la Rose* or in the 'doctrinal'¹¹ or religious traditions of *The Consolation of Philosophy* or *The Dream of the Rood*, whether the dreamer is a naive lover, a serious but misguided man, or a holy man, and whether the dream is to be taken at its face value or not. In other words, the prologue is the form's modifying or interpretative element, and therefore in some respect the most distinguishing feature of the dream vision poem.

Compared to those of Gower, Chaucer, or the Pearl poet, Langland's prologues are brief, conveying no more than the barest details necessary to introduce dream and dreamer; that is, they are more essentially functional, relying more on allusion to and departure from established traditions and conventions rather than on amplified developments of them. Modern criticism has largely disregarded dream vision form in *Piers Plowman*, which has meant that Langland's prologues have often been overlooked or relegated to 'waking moments', so that their features and functions have also escaped critical notice.

Related to this is the habit of dividing the B-Text into two parts, *Visio* and *Vita*, with the result that the dream vision structure is then adapted to this bipartite division, thereby discouraging any close examination of the prologues which might suggest other principles of structure. Lawlor correctly stresses Passus VII as a crux in *Piers Plowman*, which in the pardon scene brings to the foreground the absolute demands of Law which requires 'an actual not a theoretical conformity to the Will

⁸ Anne Middleton, 'The Audience and the Public of *Piers Plowman*' in *Middle English Alliterative Poetry and Its Background. Seven Essays*, ed. David Lawton (Cambridge, 1982), p. 114. Middleton's remarks in context refer to the *chanson d'aventure* lyric form, which she feels 'offers perhaps the essential paradigm of literary fictive narration in this period' (p. 114). Whether the opening prologue of *Piers Plowman* also recalls the *chanson d'aventure*, I do not wish to consider here; I have simply placed her insights into the function of the prologue directly within the context of *Piers Plowman*, a liberty justified by Middleton's later comment, 'The source form of this prologue [the opening prologue in *Piers Plowman*] is of course the lyric *chanson d'aventure*' (p. 114).

⁹ Hieatt, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the Dream Vision Form', 105.

¹⁰ The character of the dreamer in many fourteenth-century English poems is in part conventional. Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, p. 285, observes, 'If we ... examine the characterization of this Dreamer, the "I" of *Piers Plowman*, we shall find a "self-portrait" which is, again, not unlike those of Langland's contemporaries. With whatever differences of emphasis, the common tradition is one of humorous self-depreciation, ranging from mild self-mockery to rueful admission of stupidity.'

¹¹ The term is taken from Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry*, pp. 18-24.

of God', a realization that necessarily accentuates human frailty in confrontation with such a moral absolute; this scene, then, initiates the themes of human perfection and the Incarnation, which occupy the rest of the poem.¹² This climactic point, continues Lawlor, ends 'this whole division of the poem'.¹³ The propensity to see the poem as having a bipartite structure (*Visio* [Prologue, Passus I-VII] and *Vita* [Passus VIII-XX], the B-Text) has as a consequence the restructuring of the dream visions; in particular, Dreams 1 and 2 are grouped together to accommodate the division at the end of Passus VII. Holleran sections the poem in three parts, each of which represents a different quest on the part of the dreamer, and the first quest contains the first two dreams or *Visio*.¹⁴ Higgs, closely following Lawlor, also sees 'three major sets of dreams', the first of which again consists of the first two dreams.¹⁵ I mention these critics because they have written fine studies of the dreamer and his role (and of the nature of the dreams themselves), without which we should have been less appreciative of *Piers Plowman*, but at the same time all three have accepted unquestionably the 'bipartite theory' of the B-Text.

Yet, as Schmidt points out, this theory is almost certainly a critical confusion perpetuated by Skeat, who gave to the B-Text the same division he had found indicated in the A-Text, for while many A-Text manuscripts designate a 'Visio de Petro Plowman' and a 'Vita de Dowel, Dobet, & Dobest secundum Wyt & Reson', 'there is no authority in the B-MSS for this division.'¹⁶ Indeed, even if we accept the idea that Passus VII offers a thematic climax as Lawlor believes, there is a danger in confounding the thematic line of argument, which is followed by the audience and perhaps by Piers,¹⁷ and the poem's structure which follows the dreams and the understanding of the dreamer, who, like most dreamers in the poems of the period, remains somewhat slow to comprehend the truth of what he sees. If, however, we pay attention to the formal elements, and especially to the prologues, we perceive a Langland sensitive to and experimenting with the possibilities of form and function. The prologues in *Piers Plowman*, and hence the dreams they introduce, create structural units which link or group together the various dreams according to how they delineate the dreamer's spiritual state and the nature of the dreams he experiences. The eight dreams of the B-Text I group as follows:

¹² Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, pp. 80-84, 295-96.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 81. See also Lawlor's remarks in his 'Introductory Notes', especially his comment, 'In the B-Text, the first part, the *Visio*, consists of a Prologue and Passus I to VII; the second part, the *Vita*, dealing with Do Well, Do Better, and Do Best, runs from Passus VIII to XX' (p. 13).

¹⁴ J. V. Holleran, 'The Role of the Dreamer in *Piers Plowman*', *Annuaire mediaevale* 7 (1966) 33, 37-39.

¹⁵ Higgs, 'The Path to Involvement', 4.

¹⁶ A. V. C. Schmidt, ed., *William Langland. The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Complete Edition of the B-Text* (Everyman's Library; London, 1978, rpt. 1982), pp. xix-xx.

¹⁷ Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, pp. 79-84, 297.

Group 1	Dreams 1, 2, 3 Prologue, Passus I-XII	Dreams of Attachment
Group 2	Dreams 4, 5, 6 Passus XIII-XVIII	Dreams of Detachment
Group 3	Dreams 7, 8 Passus XIX, XX	Dreams of Spiritual Advance.

In addition, within two of these groups are two internal dreams or dreams-within-dreams, one in Dream 3 (Group 1) and one in Dream 5 (Group 2).

I

THE STRUCTURE OF DREAMS: GROUP 1

The first three dreams of *Piers Plowman* represent what I have called 'Dreams of Attachment' in which both the nature of the dream vision form and dream content focus on the secular world and on a dreamer intrinsically attached to that world. The prologue to Dream 1 is doubly important in that it begins the poem and the first structural unit or group, and therefore justifies the rather close analysis that follows. This prologue begins with the characteristic feature of this group of prologues—the conventional May-morning *locus amoenus*, which, however stylistically abbreviated, identifies the type of dream vision we can expect to follow, the secular courtly love vision after the manner of the *Roman de la Rose*.¹⁸ Indeed, because of this, the abbreviated style together with the brevity of the prologue seems unusual.¹⁹ Certain other features of the prologue also seem unusual and seem to clash with the idea of a courtly love vision: the dress of the dreamer, his wanderlust, and his 'wonderlust', 'Wente wide in þis world wondres to here'.²⁰ All, however, point to worldliness.

These apparently minor details of dress, wandering, and wondering are nevertheless richly evocative, calling forth what T. S. Eliot defines as the sensitive audience's 'preparedness, a habit on the part of the public, to respond to particular stimuli'.²¹ The dreamer's dress associates him with a particular kind of hermit, 'an

¹⁸ See also Elizabeth D. Kirk, *The Dream Thought of Piers Plowman* (New Haven, 1972), p. 16.

¹⁹ Most contemporary dream vision poems have lengthy or comparatively lengthy prologues. The authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, and the *Pearl*, for example, dwell far more insistently on the details of the landscape (whether within or without the actual prologue) and on the movement of the dreamer.

²⁰ William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The B Version*, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London, 1975), Prologue, l. 4; unless otherwise stated, all references will be to the text of this edition. Also heavily consulted were: *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman, Together With Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest Secundum Wit et Resoun* (Texts A, B, C, and 'Notes'), ed. W. W. Skeat (EETS OS 28, 38, 54, 67; London, 1867, 1869, 1873, 1877); *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. Schmidt; *Piers Plowman: The Z Version*, ed. Rigg and Brewer; *Piers the Plowman: A Critical Edition of the A-Version*, ed. Thomas A. Knott and David C. Fowler (Baltimore, 1952; rpt. 1969); and Pearsall's edition of the C-Text.

²¹ T. S. Eliot, 'The Possibility of a Poetic Drama' in *The Sacred Wood* (London, 1920; rpt. 1964), p. 64.

heremite, vnholý of werkes' (Prologue, l. 3). Much has been made of this line. The dreamer becomes a 'wolf in sheep's clothing' (a 'vicious' man pretending to be otherwise), a false hermit (illegal as well as corrupt: he belongs to no authorized religious order but claims privileges as though he did), a sinful man (the emphasis falls on the word 'vnholý' which is taken literally), and so on.²²

While not wishing to deny the force of word-play, I suggest that the principal semantic emphasis of the phrase 'vnholý of werkes' suits the immediate context in which the dreamer is not condemned or judged morally but simply characterized; here the phrase carries no disapprobation, and merely clarifies the point that the dreamer does not belong to a religious order: he is a secular hermit.

Furthermore, for a Middle English audience, the word 'hermit' need not have indicated a religious recluse in the sense of a man who opts for the solitary life in pursuit of religious contemplation or of an uncontaminated Christian existence. The *OED* records a fifteenth-century meaning of the word 'hermit' as 'a quasi-religious mendicant; a vagabond', but the word may also have excluded notions of 'quasi-religious' and simply have meant 'vagabond', 'wanderer', 'traveller', or 'pilgrim'.²³ The *Middle English Dictionary* gives no support for the *OED* reading, but defines 'heremite(e)' as 'A man who, from religious motives, lives in relative solitude; a male Christian recluse', and defines a false hermit as 'one who has not renounced human society, or one who poses as a hermit to avoid working'.²⁴ An interesting word, 'hermiting', appears in the Herefordshire dialect, the dialect spoken in the area of the Malvern Hills, which simply means 'keeping to oneself', and which has no overtones of belonging to a religious order.²⁵ In *Piers Plowman*, the dreamer's dress is rustic and simple, the type often worn in the period by wandering hermits and pilgrims,²⁶ not like the decorated robe of the ostentatious pilgrim of Passus v with 'An hundred of Ampulles on his hat seten ... And many crouch on his cloke' (ll. 520, 521), but like the dress of Pacience in Passus xiii: 'Ac Pacience in þe Paleis stood in pilgrymes cloþes / And preyde mete "*pur charite*, for a pouere heremyte"' (ll. 29-30). Although Pacience is a 'pouere

²² For a review of interpretations, see David Mills, 'The Rôle of the Dreamer in *Piers Plowman*' in *Piers Plowman: Critical Approaches*, ed. S. S. Hussey (London, 1969), pp. 180-212, especially pp. 180-87.

²³ Morton W. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1962), p. 24, interprets the phrase 'vnholý of werkes' to suggest that the dreamer is a *gyrovagus*, 'the careless, selfish, wandering monk who, free of religious discipline, made a livelihood by his profession.' But there is nothing in the opening prologue to suggest that the dreamer belonged to religious orders, minor or otherwise. Autobiographical details, if we may take them as such, are introduced only later, and then, gradually.

²⁴ *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn et al. (Ann Arbor, 1963).

²⁵ *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright, 3 (London, 1902).

²⁶ See Skeat, 'Notes', pp. 3 nn. 2, 3 and 207-208 n. 1.

heremyte', he is not a member of a religious order, and like the dreamer, is a secular traveller, a pilgrim, even though his motives and aims may differ.²⁷

In addition to his secular dress, the dreamer's motivations are secular in nature. The idea of wandering implies that the dreamer has lost his way in an allegorical sense, that he has chosen a path other than the path to truth, like Dante, another wanderer, who also discovered 'ché la diritta via era smarrita' (*Inferno* 1.3), 'that the straight way was lost'. While Dante is immediately conscious of his predicament, the dreamer of *Piers Plowman* never seems aware at the outset of the moral situation; he accepts his motiveless wandering without the least tinge of remorse that he is *errant*.

In this way, we see an analogy with the hero of medieval secular romance, who pursues a private or personal ideal which has little if any relation to his socio-political civilization or the Church.²⁸ The romance hero's function is therefore 'meaningless' in religious and social terms. Eric Auerbach succinctly phrases this essential feature of romance in his chapter titled 'The Knight Sets Forth',²⁹ or, as Finlayson observes, 'The Knight rides out alone to seek adventure.'³⁰ Because the hero's actions are valuable only in an individual sense, they occur outside the representative centres of civilization, the castle and the court, and often begin in an abrupt, arbitrary way, a sudden desire to seek 'aventure', which Chaucer parodies in *Sir Thopas*: 'And so bifel upon a day,/ For sothe, as I yow telle may,/ Sire Thopas wolde out ride.'³¹ Similarly, in many of Malory's tales, as in the following passage from *Sir Palomides*:

And the kynge of Scotland gaff hym grete giffes, and fayne they wolde have had hym abyde wyth them, but he wolde nat in no wyse.

And so he departed and rode as adventures wolde gyde hym tyll hitte was nyghe none.³²

²⁷ Notice that 'hermit' and 'pilgrim' are used interchangeably here, and the fact that at Conscience's feast the dreamer, who is dressed 'as an heremite', is seated with the pilgrim Pience confirms the idea that they are to be seen in the same light as secular travellers. However, the figure of Pience, while a personified virtue, also represents a sincere pilgrim or hermit, one whose motives and quests have clear moral and religious aims, whereas the dreamer at the outset is at best a well-meaning but confused secular traveller. See Mills, 'The Rôle of the Dreamer', 186-87.

²⁸ John Finlayson 'Definitions of Middle English Romance', *The Chaucer Review* 15 (1980) 54.

²⁹ Eric Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953).

³⁰ Finlayson, 'Definitions of Middle English Romance', 55.

³¹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Sir Thopas, The Canterbury Tales* (F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edition [Boston, 1957; rpt. 1961]), ll. 748-750. (Chaucer will henceforth be cited from this edition).

³² Thomas Malory, *Sir Palomides in The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyons* (Eugène Vinaver, ed., *The Works of Thomas Malory*, 2nd edition [London, 1967; rpt. 1973], p. 466.

And it is in contrast with the epic champions of church and state that the romantic Sir Gawain sets forth in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*: 'Thane weendes owtt the wardayne, Sir Wawayne hym selfen,/ Alls he that weysse was and whyghte, wondrys to seke.'³³ The mere presence of knights and armed combat, then, does not signify that the work is a romance; all depends on the hero's motivations and function in relation to the larger background of church and society.

In *Piers Plowman*, the dreamer, though certainly not a knight, nevertheless shares some of the characteristics of the romance hero discussed above. We are invited to think of the romance world immediately when the dreamer tells us that, 'Me bifel a ferly, of Fairye me þogte' (Prologue, l. 6), and he makes the same arbitrary decision to wander as Sir Thopas and Sir Palomides: 'In a somer seson whan softe was þe sonne,/ I shoop me into a shroud as I a sheep weere' (Prologue, ll. 1-2). Confusion of the dreamer and the poet and of the details of this opening prologue and later apparently autobiographical details tend to obscure the dreamer's initial motivations. Here he is presented not as a clerk in minor orders, a beadsman, or any of the other 'facts' commonly associated with the author, but as a man who suddenly one summer decides to change dress and to travel, and whose motiveless wanderings recall the equally motiveless quest of Sir Gawain in the *Morte Arthure*; the dreamer, too, goes 'wide in þis world wondres to here' (Prologue, l. 4).³⁴

This opening situation of aimless wanderings, of a traveller seeking adventures or wonders in this world, also recalls the travelbook genre, which became immensely popular in the fourteenth century. Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* is really a fictitious account of wonders seen by such a traveller, and, although he offers a weak moral justification for his travels by praising the Holy Land and by describing the routes thereto, there is little doubt that his primary purpose is to satisfy the human attraction to the exotic, to the strange wonders of this world: 'For many men han gret likyng to here speke of straunge thinges of dyuerse contreyes.'³⁵ Another fourteenth-century traveller, Friar Odoric, states more clearly the purposes of his voyages:

Albeit many and sundry things are reported by divers authors concerning the fashions and conditions of this world: notwithstanding I Friar Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis, being desirous to travel into the foreign and remote nations of

³³ *Morte Arthure*, ed. John Finlayson (York Medieval Texts; London, 1967), ll. 2513-14. See Finlayson's comments in the 'Introduction' to the text (p. 18).

³⁴ Just as the dreamer implies that he was not always a 'hermit' in the opening prologue, he also implies that he did not always dress in the robes of a hermit. Both the decision to wander and the donning of a particular mode of dress represent abrupt or arbitrary motives, similar to the departure motives of the hero of secular romance.

³⁵ John Mandeville, *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. Michael C. Seymour (Oxford, 1967), p. 15.

infidels, saw and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truly to avouch.³⁶

Like the secular romance and like the dream vision, these works record a journey from the known world to an unknown world. Instead of a dreamer, we have a traveller who wanders throughout the world acting as eyewitness to equally strange events. While this genre presents the unknown as part of this world (it claims to be objective), the fantastic sights are largely fictitious, and the travel book is therefore a work of art, not a description of nature. Wandering for the sake of wonders, then, belongs to this branch of secular fiction as well.

For a medieval audience, therefore, this prologue to Dream 1 offers signs or raises associations clearly linked to secular literature in which the attitude towards experience is worldly and not religious. Three quest motifs coincide: the secular hermit-traveller's (pilgrim's) quest, the romance quest, and the secular dream quest; all quests are worldly, and all the features mentioned above reappear in the dream itself and are reflected in the dreamer's attitudes. Ironically, the first dream immediately places worldliness in perspective. The 'fair feeld ful of folk' lies between the Tower of Truth and the Dungeon of Wrong, and this correcting framework throws into bold relief the secular dream prologue and the worldly motivations of the dreamer. From a religious perspective, the dreamer has a defective character, what Lawlor calls the 'defensive blindness of the Dreamer';³⁷ he is blind to the truth and blind to his own defects in this part of the poem, both of which defects are accented by the later rebuffs he receives from Holy Church and Dame Study. His blindness is also expressed by his own behaviour, that is, by expected reactions or reactions typical of the type of dream vision indicated in the prologue.

The features of the opening prologue (the prologue to Dream 1) mark the dream to follow as 'secular', in the same way that the elements discussed above mark the dreamer as 'worldly'. The most predominant and easily recognizable feature is the conventional *locus amoenus*, the May-morning landscape normally associated with erotic dream poetry in this period.³⁸ Landscapes and settings, however, not only

³⁶ Friar Odoric, *The Journal of Friar Odoric in The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, The Voyages of Johannes de Plano Carpini, The Journal of Friar William de Rubruquis, The Journal of Friar Odoric*, and selections from *Hakluyt's Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries* (New York, 1964), p. 326.

³⁷ Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, p. 302.

³⁸ Although the dreams in *Piers Plowman* begin in 'a somer seson', the landscape of broad [grassy?] banks and sweet-sounding flowing water belongs to the May-morning landscape convention as does the internal dream setting of Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls*, which is intended as a St. Valentine's Day celebration (14 February); see Jack B. Oruch, 'St. Valentine, Chaucer, and Spring in February', *Speculum* 56 (1981) 534-65. The springtime element is symbolic, regardless of the actual season.

intimate the kind of dream to follow but to an extent characterize in a symbolic way the narrator; as Piehler observes, 'The setting inevitably constitutes an essential dimension of the meaning of the figure [the narrator or dreamer], whether by way of reinforcement, or more rarely, by way of contrast.'³⁹ In other words, the conventional elements of the spring landscape lead us to expect that the subject of the dream will in some way involve 'love' and that the dreamer will be, if not a lover, then someone with an interest in love. But the 'love' that we meet in the first part of *Piers Plowman* is the love of this world, and it is in this sense that the dreamer is a lover, even though he remains unaware of or blind to the real object of his affections.⁴⁰

In Dream 1 the first lady he encounters is Holy Church, whose dress alienates her from the courtly love tradition suggested by the prologue; her vestments consist of plain linen, not the sumptuous fashions of courtly society: 'A louely lady of leere in lynnyn ycloped' (Passus 1.3). Her beauty reveals her as a worthy object of love, and while the dreamer responds to her beauty, his attraction is mingled with fear: 'I was afered of hire face þeiȝ she fair weere' (Passus 1.10). The dreamer's fear can be only partly explained as awe in the presence of a 'womman of ful greet reverence by semblaunt' such as Lady Philosophy in *The Consolation of Philosophy*, where Boethius, too, feels overawed: 'I wax al abayssched and astoned, and caste my syghte down to the erthe',⁴¹ and can be measured more accurately by his reaction to Lady Meed. The description of this lady differs significantly from the description of Holy Church. Reference to her beauty is omitted; only the details of her luxurious dress remain to formulate this flawed *effictio*.⁴² She is richly adorned in scarlet robes, furs, and precious stones, and her attire indicates her central position

³⁹ Paul Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape: A Study in Medieval Allegory* (London, 1971), p. 13.

⁴⁰ Langland achieves the same effect by combining the conventional *locus amoenus* and the realistic naming of the setting as the Malvern Hills. There is a danger in making too much of the realistic setting; R. W. V. Elliott, 'The Langland Country' in *Critical Approaches*, ed. Hussey, p. 228, claims that the 'real' setting is heavily indebted to the May-morning convention, and Kirk, *Dream Thought*, p. 20, while distinguishing the prologue landscape from the 'field' setting, nevertheless sees in the setting a certain amount of objective realism: '... this scene is precisely the landscape one still sees looking east from any point along the heights above Malvern and its Abbey Church.' There are no features of the prologue landscape, however, even though designated as the Malvern Hills, which could not be found in almost any conventional landscape of the period. There exists a similar danger in minimizing the significance of the conventional landscape, as does E. Talbot Donaldson, *Piers Plowman: The C-Text and Its Poet* (Yale Studies in English 113; New Haven, 1949), pp. 48-50, 71-74, referring to it as non-functional ornament. Instead, Langland simply accentuates the worldliness implicit in the symbolic landscape by locating it in this world.

⁴¹ Chaucer, *Boece*, Prosa 1.5, 78-80 (p. 321).

⁴² The description of Lady Meed does not follow the head-to-toe idealized description of physical details prescribed by rhetorical manuals such as Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* and known as *effictio*. Is this intentional on Langland's part, so that Lady Meed's portrait represents a flawed object of love or rather a flawed perception on the part of the dreamer?

in the scale of worldly values. She is obviously a noblewoman, and furthermore, she is clearly 'queen of this world', 'Ycorouned in a coroune, þe kyng haþ noon better' (Passus II.10).

The dreamer, himself wholly worldly at this point, remains unconcerned about Lady Meed's beauty or the lack of it, and, when we remember the importance of beauty (and therefore the significance of its omission or negation), we can appreciate the situation more closely. Visible beauty is the very source of courtly love, and it is by means of beauty that love proceeds from the mundane and physical to the ideal, if not to the spiritual;⁴³ thus the black knight describes the moment in which he first saw Blanche and fell in love: 'Soth to seyen y sawgh oon/ That was lyk noon of the route ... For al the world so hadde she/ Surmounted hem alle of beaute.'⁴⁴ But the dreamer, regardless of his protests to the contrary, is here untouched by spiritual idealism, and so his attraction to Lady Meed knows no restraints: 'Hire array me rauysshed; swich richesse saug I nevere./ I hadde wonder what she was and whos wif she were' (Passus II.17-18).⁴⁵

Discussing how the soul comes to a knowledge of God, St. Thomas introduces the concept that the mode of knowing follows the mode of the knower, and that the more the soul is abstracted from corporeal things, the more it is capable of receiving a knowledge of higher spiritual things; conversely, the more it is attracted to worldly things, the less it is capable of such knowledge.⁴⁶ The dreamer's

⁴³ See C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936; rpt. 1953), pp. 32-43. The idea was common in the Middle Ages, and it is enough to think of Dante's first sighting of Beatrice in *La vita nuova* and of her later role in the *Commedia*.

⁴⁴ Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchess*, II. 818-819, 825-826.

⁴⁵ In the first part of *Piers Plowman* (the first three dreams, Group 1), the dreamer seems to move from aimless wandering to having clearly defined religious and moral goals; see Elizabeth Salter, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1962), p. 41, who defines Holy Church's role in the poem as orientating the dreamer. After meeting Holy Church, the dreamer quips, 'Teche me to no tresor, but tel me þis ilke,/ How I may saue my soule þat Seint art yholden' (Passus I.83-84), and later announces his apparently new quest 'for to seke dowel' (Passus VIII.2), both of which contrast with his aimless wonder-seeking in the opening prologue. Some readers have taken the dreamer at his word, and have seen in such remarks evidence of his transformation from a mere adventurer to a man who from this point on embarks on the spiritual life (see Holleran, 'The Role of the Dreamer', 34-35). Frederick Copleston in *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 2.1: *Mediaeval Philosophy* (New York, 1950; rpt. 1962), pp. 58-59, recounts the story of St. Augustine who had accepted the idea of Christianity long before his famous conversion in the garden so vividly presented in the *Confessions*, and argues for the distinction between a mere intellectual conversion and a sincere moral conversion or 'real assent'; it seems a useful distinction to bear in mind when thinking of the dreamer in *Piers Plowman*. The original 'wonderlust' of the dreamer undergoes no real metamorphosis here; only the 'object' of the wonder changes or becomes defined. Until his much later moral conversion (see below), the dreamer's intellectual conversion remains ineffectual, and he fails to comprehend what he sees. Moreover, his intellectual conversion, his discovery of and acceptance of new goals, is essentially superficial, for he cannot and does not move beyond his initial worldliness.

⁴⁶ *Summa theologiae* I.12.4, 11 (*Introduction to Saint Thomas Aquinas*, ed. Anton C. Pegis [New York, 1948], pp. 76-79, 90-93). (Translations of and references to the *Summa theologiae* in the notes following are cited from this collection).

instinctive and unhesitant attraction to Lady Meed demonstrates his worldliness and the kind of blindness to which he is susceptible in this first part of *Piers Plowman*. If he seems to make progress from the aimless wonder-seeker of the prologue to a goal-orientated quester after his encounter with Holy Church, the change is illusory, for his goals are tinged with his inherent defects of character, which he does not overcome until the second part of the poem.

The first prologue therefore, with its several intimations of secular literary kinds, and in particular the secular dream vision poem, raises expectations about the dream and the dreamer, which the dream inevitably fulfils. Moreover, the dreamer expresses his worldliness precisely within the conventions of this secular literature: motiveless wandering, seeking wonders in the world, and courtly love behaviour.⁴⁷ His defects provoke sharp rebukes by Holy Church and Dame Study (they are, in fact, the sharpest rebukes he receives), and he remains throughout this section of the poem (that is, the first section structured by the first three dream visions or Group 1) a figure characterized by values inherent in the prologue.

The prologues to Dreams 2 and 3 have similar import and are linked by a series of echoes and interrelated themes, the most significant of which is the *locus amoenus*. The 'space' thus indicated by the landscape of Prologue 1 does not substantially change; rather the original setting is only slightly and relatively extended and modified. In Prologue 2, the physical movement of the dreamer recalls the wandering motif of the first prologue:

Ac er I hadde faren a furlong, feyntise me hente,
 That i ne myzte ferþer a foot for defaute of slepynge.
 I sat softly adoun and seide my bileue,
 And so I bablede on my bedes, þei brouzte me aslepe.
 (Passus v.5-8)

In modern terms, a furlong is 1/8 of a mile or 220 yards. Originally the word signified the length of a furrow in a common field or a square containing ten acres (*OED*). Whether the word here represents an exact measure of length or whether Langland simply employed it for alliterative expediency presents no real problem in the text, which clearly indicates a rather short measure of distance relative to the original landscape scene of the first prologue, as the determiner 'er' above suggests and as the epilogue states; we are still in the 'Maluerne hulles' (Epi-

⁴⁷ Only in this first section of the poem (the dreams of Group 1) does the dreamer exhibit courtly love behaviour, first upon seeing Lady Meed, where his immediate attraction suggests his attraction to the world, and later in the presence of Dame Study, to whom he 'submits'; his language is the language of courtly love: '... "mercy, madame; youre man shal I worþe/ As longe as I lyue, boþe late and rabe,/ For to werche youre wille while my lif dureþ"' (Passus x.148-150). His overtures to Dame Study indicate a change in the dreamer as his attachment to the world begins to undergo a transformation.

logue 2, Passus vii.147). In other words, the suggestiveness of the landscape of the first prologue with its 'secularity' is intentionally continued in the second, which is really an extension of it.⁴⁸

Prologue 2, however, introduces several new implications. The dreamer's taste for wandering and wondering has received new impetus from his first vision; he wishes to see more, for he was left unsatisfied after his first dream: 'Thanne waked I of my wynkyng and wo was withalle/ That I ne hadde slept sadder and yseizen moore' (Passus v.3-4). Dream 2 answers that desire, once more returning to the 'feld ful of folk': 'Thanne mette me muche moore þan I bfore tolde./ For I seiz þe feld ful of folk þat I before tolde' (Passus v.9-10). But the dreamer wishes to observe and receive passively the truth—to dream more deeply and see more, all of which confirms his weakness of character, his tendency to want to 'know' without 'being' and his propensity to treat spiritual truth as secular wonder, an entertainment of the intellect. The dreamer 'desires all-embracing answers, but his gaze is directed outwards',⁴⁹ that is, outwards towards others and the world instead of inwards. Holy Church had already lost patience with his ambitious intellectual searching, and had warned him of the folly of looking without when the solution lies within: "'Thow doted daffe!" quod she, "dulle are þi wittes ... It is a kynde knowyng that kenneþ in þyn herte"' (Passus i.140, 143). The dreamer does not or cannot change at this point; he remains impetuous in asking and impetuous in his desire to see merely, and this impetuosity carries a dangerous risk, turning him, away from practice to passive intellectual inquiry.⁵⁰ In his second dream, therefore, the dreamer abandons his role as actor and becomes an observer.

Prologue 2 also deviates from Prologue 1 in the dreamer's new posture while falling asleep; he recites his 'bileue' on his rosary. This represents not so much a change in the dreamer's spiritual condition, for spiritual progress does not occur until later, as a foreshadowing of the heightening of the visionary material to appear

⁴⁸ The prologue to Dream 2 in the C-Text deviates completely. The season becomes 'In an hot heruest' (Passus v.7), and the 'space' changes to the dreamer's home in 'Cornehull' (Passus v.1) in London. After a long digressive debate with Reason in which the dreamer reveals many of the presumed autobiographical details concerning the author, he then goes to church:

And to þe kyrke y gan go, god to honoure,
Byfore þe cross on my knees knocked y my brest,
Syzyng for my synnes, seggyng my *pater-noster*,
Wepying and waylyng til y was aslepe. (C-Text, Passus v.105-108)

The dreamer's apparent repentance here is premature, for his spiritual development takes place later in the B-Text (see below) and in the C-Text itself. Moreover, although Prologue 2 of the C-Text dispenses with the *locus amoenus*, abruptly shifting the scene to 'Cornehull', Epilogue 2 of the C-Text retains reference to 'Maluerne hulles' (C-Text, Passus ix.297) oblivious to the actual change of scene. With its jumble of space and season, the C-Text creates a confusion which does not exist in the more coherent A- and B-Texts.

⁴⁹ Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, p. 283.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 284-85.

in Dream 2. He meets no guide in this vision, but now the secular world is brought directly into contact with spiritual truth; pilgrimage follows repentance and Piers the Plowman becomes mankind's guide in the quest to find St. Truth. The organization of the half acre under Piers represents the world's attempt to reform itself according to moral maxims. This attempt on the part of mankind to find salvation and St. Truth fails, however, just as the dreamer's declarations of intention (above, n. 45) and ritual saying of his beads leads him no nearer to the truth he seeks. The dreamer proceeds to Dream 3 without a clearer understanding of what he has seen and without a spiritual conversion or spiritual advance.

Prologue 3 similarly continues the themes and landscapes of the former two prologues. Passus VIII begins with reference to the hermit dress mentioned in Prologue 1: 'Thus yrobed in russet I romed aboute' (VIII.1).⁵¹ He is again the wanderer, but not so aimless as before; he has now set out 'for to seke dowel' (VIII.2). However, even with this aim in mind, his motivations do not appreciably change. He asks the same impetuous questions in the third dream as he had before, and more or less demonstrates that to him 'Dowel' represents the source of yet another intellectual curiosity. His wander-wonderlust therefore leads him once again to the landscape of the secular dream vision (the May-morning setting). While not identical to or relative to the Malvern Hills landscape of Prologues 1 and 2, it is of the same kind, and perhaps suggests an even greater attachment to the world with its elevated sensuality (more emphasis on scene and sound) and its labyrinthine forest reminiscent of Dante and its 'marvels' reminiscent of romance:

Thus I wente widewher dowel to seke,
 And as I wente by a wode, walkyng myn one,
 Blisse of þe briddes abide me made,
 And vnder a lynde vpon a launde lened I a stounde
 To lerne þe layes þat louely foweles made.
 Murpe of hire mouþes made me to slepe;
 The merueillouseste metels mette me þanne
 That euer dremed drigt in doute, as I wene.

(Passus VIII.62-69)⁵²

⁵¹ According to Skeat, 'Notes', pp. 207-208, 'russet' was the usual colour of hermits' robes of the period and also describes the coarse woolen cloth worn by the lower orders.

⁵² Line 69 reads in some manuscripts 'That euer wygght in þis world as y wene dremede', a reading which nicely emphasizes the quality of 'secularity' I have been examining. See Skeat's edition of the B-Text, p. 128.69, Donaldson and Kane's edition, l. 69 and p. 387 n. 69, and Schmidt's edition, l. 70 and p. 88 n. 70.

In addition, the C-Text (Pearsall's edition) offers the variation for l. 68 of the B-Text, 'And merueilousliche me mette amyddes al þat blisse' (Passus x.67), where the phrase 'al þat blisse' stresses the pleasures of the *locus amoenus*, thereby emphasizing the tone of sensuality and worldliness.

These three prologues, then, form a single unit or group, initiating what I have called 'Dreams of Attachment'. The prologues reflect not so much the matter of the dreams, although they do to some extent, as the nature of the dreamer, himself immersed in and attached to the world he perceives and sometimes condemns in his visions. Syntactic connectors link specific features of these prologues, features which draw attention to the literary kind of composition the audience can expect, namely, the hermit dress, the wandering activity, and the *locus amoenus*: 'Ac er I hadde faren a furlong' (Passus v.5), 'Thus yrobed in russet' (Passus viii.1), and 'Thus I wente widewher' (Passus viii.62) (italics mine). Moreover, the literary kind (the secular dream vision) presupposes a particular attitude towards experience which we find characteristic of the dream material and the dreamer in this unified section. The dreams focus on the world and on the dreamer's attempts to discover answers in the world by means of his own understanding, which, as Holy Church and Dame Study indicate, is somewhat defective, itself a product of the world.⁵³ After Passus xii, however, we notice a change in the dreamer, for his character undergoes a metamorphosis in Passus xi, occasioned by his internal dream or dream-within-a-dream (hereafter, simply DWD) which takes place in Dream 3, Passus xi.

Langland carefully distinguishes the DWD from the external dream framework, a deviation which not only sets off this special category of dream but indicates its novel function of advancing the spiritual condition of the dreamer. While the DWD maintains the dream vision form of prologue, narrator, vision, and epilogue, none of the carefully linked features of the external prologue group examined above appears in the prologue to the DWD. There is no suggestion of movement or travelling, no allusion to dress, and no hint of place, explicit or implicit. This spacelessness and timelessness which conspicuously breaks with the earlier pattern perhaps suggests a break in dream consciousness, for, after the experience of the DWD, the dreamer gains new insight and can therefore proceed to a new level of spiritual vision in the dreams of Group 2.

The prologue of the DWD in Dream 3 begins with reference to the internal, emotional state of the dreamer, and not, as in the external prologues, to external features. Here, because of Scripture's scolding, he feels self-chagrin, shame, and

⁵³ For example, the allegorical figures he meets in Dream 3 represent qualities of the human mind (Holleran, 'The Role of the Dreamer', 39), possibly the qualities of his own mind. But for medieval thinkers, the world was a fallen world, and the human mind was likewise fallen, the product of original sin. Given its corrupted nature and limitations, the unaided human intellect can only perceive the things of this world. As St. Thomas states, 'It is impossible for any created intellect to see the essence of God by its own natural power' (*ST* 1.12.4 contra; ed. Pegis, p. 77), and it is equally impossible for the dreamer by means of his own mental qualities to grasp spiritual truth. The unaided intellect is condemned to worldliness, and the dreamer, for all his declarations of good intentions, remains very much wordly in this sense.

perhaps guilt: 'Tho wepte I for wo and wraþe of hir speche/ And in a wynkyng worþ til I weex aslepe' (Passus xi.4-5). Scripture has told him that he lacks self-knowledge: *Multi multa sciunt et seipsos nesciunt* (Passus xi.3),⁵⁴ which echoes Holy Church's earlier rebuke concerning the dreamer's inability to discern 'the kynde knowyng that kenneþ in þyn herte' (Passus i.143). One of the impediments to real self-knowledge resides in distraction from the truth and the self, and excessive attraction to the false goods of the world and to the lesser faculties of the self, or, as St. Thomas, following St. Augustine, says, 'Sin has for its principal object a mutable good, which is known to us.'⁵⁵ The author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* similarly speaks of the necessity of a cloud of forgetting to be placed between ourselves and the world if we are to experience God in our souls.⁵⁶ And Lady Philosophy admonishes Boethius for having lost his true self by putting his faith in Fortune, the goddess of this world; such attachment to the world, she argues, results in agitations of mind which:

"this power they han, that they mai moeve a man from his place (*that is to seyn, fro the stabelnesse and perfeccion of his knowynge*)...." "Now woot I," quod sche, "other cause of thi maladye and that ryght greet: thou has left for to knowen thyselfe what thou art...."⁵⁷

This lack of self-knowledge and hence of the knowledge of the truth existing within is specifically linked to worldliness, and therefore in the DWD it is more than appropriate that the dreamer encounters Fortune. Her words to him as she shows him the world crystallize into bold statement what the poetry has alluded to all along, and she significantly refers back to the dreamer's original wonderlust: 'And in a Mirour þat higte middelerþe she made me biholde./ Siþen she seide to me, "here myztow se wondres/ And knowe þat þow coueitest and come þerto paraunter"' (Passus xi.8-10). Fortune confronts the dreamer with his essential weakness and plainly identifies his characteristic motivation in the first three dreams. In the DWD, moreover, the dreamer witnesses and experiences the failure of worldliness and Fortune's rule, and consequently the limitations of his own state of mind. By means of a process similar to the dialectic of the Platonic dialogues, the dreamer in discourse with Lewte and Scripture finally comes to assess himself: 'Al for tene of hir text trembled myn herte,/ And in a weer gan I wexe, and wiþ myself to dispute/ Wheiþer I were chosen or noȝt chosen' (Passus xi.115-117).

Further encounters with Scripture, Trajan, and Kinde in the DWD clearly leave their mark on the dreamer, for, although he does not yet reach his highest spiritual

⁵⁴ 'Many men know many things and yet know not themselves' (translation mine).

⁵⁵ St. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1-2.112.5 ad 3 (ed. Pegis, p. 680).

⁵⁶ *The Cloud of Unknowing* in *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson (EETS OS 218; London, 1944); pp. 24.1-14, 25.16-19, 26.1-12.

⁵⁷ Chaucer, *Boece*, Prosa 6.50-53, 66-68 (p. 328).

level in this section of the poem (he stills acts impetuously and debates foolishly over issues too deep for his present understanding—his old weakness), he moves nevertheless from a state of blind wordliness to a state of being less worldly, and this represents an important phase in his evolution or progress. After the DWD, he no longer seeks a fixed and knowable truth easily grasped, but understands that spiritual progress involves spiritual activity and not intellectual lust:

Thanne seide I to myself, 'slepyng hadde I grace
 To wite what dowel is, ac wakyng neuere'.
 And as I caste vp myne eizen oon loked on me.
 'What is dowel?' quod þat wigt; 'ywis, sire', I saide,
 'To se mucche and suffre moore, certes, is dowel.'
 (Passus xi.408-412)

These words follow the argument scene with Reson in the DWD from which the dreamer has just awakened. The humility of tone expresses the dreamer's changed attitude, and he precipitates no more debates throughout the rest of the poem. And Ymaginatif offers the last rebuke he is to receive, itself mild in tone to suit the dreamer's new behaviour.

II

THE STRUCTURE OF DREAMS: GROUP 2

The second structural unit in the poem is again marked by three dreams, but they are different in kind. The literary construct changes and we no longer inhabit a world of secular experiences: we move further and further away from such things. While Langland continues to use the form of the dream vision poem, the prologues of Group 2 make no mention of the conventional *locus amoenus*, the wandering for personal entertainment, or the secular themes and motifs of related literary types. Dreams 4, 5, and 6 project a more pensive dreamer, still wandering, but now divested of space and landscape, and more and more outside the society of men. These are 'Dreams of Detachment' from the world, and just as the dreamer in these prologues disassociates himself from the world, his visions become more and more spiritual.

Prologue 4 emphasizes a different contemplative mood. If earlier dreams had left the dreamer thinking, it was in a lighter vein. After Dream 2, he felt 'wel pencif in herte' (Passus vii.151) and meditated often upon the substance of his visions. Yet the meditative mood of Prologue 4 with its 'envelope pattern'⁵⁸ allusion to

⁵⁸ This term appears in Adeline Courtney Bartlett's *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, 1935; rpt. 1966), pp. 29 ff., and is used by Edward B. Irving, Jr. in *A Reading of Beowulf* (New Haven, 1968), p. 95 and elsewhere to describe the rhetorical arrangement used by Old English poets (and later alliterative poets writing in the Old English tradition) in which

thought implies another plane of musing, more intense than before, as the repetition of ll. 4 and 21 suggest. Similarly, the words 'witlees' (Passus XIII.1) and 'fey' (Passus XIII.2) suggest a more acute state of mental agitation or turbulence caused by his previous dream experience.⁵⁹ Furthermore, his role changes. He is a social outcast now because his new perspective, his new way of perceiving the world, sets him apart from those around him. He refers to himself as a 'mendy-naunt' (Passus XIII.3), whereas before in the B-Text he made no reference to how he earned his livelihood. This alteration is slight, but it introduces a new relation to society as one who does not delve in the world for his living and perhaps for the first time in the poem intimates something of a lay vocation (one of the minor orders). At any rate, he no longer wanders to seek wonders in the world.

The themes touched upon in Prologue 4 become clearer and more explicit in Prologues 5 and 6. Prologue 5 begins with the dreamer considered a fool in the

a repeated formula or phrase circumscribes a passage. Thus Prologue 4 in *Piers Plowman* has, towards the beginning, 'muchc þouȝt I hadde' (Passus XIII.4) and, towards the end, 'I lay doun longe in þis þoȝt' (Passus XIII.21).

⁵⁹ The word 'fey' need not mean 'doomed to die' as glossed by Schmidt, p. 146, and as interpreted by Skeat, 'Notes', p. 299, nor need the mental condition of the dreamer at this point refer to 'fey witlesnesse, a long lasting mental anguish overshadowed by foreboding of death and damnation' (Schmidt, p. 339, n. to ll. 1-20). The word 'fey' stems from the Old English 'fæge', which in some contexts means 'doomed to die' as in *The Battle of Maldon* (Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* [ASPR 6; New York, 1958]), ll. 296b-297a: 'gar oft þurhwod/ fæges feorhhus', 'the spear often pierced the body of him who was fated to die' (translation mine). In other contexts, however, the word refers to a state of mind and means 'feeble', 'timid', or even *imbecillus* (Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, eds., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* [London, 1898; rpt. 1964]), and it is thus used in *Guthlac* I (George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book* [ASPR 3; New York, 1936]), ll. 309b-310a, 'Nis min breostsefa/ forht ne fæge', which Bosworth and Toller render as 'my mind is not afraid nor feeble' (p. 263). Jane Roberts, ed., *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* (Oxford, 1979), p. 194, lists only one meaning for 'fæge' ('doomed to death, fated'), but it would be difficult to see how in this context such a meaning could apply. After all, *Guthlac* is addressing a devil who torments him; at the end of the poem he *does* die, and a statement such as 'I am not fated to die' would seem ironic indeed and do much to undercut the truth the saint represents. In modern Scottish, the word means 'clairvoyant' (*OED*), whereas in earlier Scots dialect it signified 'feeble, timid' (*A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, ed. William A. Craigie and A. J. Aitken [London, 1937-73]); both renderings convey the idea of a particular state of mind. The related Icelandic word 'feigr' can, like *fæge*, mean 'death-bound or fated to die' but also has several other significations such as 'mad, frantic, evil, and out of one's mind' (*An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. Richard Cleasby, Gudbrand Vigfusson, and William A. Craigie, 2nd edition [Oxford, 1957]); the editors of *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* further note that 'in popular language a man is said to be "fey" when he acts in an unusual or strange manner' (p. 149). The *Middle English Dictionary* offers only 'unfortunate' and 'unlucky' to offset the usual interpretation of 'fei(e)', 'doomed to death', 'fated to die' and 'fatal'. In *Piers Plowman* it is not at all clear that the dreamer feels 'doomed to death' or 'fated to die'. On the other hand, it is clear that the prologue indicates a state of mind. He does indeed seem to act in a strange and unusual manner with respect to other members of society, and seems at times to be an *imbecillus*; in this part of the poem structured by the dreams in Group 2 he is 'witlees' (Passus XIII.1), a 'fool' (Passus xv.3), 'an ydiot' (Passus xvi.170), and his 'wit weex and wanyed' (Passus xv.3).

eyes of the world, and his detachment from the ways of men emerges in his blatant disregard for social norms:

And so my wit weex and wanyed til I a fool weere.
 And some lakkede my lif—allowed it fewe—
 And lete me for a lorel and loop to reuerencen
 Lordes or ladies or any lif ellis ...
 That folk helden me a fool; and in þat folie I raued
 Til reson hadde ruþe on me and rokked me aslepe. ...
 (Passus xv.3-6, 10-11)

This detachment culminates in the prologue to Dream 6, where the details illustrate not only the dreamer's lack of concern for the world but also the 'distance' he has placed himself from society; his appearance and his present social role have both an intellectual significance (the idea that he cares little for society) and an emotional or affective significance (his appearance evokes a negative response in any audience conditioned by notions of class distinction and social hierarchy). And his sense of detachment comes to a head with his admission of world-weariness in the final line:

Wolleward and weetshoed wente I forþ after
 As a recchelees renk þat reccheþ of no wo,
 And yede forþ lik a lorel al my lif tyme
 Til I weex wery of þe world and wilned eft to slepe. ...
 (Passus xviii.1-4)

The three prologues (4, 5, and 6) have interconnecting but distinct themes and motifs which form a definite unit intentionally deviant from those of Group 1. The sense of detachment indicated by spacelessness, social non-conformity, and a mental state which rejects and is rejected by the world reflect the dreamer's progress to a new level of understanding and receptivity, a progress which recalls the words of St. Paul, 'Let no man deceive himself; if any man among you seem to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.'⁶⁰

The dreams of Group 1 present a dreamer immersed in the world; his field of vision is the visible world and his own internal faculties which he encounters in personified form. The dreams of Group 2 present instead visions of revealed truth which concentrate in the symbolic figure of Piers (Dream 5). Moreover, the central values and wisdom of Christianity are brought before the dreamer with astounding clarity as he discourses with Anima (the highest human faculty, not to be confused

⁶⁰ *The Holy Bible Translated from The Latin Vulgate: Diligently Compared with The Hebrew, Greek, and Other Editions in Divers Languages*, ed. Richard Challoner (the Douai-Rheims edition) (New York, 1853), 1 Cor 3:18.

with the lower faculties encountered in Dream 3), Abraham (Faith), Moses (Hope), and the Samaritan (Charity). As in the first group of dreams, the dreamer in the second group progresses spiritually by means of another DWD, which reveals to him Piers Plowman and the symbolic Tree of Charity. Once again, the prologue-epilogue structure of the DWD differs from the external dream framework. There is no reference to detachment, to anti-social roles, to 'abnormal' states of mind, to a beggarly appearance, in other words, no formal relation to the formal structures lying outside and unconnected with this new spiritual experience. Whereas the DWD prologue of Group 1 expresses the dreamer's sense of upset, shame, and guilt (all of which reflects his 'attachment'), this DWD prologue expresses the dreamer's new 'detached' state in which the internal emotion is pure joy:

'Piers þe Plowman!' quod I þo, and al for pure Ioye
That I herde nampne his name anoon I swowned after,
And lay longe in a lone dreem. ...⁶¹

(Passus xvi.18-20)

The dreamer's request to Piers in the DWD to taste the fruit of the Tree of Charity, 'I Preide Piers to pulle adoun an Appul and he wolde./ And suffre me to assaien what sauour it hadde' (Passus xvi.73-74), marks another inward change. The fruit at once symbolizes man's sin and the fruit of Eden, but also the process of redemption fulfilled by Christ, so that while the dreamer's request goes unanswered, it nevertheless reenacts the Fall and the Redemption to come, and therefore suggests the dreamer's participation in the spiritual framework of Christianity.⁶² Previously he had ignored his own state of spiritual being; now he becomes one with sinful mankind, fallen, but awaiting the salvation made possible by Christ. The rest of the DWD follows the life of Christ who 'Iusted in Iherusalem, a ioye to vs alle. ... Deide and deef fordide, and day of nyzt made' (Passus xvi.163, 166). Once his quasi-mystical vision in the DWD finishes, the dreamer returns to the external dream framework of Group 2 with its detachment motifs, 'Estward and westward I waited after faste/ And yede forþ as an ydiot' (Passus xvi.169-170). The key experience of the DWD leaves its mark in the note of urgency 'waited after faste' as the dreamer moves forward to complete the Group 2 phase of his dream progress.

⁶¹ I have adopted Schmidt's reading of 'lone dreem' rather than Kane and Donaldson's 'loue-dreem'; see Schmidt's edition, Passus xvi.20 and p. 198 n. 20, see also Kane and Donaldson, p. 572 n. 20.

⁶² Holleran, 'The Role of the Dreamer', 44.

III

THE STRUCTURE OF DREAMS: GROUP 3

Dreams 7 and 8 I have grouped together as 'Dreams of Spiritual Advance', but, apart from this thematic classification and a shared non-conformity, they have none of the common motifs, themes, and telling details as do the earlier groups of dreams. However, one notices a deliberate deviance in the prologues, a turning away from earlier established patterns, and each of the two final dreams neatly constitutes the content of an entire passus. The prologue to Dream 7 focuses on a dreamer somewhat changed. For one thing, his previous experiences have had their effect on him to the extent that for the first time he interrupts his adventures and feels compelled to write them down, as though the dreams of Groups 1 and 2 represented a completed phase in his progress: 'Thus I awakend and wroote what I hadde ydremed' (Passus XIX.1).⁶³ In addition, he alters his dress, thereby distinguishing his new self from his former self in appearance, if only in that he is tidier.⁶⁴ Finally, the new landscape or space reveals his new spiritual identity. He began his adventure in a 'secular' landscape (attached to the world). From there he moved to a negative or negated landscape (a 'spacelessness' or 'anti-landscape' wherein he was detached spatially and spiritually from the world), and finally he moves to a spiritual landscape—the Church itself.

His motivation is now absolution and salvation, not as he once understood those terms, but as he now understands them in light of his most recent dream experience, and he goes to church to hear Mass and take Communion:

Thus I awakend and wroote what I hadde ydremed,
 And dighte me derely and dide me to chirche
 To here holly þe masse and to be housled after.
 In myddes of þe masse þo men yede to offryng
 I fel eftsoones aslepe. ...

(Passus XIX.1-5)

⁶³ This is not the frequent case of epilogue melting into prologue that one notices throughout *Piers Plowman*, for the epilogue of Dream 6 with the conventional waking of the dreamer actually concludes Passus XVIII (ll. 425-431). Here the idea of awakening is repeated in the prologue to Dream 7 in Passus XIX, emphasizing the completion of a phase. This technique of repeating in the prologue what one normally finds in the epilogue occurs only in the last two dreams in the B-Text. The more disruptive C-Text, however, does not respect such details of structuring, and one finds this type of repetition in the prologue to Dream 2, 'Thus y awakende, woet god, whan y wonede in Cornehull' (C-Text, Passus v.1).

⁶⁴ Schmidt glosses the line 'dighte me derely' as 'dressed tidily' (p. 235). However, the line may indicate more radical changes in dress; J. F. Goodridge, trans., *Langland. Piers Plowman* (Harmondsworth, 1959; rpt. 1966), p. 231, translates the line 'put on my best clothes'. Whatever the degree, some change in dress is intended by the author.

Higgs suggests that the dreamer here has not yet completely assimilated the lessons of his previous visions, and that therefore his spiritual condition remains somewhat below the mark necessary for effective conversion:

Will's spiritual paralysis has been broken by the splendor of his vision of the incarnate Christ, but he has not yet fully appropriated the force of the Divine Love into his own life (an action perfectly symbolized by ingesting the Body of Christ in the Eucharist); thus, his visionary instruction is not complete.⁶⁵

Non-participation in the Eucharist symbolizes the dreamer's spiritual deficiencies, which are compensated for and mitigated by the dream which follows. Thus the first sight he sees is 'the bloodstained image of sacrifice',⁶⁶ the body of Christ-Piers, the 'host' he had evaded by falling asleep during the mass. His sleeping also prevented him from participating in the symbolic sacrifice of 'offryng', and again we see how the symbolic details of the prologue point to the dreamer's character and his relation to the thematic content of the dream. The theme of Dream 7 in part returns to Piers' pardon in Passus VII, *redde quod debes*, pay what you owe, except that now it is clear that only through Christ can man's debt be paid and only through the Eucharist can the fruits of Christ's sacrifice be received.

The fact that in the prologue the dreamer sleeps while others in the Christian community render symbolically what they owe (*þo men yede to offryng/ I fel eftsoones aslepe*) emphasizes his spiritual weakness. In his vision, he witnesses the life of Christ and the events leading to the establishment of Holy Church or *Unite*, and in his dream the relation between the communion and paying one's debts is again raised, except that debt and offering are now understood in explicitly spiritual terms:

'How?' quod al þe commune; 'þow conseildest vs to yelde
Al þat we owen any wight er we go to housel?'
'That is my conseil', quod Conscience, 'and Cardinale vertues;
Or ech man forgyue ooper, and þat wole þe Paternoster:
Et dimitte nobis debita nostra &c.
And so to ben assoilled and sippen ben housled.'

(Passus XIX.391-395)

Significantly, 'al the comune' poses this question to Conscience (the entire Christian community, that is, not a physical congregation but an ideal community of sincere Christians). This is a point often missed, that Christianity, especially medieval Christianity, sees the individual as part of a social order in which each person is ideally conscious of his relation to the whole and to other members in a 'unity of spirit and disinterested service. Society, therefore, must be continually

⁶⁵ Higgs, 'The Path to Involvement' (n. 3 above), 29.

⁶⁶ Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, p. 172.

made to realize its corporate nature.'⁶⁷ The Gospel and the Church preach 'a Kingdom, not a conglomeration of individually saved souls',⁶⁸ and the dreamer's failure to participate with others in the offering and in the Eucharist reflects his failure to understand his role in Christian society.

In the dream itself, however, the dreamer directly experiences an illumination, a soul-saving revelation followed by his own willing action, without relying upon or requiring a special dispensation in the form of an internal dream one step removed from his ordinary dream consciousness. The dreamer has made progress, even though he has not reached (nor does he ever reach) what one writer describes as 'spiritual euphoria';⁶⁹ but now he faces spiritual reality directly and no longer needs to be chastised or cajoled by allegorical figures of authority. In his vision he sees Christ-Piers, and asks Conscience for an explanation. Conscience kneels first ('and kneled þo' [Passus xix.12]) and then relates the facts and the significance of Christ's life and the Incarnation. Afterwards he counsels the dreamer to kneel likewise, at which point 'Oon *Spiritus paraclitus*' (Passus xix.201) appears in the form of lightning. Again, Conscience, still kneeling, enjoins the dreamer to kneel also and to take part in song and invocation:

'Knele now', quod Conscience, 'and if þow kanst syng
 Welcome hym and worshiþe hym wiþ *Veni creator Spiritus*.'
 Thanne song I þat song; so dide manye hundred,
 And cride wiþ Conscience, 'help vs, crist, of grace!'
 (Passus xix.209-212)

The emphasis upon kneeling and the repeated injunctions of Conscience to the dreamer indicate once again the dreamer's characteristic waywardness. At the same time, Conscience's behaviour towards him suggests that his waywardness is not so acute as before, and that, like a stubborn but essentially good child, he requires patient coaxing rather than punishment. When the dreamer finally accepts Conscience's admonitions and guidance (the kneeling represents a symbolic act of humility and submission), he becomes united to Conscience and to the Christian community (the 'manye hundred'), finally participating in the Christian unity he had failed to be a part of in the offering and in the Eucharist of the prologue. The dreamer's participation furthermore marks a new level of spiritual awareness, a 'spiritual advance', allowing him access to the select company of the faithful,⁷⁰ and this signals the completion of his conversion.

⁶⁷ G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933; rpt. Oxford, 1961), pp. 559-60.

⁶⁸ Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman*, p. 4.

⁶⁹ Higgs, 'The Path to Involvement', 33.

⁷⁰ With his participation along with Conscience and the 'manye hundred' in song and adoration, the dreamer does not become here, like the *Pearl* maiden, part of the community of saints or the company of the blessed. He becomes rather part of the 'mystical body of Christ', or the Church (the

Prologue 8 at first seems to have little connection with Prologue 7, apart from the fact that both prologues repeat details of the preceding epilogues (see n. 63). The dreamer's mood has changed in Prologue 8, for he has seen Christ's victory and the founding of *Unite* spoiled by human self-interest, the same self-interest which had undermined Piers' attempt to create a just and efficient human society on his half-acre, and mankind's failure to realize Christian ideals in the form of a truly Christian society here on earth has left him 'Heuy chered' and 'elenge in herte' (Passus xx.2). Whereas Prologue 7 referred the dreamer to a specific space, the Church, here he appears to be once again detached from space and a wanderer: 'Thanne as I wente by þe wey' (xx.1) and 'I ne wiste wher to ete ne at what place' (xx.3). However, the 'spacelessness' and 'wandering' of Prologue 8 reflect his new state of mind, and not a regression.

We must keep in mind that the dreamer, newly converted in his last vision, represents an active Christian, not a mystic or a saint.⁷¹ His spiritual progress never arrives at perfection, he makes no 'absolute' spiritual contact, nor does he become saved in any fixed or permanent sense. Perfection and salvation according to Christian doctrine are not part of man's spiritual destiny on earth. Discussing God's grace, St. Thomas observes that conversion initiates man's salvation and perfection, but cannot complete it in this world, and therefore 'grace is to some

ideal, spiritual Church, not the historical, corrupted one). Thomas Merton in *The Living Bread* (New York, 1956; rpt. 1959) writes, 'The Church is not only a social organization, but also and principally a Living Mystical Body. The Church is Christ. To be Christians, we must live by Christ' (p. 17). 'The blessed Eucharist is therefore the very heart of Christianity since it contains Christ Himself, and since it is the chief means by which Christ mystically unites the faithful to Himself in one body' (p. 11).

⁷¹ It is difficult to locate exactly where the dreamer's conversion takes place. Holleran, 'The Role of the Dreamer', 35, places the dreamer's conversion fairly early, in Passus v-vii, in Dream 2, which he calls 'the dreamer's embarkment into the spiritual life'. Many prefer to see it later; Joseph S. Wittig, 'The Dramatic and Rhetorical Development of Long Will's Pilgrimage', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76 (1975) 53, chooses 'Passus ix-xii where the poet portrays Will's "conversion"', and locates it specifically in the DWD. I take as my starting point William James's classical definition in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1978), p. 196: 'To be converted, to be regenerated, to receive grace, to experience religion, to gain an assurance, are so many phases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities.' In *Piers Plowman* we see the effects of a gradual process of conversion; we see the initial phases (detachment from society) and the completed phase (participation in the Christian community), and it is this final phase which I have preferred to call the dreamer's conversion. Merton, *ibid.*, p. 17, like Copleston (see n. 45 above), distinguishes between mere intellectual conversion, which may represent a 'beginning', from a real, experiential conversion: 'If we would find peace, hope, certitude, spiritual security, we must seek Christ. But how? By mere outward enrollment in the Church as an organization, by mere conformity to certain rites, customs, and practices? By subscribing to certain deeply formulated religious beliefs? No. These things are not enough. The Church is not only a social organization, but also and principally a Living Mystical Body. The Church is Christ. To be Christians we must live by Christ' (italics mine). The dreamer's participation in the living Church takes place in Dream 7 as discussed above.

extent imperfect, inasmuch as it does not completely heal man.'⁷² He continues: 'For the restoration by Christ's grace, although it is already begun in the mind, is not yet completed in the flesh, as it will be in heaven....'⁷³ In the words of a modern theologian, the notion that Christianity offers in this world escape from finiteness and the sin and corruption of life errs, and we must constantly remind ourselves 'that the Christ in us is not a possession but a hope, that perfection is not a reality but an intention; that such peace as we know in this life is never purely the peace of achievement.'⁷⁴ Thus we have the cyclical movements in *Piers Plowman* of relative and temporary achievement and dispersal, in Piers' half-acre, in the foundation of *Unite*, and in the relentless search for Truth, Piers Plowman, and Grace. The quest never ends, for each phase of accomplishment reveals itself as another beginning and each healing effect uncovers new ills.

On the one hand, the dreamer moves through several higher spiritual states, yet he never achieves sanctification or the secure possession of spiritual integrity. The precarious position of the Christian newly alive to spiritual truth (that is, newly converted), one who glimpses the way to salvation but who retains the human propensity to fail, is, I believe, expressed in Prologue 8, which differs markedly from earlier prologues in its literary demands; multiple interpretations of the text are required and even begged of the audience, interpretations which introduce a tension which is only resolved in the subsequent dream. In the prologue, the dreamer is clearly concerned with physical hunger and physical survival in the world; it is noon, mealtime, and he has nothing to eat and nowhere to go to procure food. At the same time, the dreamer's hunger, the time of day, and the lack of life-sustaining space have symbolic significance. His hunger and his concern for food 'refers to his having gone to sleep before he received Communion at Church in the last waking interlude [that is, in Prologue 7].'⁷⁵ The time of day, too, carries a double meaning as the hour of awakened physical appetite and as the traditional moment of spiritual temptation; the 'evil hour' in which Eve succumbs to the wiles of Satan in *Paradise Lost* corresponds to the midday encounter of the dreamer with Nede. Nede can be seen as offering sound, traditional ethical advice,⁷⁶ or his speech can be taken ironically as offering a morality of worldliness, taking advantage of the dreamer's discomfort to tempt him with backsliding into his former 'attached' state.⁷⁷ We can see the dreamer here as a good man diligently seeking spiritual food and driven by spiritual hunger while at the same time overcome by human need, at which point Nede himself appears as a guide. Or we can see a dreamer who in his quest for spiritual truth arrives at the very limitations

⁷² ST 1-2.109.9 ad 1 (ed. Pegis, p. 670).

⁷³ ST 1-2.109.10 ad 3 (ed. Pegis, p. 671).

⁷⁴ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 2 vols. (London, 1943), 2.130.

⁷⁵ Higgs, 'The Path to Involvement', 31.

⁷⁶ Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman*, pp. 135 ff.

⁷⁷ See Robert Frank, *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation* (New Haven, 1957), p. 113.

of his humanity, beyond which he cannot pass; physical survival calls strongly and tempts him away from his important journey. The allegory requires that we keep both possibilities in balanced suspension.

The tension of the prologue reappears in Dream 8 itself, in the scenes in which the dreamer is an actor. Having witnessed the advent of Antichrist and having suffered the merciless onslaughts of Elde, the dreamer asks Kynde to 'Awreke me if youre wille be' (Passus xx.203), to which Kynde replies:

'If þow wolt be wroken wend into vnitee
And hold þee þere euere til I sende for þee;
And loke þow konne som craft er þow come þennes.'
(Passus xx.204-206)

What is the 'craft' he is to 'konne'? Holy Church had placed all in perspective in Dream 1: "Loue is leche of lif and next oure lord selue,/ And also þe graiþe gate þat goþ into heuene" (Passus I.204-205), and now Kynde, echoing her words, again sounds this spiritual imperative to the dreamer, "Lerne to loue", quod kynde, "and leef alle opere" (Passus xx.208). Here the dreamer demonstrates that last infirmity of a sinful mind by overriding Kynde's spiritual message with considerations of physical survival, and his question, "How shal I come to catel so to cloþe me and to feede?" (Passus xx.209), raises the same tension between spirit and flesh that we saw in the prologue. The situation recalls the plight of the disciples fraught with similar worries, to whom Christ replied, 'Be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat; nor for your body, what you shall put on' (Lc 12:22, Douai-Rheims translation). With Kynde's assurance that material well-being is sustained by spiritual integrity and informed by love, the dreamer finally moves to the point of repentance, which follows contrition and confession, and joins Conscience once again within the spiritual space of *Unite*:

And I by conseil of kynde comsed to rome
Thoruz Contricion and Confession til I cam to vnitee.
And þere was Conscience Conestable, cristene to saue
(Passus xx.212-214)

This is the climax of the dreamer's progress. The tension of the prologue is resolved in the action of the dream. The wandering of the dreamer ceases with the dreamer's 'roaming' towards his spiritual destination ('comsed to rome' suggests 'comsed to Rome', that is, Christianity or the Church, the centre of which is Rome), and the spacelessness which denied him food and shelter in the prologue is likewise resolved by his contrition and confession in the dream, for contrition and confession are the preliminary steps to absolution and the right to take communion, 'to eat' in the spiritual sense. His quest finishes in *Unitee*.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Contrition and confession are the first two stages of the act of penance, and therefore suggest the continuance of the sequence which includes repentance or amendment and absolution. No

Prologues 7 and 8 differ from all the preceding prologues, and both deviant prologues introduce deviant dreams; once the dreamer has become sufficiently detached from the world, his dreams change from debate to 'mystical visions of Christianity',⁷⁹ which is what Dreams 7 and 8 fundamentally are. In both prologues, allusion is made to food and a space or place where food is found, the 'host' of the Eucharist and the Church in Prologue 7 and the negation of food and place in Prologue 8, as the dreamer moves further along his spiritual path from historical religion to a more ideal version. In both dreams, the dreamer undergoes symbolic identification or union with Conscience, first in Dream 7 as they both join in song and praise of the Holy Spirit and again in Dream 8 as the dreamer, confessed and contrite, enters, not the historical Church, but *vnitee* where Conscience is 'constable'. These dreams, then, represent dreams of spiritual advance for the dreamer whose spiritual condition becomes positively transformed in the dreams. Views which see the dreamer at the end of the poem reverting to the role of mere observer⁸⁰ (only in Dream 2 is he merely an observer) or which claim that his experience of learning collapses and that he is 'back where he started',⁸¹ fail to grasp the significance of his progress. Although there may be no absolute possession of spiritual integrity, no guarantee of salvation (for the decision does not rest with mankind but with divine mercy and justice), the dreamer has passed through three important stages in his quest, until he is identified with and united with Conscience. The poem fittingly ends with Conscience vowing a never-ending search for Truth (Piers) and invoking God's grace. This is the *summa* of a Christian life in a fallen world, and such is the wisdom (so his unity with Conscience suggests) the dreamer attains at the end.

* * *

In my discussion, I have been examining the elements of the prologues and their relation to the dreamer, the dreams, and the structure of the poem, and, while I have been less concerned with the great religious themes and their development which have commanded so much critical interest, I hope that I have demonstrated that the structure of dreams both supplements them and contrasts with them in the same way that the dreamer both assists our understanding of the poem and yet often remains behind the advance of the central arguments because of his blindness or ineptness.⁸² Langland's series of dream visions, however, invites comparison

communicant can partake of the Eucharist if he has not been first 'confessed' and 'absolved'. Hence the importance of the dreamer's statement 'Thoruz Contricion and Confession til I cam to vnitee' (Passus xx.213).

⁷⁹ Holleran, 'The Role of the Dreamer', 47.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

⁸¹ Salter, *Piers Plowman* (n. 45 above), p. 57.

⁸² Lawlor, *Piers Plowman*, pp. 285-86, remarks that the dreamer '... exhibits both eagerness to learn and a residual stubbornness, so that in the long run the central truth of the poem must be asserted at the expense of the Dreamer.'

both of dreams within the series and of dreams within the established tradition, and this in turn reveals a consistent and careful patterning and structuring of the B-Text. The prologues indicate the dreamer's character and his progress. Repetition of key themes and motifs group the dreams into structural units, and deviation (Langland's stylistic 'signpost') allows us to distinguish their differences and to follow the dreamer's evolution. The dreamer's development is crucial to *Piers Plowman*, both in itself and as a kind of counterpoint to the greater truths expressed. His progress is symbolic action. According to the structure of dream visions, he passes through three stages (or possibly four, if we consider the last two Passus as separate phases), but these stages do not, I think, correspond to either the mystical 'ways' or the path to perfection. However mystical in tone the last Passus are, the dreamer experiences no mystical union with God, no enraptured consummation,⁸³ nor does he reach any of the theoretical states of perfection envisaged by contemplatives or projected of saints.⁸⁴ He accomplishes what any sincere Christian man might, moving from egotistical worldliness to a more selfless participation in a community informed by Conscience, inspired by the Holy Spirit, Truth, and Love, and conscious of the need for God's grace. In the final two Passus, the dreamer's actions end with his becoming a part of a community, and this significant feature reveals the nature of the progress he has made. For to participate in a community means in effect to renounce selfish individualism (worldliness) for a common cause, which in this case represents the recognition of, the need for, and the worship of the compassionate Christian God. This progress from *eros* to *agape* is part of Christian conversion in general, not the extreme accomplishments of mystic or saint.⁸⁵ And this is the progress that the structure of dream visions finally makes clear.

Wilfrid Laurier University.

⁸³ Salter, *Piers Plowman*, pp. 93, 103.

⁸⁴ See T. P. Dunning, 'The Structure of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman*', *Review of English Studies* N.S. 7 (1956) 225-37; see especially 237.

⁸⁵ This movement from *eros* to *agape* was the basis of St. Augustine's philosophy and theology, which was taken over by St. Thomas and which became one of the central concepts of Roman Catholicism. The Church in the Middle Ages came to view itself as *societas perfecta* (see Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 2.138 ff.), a spiritual community, and participation in this community, according to Merton, *The Living Bread*, p. 71, is *agape*. The Church identifies itself with the Eucharist as the Body of Christ, for 'the Eucharist is the principle of the unity which holds us together in one Spirit, in perfect charity' (Merton, p. 119), where 'charity' represents *caritas* or *agape*. In much medieval poetry, loss of the self in the numbers of a spiritual community symbolizes spiritual growth and attainment, and, like the dreamer in *Piers Plowman*, the *Pearl* maiden, too, becomes subsumed by the company of united souls: 'Hundreth powsandez I wot þer were,/ And alle in sute her liuréz wasse./ Tor to knaw þe gladdest chere' (*The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. Malcolm Andrew and Ronald A. Waldron [York Medieval Texts, 2nd Ser.; London, 1978, rpt. 1981], ll. 1107-1109).

THE PRINCE IS FATHER OF THE KING:
THE CHARACTER AND CHILDHOOD
OF
PHILIP THE FAIR OF FRANCE*

Elizabeth A. R. Brown

INTRODUCTION

PHILIP THE FAIR is a ruler whose personality has for centuries fascinated and eluded historians.¹ The king's character is intriguing not simply because of its enigmatic nature, but also because of the undeniable importance of his reign and

* This article is dedicated, with admiration and affection, to the memories of Raymond Cazelles, Joseph R. Strayer, and Robert Fawtier.

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The following abbreviations will be used:

- AN = Paris, Archives Nationales
- BN = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
- BEC = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*
- HF = *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1738-1904).

The orthography, capitalization and punctuation of unpublished manuscript sources have been maintained in the transcriptions; square brackets signify editorial additions.

¹ In 1864 the Académie des sciences morales et politiques set as the subject of its annual prize essay 'le caractère, les desseins, la conduite de Philippe IV, dit le Bel, dans ses actes législatifs, politiques, administratifs et militaires', but the prize was awarded to none of the essays that were submitted. The competition was deferred to 1867, and, according to one of the losers, the winner in that year was victorious largely because he presented Philip as 'le fondateur des libertés de l'église gallicane' (Jules Jolly, *Philippe le Bel, ses desseins, ses actes, son influence* [Paris, 1869], pp. i-vi; xi, xvi).

the hegemony which France acquired while he was king. Extraordinary actions performed in his name significantly affected all of western Europe during the twenty-nine years he ruled France, from his accession at the age of seventeen in 1285 to his death at forty-six in 1314.

Beginning in 1294 long, aggressive wars were waged, first against the English and then against the Flemings; to support these conflicts burdensome taxes were levied and the coinage manipulated. An intense struggle against Pope Boniface VIII culminated in the confrontation at Anagni in 1303 and Boniface's death shortly afterwards. In 1306 the Jews were expelled from France. After 1307 the Knights Templars were pursued, prosecuted, and in the end destroyed. During Philip's reign was promoted a conception of the French monarchy far grander and more militant than had ever before been advanced: the king of France was presented as 'the leader of the cause of God and the Church and the champion of all Christendom'.² The king's lofty moralism was demonstrated in the public trial and cruel deaths of the lovers of his daughters-in-law and the imprisonment visited on the young women in 1314, nine months before Philip the Fair's death. These actions attracted widespread attention. Some provoked opposition and controversy at home and abroad. The king's contemporaries criticized him for his impositions, his expenditures, and his low-born advisers; his policies led to the formation of regional leagues in many parts of France during the last months of his reign. Yet Philip's government was also responsible for many less spectacular and equally notable acts.

Consultation initiated by the monarchy prospered as never before with the convocation of numerous central and regional assemblies. Reforming commissioners, similar to those of Philip's grandfather, Louis IX, were dispatched throughout the realm. In 1303 the king issued a sweeping ordonnance of reform for the entire kingdom; before and after were granted numerous individual, regional, and corporate charters of privilege and reform which, like the great ordonnance, were often confirmed in later centuries. In 1313 and 1314 taxes were cancelled when truces put a halt to the campaigns which had prompted them, and, by the end of the fourteenth century, Philip's reign was, rather paradoxically, regarded as a golden age of freedom from taxation. As a result of pressure exerted by Philip the Fair, his grandfather, Louis IX, was canonized in 1297; in subsequent years the cult of St. Louis, promoted by Philip the Fair, flourished.³

² '... Rex tam grandis & fortis / cause dei & Ecclesie ... prosecutor & tocius christianitatis athleta' (AN J 259, no. 3 [a grant of support by the abbot of Cluny, 3 October 1294]); see Joseph R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King' in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Siegel (Princeton, 1969), p. 308.

³ Particularly useful for Philip's reign are the studies of Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1978) and Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980); bibliographies of the most

The man behind these dramatic and important events remains essentially mysterious, the subject of continuing debate and discussion. This for two reasons: there is little contemporary evidence regarding the king and his personality; further, doubts have often recurred concerning the king's personal responsibility for the policies implemented in his name. Yet in recent decades notable advances toward comprehending Philip's character have been made through the analysis of diplomatic evidence relating to the king's intervention in governmental affairs, his day-to-day movements, his endowment of religious establishments, his devotion to certain members of his family and to some of his servants.⁴ Two other sorts of evidence, largely unexplored, promise fuller access to and comprehension of Philip's character. First, a number of acts of his adult years concerning the royal government, the royal family, and the king himself, whose unusual nature suggests

important works on Philip's reign are found in both books. Attention should also be called to the article of Malcolm Barber, 'The World Picture of Philip the Fair', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982) 13-27 (where close consideration is given to royal pronouncements made in connection with the prosecution of the Templars); to Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 139-49; to Elizabeth M. Hallam, 'Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis' in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews (Studies in Church History 18; Oxford, 1982), pp. 201-14; and to Sophia Menache, 'Philippe le Bel—genèse d'une image', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 62 (1984) 689-702. For the reform charters of Philip the Fair and the criticism of royal policy voiced at the end of his reign, see my doctoral dissertation, *Charters and Leagues in Early Fourteenth Century France: The Movement of 1314-1315* (Harvard-Radcliffe, 1960), especially pp. 97-184; my principal conclusions are summarized in my article, 'Reform and Resistance to Royal Authority in Fourteenth-Century France: The Leagues of 1314-1315', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation* 1 (1981) 109-37; see also my article, 'Royal Commissioners and Grants of Privilege in Philip the Fair's France: Pierre de Latilli, Raoul de Breuilli, and the Ordonnance for the Seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi of 1299', *Francia* 13 (1985) 151-90. For Philip's later reputation, see Henri Moranville, 'Rapports à Philippe VI sur l'état de ses finances', *BEC* 48 (1887) 380-95 and Léon Mirot, *Les insurrections urbaines au début du règne de Charles VI (1380-1383). Leurs causes, leurs conséquences* (Paris, 1905), pp. 37, 130.

⁴ Joseph R. Strayer, 'Philip the Fair—A "Constitutional King"', *American Historical Review* 62 (1956-57) 18-32, reprinted in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History. Essays by Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. John F. Benton and Thomas N. Bisson (Princeton, 1971), pp. 195-212; see also idem, *Reign of Philip*, passim, and Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique: ce que la critique diplomatique nous apprend sur la personnalité de Philippe le Bel', *Revue historique* 259 (1978) 3-27. Special care must be exercised in interpreting the king's itinerary, which is incomplete and which does not indicate why Philip moved from place to place. Bautier notes that the king was generally at Saint-Denis for the anniversary of his father's death, which Bautier dates 7 October, but since the abbey's major feastday fell on 9 October, it is impossible to know whether Philip visited Saint-Denis in early October primarily to honor his father's memory or chiefly to celebrate the feast of St. Denis and his companions; for the likelihood that Philip III died on 5 October, see Anselme de Sainte-Marie (Pierre de Guibours), *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, ed. les P. Ange et Simplicien, 9 vols. (Paris, 1726-33), 1.87 and Élie Berger, 'Annales de Saint-Denis, généralement connues sous le titre de Chronicon sancti Dyonisii ad cyclos paschales', *BEC* 40 (1879) 282, 294. Similarly, although Philip's devotion to Notre-Dame of Boulogne may have moved him to visit Boulogne in January 1308, it is surely more significant that his daughter Isabelle was married there to Edward II of England on 25 January 1308.

the king's personal responsibility for them and thus his special concern for the issues they involved. These acts reveal a configuration of traits of character fundamentally consistent with those that apparently underlie many of the more public and anonymous acts of Philip's reign and thus suggest Philip's ultimate responsibility for his government's policies. Second, and fully as important for grasping the nature of Philip's character, are the events of the seventeen years of Philip's life before he was crowned.⁵ These events have not been explored in detail, since, as is usually the case with monarchs and their reigns, study of Philip the Fair has generally begun at the moment of his accession rather than that of his birth.⁶

Narrating and analyzing the events of Philip the Fair's childhood is far simpler than attempting to relate them to the adult king's actions and character.⁷ In the case of many individuals, living and dead, there is little debate regarding the adult personality, which the events of childhood make more fully comprehensible. This is not true of Philip the Fair. Therefore, rather than proceeding chronologically and commencing with Philip's youth, I will begin by analyzing the characteristics he exhibited as an adult, focusing on the acts, public and private, for which he alone can be considered responsible, as well as those policies of his government which seem clearly to bear the stamp of the king's interest and approval. Next I will examine Philip's experiences as child and youth. Finally I will suggest the connections which seem to exist between these experiences and the personality of the adult who ruled France for twenty-nine critical years at the turn of the fourteenth century.

⁵ See Bautier, *ibid.*, 27; and Carl Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich; seine Persönlichkeit und das Urteil der Zeitgenossen* (Marburg, 1905), pp. 3-7. In his book on Philip's reign, Strayer devotes several pages to the years before Philip's coronation; of his youth, he says that Philip 'may have been a very unhappy young man; certainly he had suffered some painful experiences.'

⁶ This approach reflects the attitude which Christine de Pisan expressed in writing of Charles v of France. He was raised, she said, like any royal child, and thus lengthy discussion of his early years was hardly necessary. To justify her silence regarding Charles's formative years she invoked, citing the case of Jesus Christ, 'the example of the writings about all the most notable individuals of the past, which contain only apocryphal or unreliable information' about such periods of their lives. The passage from the manuscript of Christine de Pisan's *Livre des faits et bonnes meurs* is quoted by Roland Delachenal, who paid considerable attention to Charles v's early years: see Roland Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles v*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1909-31), 1.12 n. 2.

⁷ My approach to the surviving evidence regarding the childhood of Philip the Fair has been influenced by the writings of John Bowlby, Erik H. Erikson, Sibylle K. Escalona, Anna Freud, Sigmund Freud, Phyllis Greenacre, Ernest Jones, Heinz Kohut, Ernst Kris, R. D. Laing, and Jean Piaget. Their work demonstrates the significance of children's relationships with parents and parental surrogates, as well as the range of effects produced by traumatic events of childhood and adulthood. Their findings, most fully applicable to their own times and societies, suggest the importance of attending to the ways in which such fundamental human needs as those for nurturing, autonomy, protection, and survival have, in other societies and at other times, been satisfied and frustrated. See Thomas A. Kohut, 'Psychohistory as History', *American Historical Review* 91 (1986) 336-54, especially 351-52 n. 26.

THE CHARACTER OF PHILIP THE FAIR

The testimony of contemporaries ordinarily provides valuable evidence regarding a ruler's character, yet in the case of Philip the Fair these sources are disappointingly meagre. The king's physical appearance is well attested: 'golden-blond, ruddy, fair, and seemly, he held himself erect and was so tall that he was immediately noticed in a crowd.'⁸ Some called him fat, and one witness said that the king thus preferred to direct rather than fight alongside his followers.⁹ He did not often appear on the battlefield, but the courage he exhibited on 18 August 1304 at the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle attracted notice; the imposing equestrian statue of himself which he erected at Notre-Dame of Paris (and perhaps at Chartres as well) served as a visible reminder of his victory.¹⁰ Philip was known for his personal piety—his hair-shirt, his penances, his abstinence. He attracted even more attention because of his passion for the hunt and his love of ceremonies, grand buildings, jewels, and cloth of gold, all interests reflected in his itinerary and in his accounts.¹¹ These discordances were not extraordinary; they had been noted in his own father, Philip III.¹² More unusual was the reputation for credulity which, in

⁸ HF 21.205 (Yves de Saint-Denis); *ibid.* 22.17 (an anonymous chronicle ending in 1342). Henri de Mondeville, Philip's physician, referred to the king as 'pulcher et pius' (Julius Leopold Pagel, *Leben, Lehre und Leistungen des Heinrich von Mondeville [Hermondaville]. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anatomie und Chirurgie*, vol. 1: *Enthaltend den Text der Chirurgie des H. von Mondeville nach Berliner, Erfurter und Pariser Codices, Vorrede und Einleitung* [Berlin, 1892], p. 538).

⁹ Karl Wenck, 'Aus den Tagen der Zusammenkunft Papst Klemens' v. und König Philipps des Schönen zu Lyon, November 1305 bis Januar 1306', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 27 (1906) 197-98. See also Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols. (Vorreformationgeschichtliche Forschungen 4-5; Münster i. W., 1907), 1.91 n. 1.

¹⁰ Particularly important is the testimony of the author of *Annales gandenses*, ed. and trans. Hilda Johnstone (London, 1951), pp. 71-72; see also HF 22.18 (an anonymous chronicle ending in 1342), Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les origines de la guerre de Cent Ans. Philippe le Bel en Flandre* (Paris, 1897), pp. 471-76, and Françoise Baron, 'Le cavalier royal de Notre-Dame de Paris et le problème de la statue équestre au Moyen Âge', *Bulletin monumental* 126 (1968) 141-54. For six drawings of the statue at Notre-Dame executed by Thomas Kerrich in 1773 or 1774, see London, British Library Additional Ms. 6728, fols. 124r-126r.

¹¹ HF 20.659 (Jean de Saint-Victor); Anon., 'Variétés. Une satire contre Philippe le Bel, 1290', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 2nd Ser., 1 (1857-58) 199; *La chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. Armel Diverres (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 129; Paris, 1956), p. 216.6629-49, and see also pp. 101.431-433 and 123.1619-20.

¹² *Les grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Jules-Marie-Édouard Viard, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920-34), 7.41-42; BN lat. 13836, fol. 118r (Yves de Saint-Denis); Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris, 1887), pp. 8-12. Wenck dismisses the significance of the contemporary charges that Philip devoted an inordinate amount of time to hunting; he points out that, for centuries, such accusations against rulers had been commonplace (Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne*, pp. 39-40). On Edward I's love of hunting, see F. M. Powicke, 'King Edward I in Fact and Fiction' in *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays from His Friends in England*, ed. D. J. Gordon (London, 1957), pp. 121, 132-33.

large part owing to his receptivity to charges against Boniface VIII, he acquired even before the attack on the Templars was launched.¹³ One contemporary called him childish and charged him with being harsh 'to his own' and sweet to strangers.¹⁴ Another compared the king to a pig who always wanted to be near his wife and who, as such, was timid and incapable of doing good; he was a man who loved money more than justice, his critic charged.¹⁵ He was also known as a strong-willed man who would inevitably succeed in doing what he wished.¹⁶ His aloofness and reserve, often noted, contrasted strikingly with the greater accessibility of his grandfather, Louis IX. These qualities may indeed explain the dearth of contemporary comment on Philip. They are consistent with the opinion, voiced by the king's contemporaries, that Philip was the pawn of his powerful ministers, who were, in good medieval fashion, denounced as the prime movers of the monarchy's most unpopular policies.¹⁷

¹³ See the letter of Jaime II of Aragon to Clement V, dated 4 December 1307, in Hans Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens* (Berlin, 1888), p. 348; John Marrone and Charles Zuckerman, 'Cardinal Simon of Beaulieu and Relations between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII', *Traditio* 31 (1975) 195-203, 222; Heinrich Finke, 'Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 26 (1905) 215; and *Chronique métrique* (1316-17), ed. Diverrès, p. 122.1573-82.

¹⁴ *Chronique métrique*, ed. Diverrès, pp. 109-10.903-904, 125.1755-56. See also the poem 'Dou pape (Clément V), dou roy (Philippe-le-Bel) et des monnoies. (1305 environ.)', published by Chabaille with introduction by 'J. R.' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 2.2 (1835) 223, no. 10.

¹⁵ 'Maledicatur talis Rex quia uult confusionem hominum suorum[;] in ueritate credo quod ipse nunquam faciet terrae nostrae aliquod bonum, uere ipse non est nisi tanquam unus porcus qui semper esse uult iuxta uxorem suam, et homines tales semper sunt timidi et nunquam aliquid boni faciunt. ... tunc idem frater bernardus dixit ista uerba uel similia in effectum, Uidistis qualiter Rex uult habere uiginti mille libras ab Episcopo [Albiensi][;] uere plus uult illam pecuniam habere, quam Justitiam de ipse facere[;] non est bona spes quod aliquod bonum faciat nobis seu terrae nostrae, imo uidetur quod placeat sibi quod Gentes suae condemnentur [ut] propter hoc habeat bona eorumdem...' (Master Arnaud Garsie's testimony concerning statements of Bernard Délicieux, given on 27 October 1319 [BN lat. 4270, fol. 71r-v]).

¹⁶ In a dispatch to Jaime II of Aragon dated at Lyon on 9 December 1305 two Aragonese envoys wrote 'De rege Francie communis habet vox et credimus esse verum, quod faciet, quidquid uult' (Finke, *Papsttum*, 2.8, no. 8).

¹⁷ Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 7, 12-13, 17, 23-26; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 1-5; Frantz Funck-Brentano, 'La mort de Philippe le Bel', *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais* 2 (1884) 99 n. 2. Beside the evidence cited by these authors, three other sources are particularly important. First, the comments of Boniface VIII in his bull *Ausculat filii* of 5 December 1301 (Pierre Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII. et Philippes le Bel roy de France...* [Paris, 1655], *preuves*, p. 51). Second, a statement of Matthew of Aquasparta in 1302 (*ibid.*, p. 75). Finally, the complaints addressed to Clement V on 14 April 1313 by representatives of Louis, count of Nevers and Rethel (*Codex diplomaticus Flandriae*, vol. 2: *Inde ab anno 1296 ad usque 1327...*, ed. Thierry-Marie-Joseph [Bruges, 1889], pp. 221-22, no. 290). See Joel T. Rosenthal, 'The King's "Wicked Advisers" and Medieval Baronial Rebellions', *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967) 595-618.

The administrative documents of Philip's reign show that the king did not supervise the workings of his government as did, for example, his son, Philip v. They also show that, after the rise of Pierre Flote in the 1290s, the king relied on him and the ministers who succeeded him: Guillaume de Nogaret, Guillaume de Plaisians, and Enguerran de Marigny. These men influenced the king; they spoke for him, they interposed themselves between him and his subjects; they sometimes flaunted their authority. But there were periods (before Flote came to power and after his death in 1302) when no such minister stood by Philip's side. Further, it was the king who chose the officials and permitted them to represent him. The fundamental consistencies that mark the policies of Philip's reign, carried out by various individuals, suggest the king's continued concern with and involvement in them. The opprobrium which Philip's contemporaries heaped on his ministers thus seems a simple commonplace, which enabled them to denounce royal policy without denouncing the king himself.¹⁸

What, then, were these consistencies? One of the most striking aspects of the declarations that emanated from Philip's court was the unprecedented insistence on the connection between the king's causes and those of God and Jesus Christ. The king was presented as God's minister and his realm as the special recipient of God's favor.¹⁹ This notion of the king's position was invoked in the sweeping great ordonnance of reform of 1303, a year when neither Flote nor Nogaret can be credited with influencing the king's actions. The belief in the divine source of royal authority was confirmed by and manifested in the ritual of royal healing, which Philip the Fair ceremonialized, popularized, and apparently widely advertised. In so doing he followed, and exceeded, the example set by his grandfather, St. Louis, who had developed and given fresh life to the practice. The account of

¹⁸ Strayer, "Constitutional King" in *Medieval Statecraft*, pp. 195-212. See also Finke, *Papsttum* 1.94-95; Bryce D. Lyon, 'What Made a Medieval King Constitutional?' in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 157-75; Jean Favier, 'Les légistes et le gouvernement de Philippe le Bel', *Journal des Savants* (1969) 92-108; idem, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel, Enguerran de Marigny* (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes 16; Paris, 1963), pp. 70-71, 103-108, 176-88, 115; and his *Philippe le Bel*, especially pp. 1-51, 65-85; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), p. 89. Although Bautier minimizes the effective power exercised by Philip the Fair, he does not say, although he comes close to doing so, that the king ever lost control over his officials. Rather, he insists on the chief royal ministers' skill in manipulating their master (Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 23, 27).

¹⁹ Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land', especially 7-16; Barber, 'World Picture', 18, 22. See also the illuminating essay of Ernest Jones, 'The God Complex. The Belief that One is God, and the Resulting Character Traits' in *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, vol. 2: *Essays in Folklore, Anthropology and Religion* (International Psycho-Analytical Library 41; London, 1951), pp. 244-65, and his 'Psycho-Analysis and the Christian Religion', *ibid.*, pp. 198-206. As concerns Philip, it is striking that the trait which Jones finds most commonly linked with the association of the self and God is 'the tendency to aloofness' (*ibid.*, p. 248).

Philip the Fair's last moments, when he confided to his son the formula he had employed for the ceremony, suggests the importance the king attached to this extraordinary power.²⁰ Believing that he was elevated over other mortals and endowed with special powers, Philip the Fair possessed an exalted notion of the royal prerogative. On numerous occasions he abolished and nullified custom contrary to his own decisions. During the last two years of his reign his scribes added to some important acts (all of which concerned the transfer of property) the extraordinary statement that they should be executed because, for good reason, the king was interposing his royal decree.²¹

Many of the acts of Philip's reign—the campaigns against Boniface VIII and the Templars, the efforts to humiliate the Flemings, the prosecution of the lovers of the king's daughters-in-law—suggest that the person responsible for the acts identified himself with higher powers and was determinedly censorious in exposing and seeking temporal retribution for what he perceived as moral lapses. The striking formal similarities among these episodes, as well as the prosecution of Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, and of Guichard, bishop of Troyes, bear emphasizing. The king's ministers doubtless drafted the justifications for the

²⁰ See, most recently and for full bibliography, Frank Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *English Historical Review* 95 (1980) 22-27, whose evidence suggests the critical role which Philip the Fair played in the development of the ritual of healing. For the account of Philip's death, in the work of Yves de Saint-Denis, see HF 21.207. For Henri de Mondeville's remarks on the king's thaumaturgic power, see Mondeville, ed. Pagel, p. 135. See also the sermon of Guillaume de Sauqueville, delivered in about 1300, in Hildegard Coester, *Der Königskult in Frankreich in 1300 im Spiegel von Dominikanerpredigten* (Diss. Frankfurt, 1935-36), pp. ii-iii, 61-71. I am grateful to Ralph E. Giesey for providing me with a copy of this thesis, which he found among the papers of Ernst Kantorowicz. A memorandum which Guillaume de Nogaret prepared in 1310 stated that through Philip's hands God performed miracles (Dupuy, *Différend*, p. 518). It is noteworthy that no instances of such cures were numbered among the miracles attributed to Louis IX; for his sixty-three attested miracles, see the sermon preached by Boniface VIII on 6 August 1297 and the bull of canonization in HF 23.151-52, 159.

²¹ The most elaborate of the formulae is found in an act of May 1314 confirming a property arrangement involving the wife and children of Philip the Fair's brother, Charles of Valois; in it the king said that he was approving the act 'with sure knowledge and for legitimate reasons, ... by royal authority and the plenitude of royal power, ... notwithstanding contrary customs, usages, and rights' ('... ex certa sciencia / et ex causis legitimis ... auctoritate regia & regie potestatis plenitudine ... Non obstantibus consuetudinibus vsagiis et iuribus contrariis quibuscumque / quas et que consuetudines vsagia et quecumque iura premissis contraria quantum ad premissa huiusmodi dumtaxat / de plenitudine Regie potestatis / et ex presentis interposicione decreti / cassamus / irritamus / ac eciam annullamus' [AN P 1365¹, no. 1311; see also AN JJ 50, fol. 44r]). For Philip the Fair's unusual formulae, see Robert Fawtier with Jean Glénisson and Jean Guerout, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. 1: *Règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1958), index, s.v. 'Abolition' and 'Interpositions du décret royal'; note especially nos. 2151, 2176, 2242, 2245, 2274 (AN JJ 45, fols. 100v-102v, 118r and JJ 50, fols. 43v-44r, 570r). For the use of these formulae by his sons and successors, and particularly by Philip V (1316-22), see my study, *Royal Marriage, Royal Property, and the Patrimony of the Crown: Inalienability and the Prerogative in Fourteenth-Century France* (California Institute of Technology, Humanities Working Paper 70; Pasadena, 1982), pp. 29-32.

attacks on the Flemings, the Templars, Boniface VIII, and the two bishops. Nonetheless, the tactics employed against all these victims were fundamentally alike, and it is hardly probable that a series of different ministers elected, without guidance, to mount campaigns that were so similar in nature. As far as the two bishops are concerned, these cases offered no possible political advantage to the king; the prosecutions were indeed launched before Flote's death, but if Saisset's case was settled by compromise, Guichard of Troyes was hounded for the rest of Philip's reign. Similarly, the attack on Boniface VIII, begun while Flote was alive, continued unabated in intensity after his death. After Boniface himself had died, obsessive efforts were expended to denigrate the pope's memory, and Philip took special interest in the canonization of Boniface's predecessor, Celestine V, whose death Boniface was rumored to have accomplished.²² The king alone must have ordained the public prosecution of the lovers of his daughters-in-law, which cast doubt on the legitimacy of his sons' offspring.²³ This episode testifies not only to the king's stubborn and impractical idealism, his captiousness, and his sternness toward his children, but also to his sensitivity to charges of sexual immorality. In the fourteenth century accusations of sodomy were not uncommon, but the repeated use of this charge against those prosecuted during the reign of Philip the

²² For the prosecution of Boniface's memory, see Paul Funke, *Papst Benedikt XI. Eine Monographie* (Münster i. W., 1891), pp. 64-68, 90-102, and the reviews by Carl Wenck in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1892) 442-43 and in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1893) 133-36; and Georges Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris, 1910), pp. 192-217. Finke held that the attack was fundamentally motivated by political considerations, and the prosecution was eventually useful to Philip in his negotiations with Clement V over the Templars (Finke, *Papsttum* 1.139). It seems unlikely, however, that Philip initiated the prosecution for such reasons. For Philip's interest in the canonization of Celestine V, see my article, 'Royal Salvation and Needs of State in Late Capetian France' in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab, and Teofilo F. Ruiz (Princeton, 1976), pp. 371 and especially n. 40 pp. 548-49; Finke, *Papsttum* 2.35-36, no. 23, a dispatch from Poitiers dated 14 May [1302]; L.-H. Labande, 'Le cérémonial romain de Jacques Cœur. Les données historiques qu'il renferme', *BEC* 54 (1893) 61; and Peter Herde, *Cölestin V. (1294) (Peter vom Morrone) der Engelpapst. Mit einem Urkundenanhang und Edition zweier Viten* (Päpste und Papsttum 16; Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 181-88; cf. Finke, *ibid.* 2.35. For the prosecution of the two bishops, see Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, pp. 264-67, 300-13.

²³ On these children, see Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, 1.92, 96. On the trial and the assumptions regarding royal legitimacy that it reveals, see Charles T. Wood, 'Queens, Queens, and Kingship: An Inquiry into Theories of Royal Legitimacy in Late Medieval England and France' in *Order and Innovation*, pp. 386-89; W. R. J. Barron, 'The Penalties for Treason in Medieval Life and Literature', *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981) 192; and my forthcoming study of the social and political context of the *Livres de Fauvel*, which I discussed in lectures delivered at the University of North Carolina on 14 November 1985, at Brooklyn College on 21 April 1986, in the seminars of Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales on 23, 27, and 30 May 1986, and at the Institute for Historical Research on 25 June 1986. Cf. Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, p. 417, where he argues that the public trial demonstrates the king's impaired judgment at the end of his life, when, at forty-six, he was old by contemporary standards; Strayer hypothesizes that 'he may have been ailing during the last months of his life'.

Fair suggests that those who formulated the accusations believed that the king would find them particularly offensive.²⁴

Censorious as Philip was in judging others, he was acutely sensitive to criticism of his own acts. His great ordonnance of reform of 1303, and particularly the initial sections dealing with the Church, appear to have been a direct, dramatic response to Boniface VIII's increasingly pointed questions regarding Philip's ability to govern his kingdom and the threats of excommunication Boniface directed against the king. Philip's self-esteem had been wounded, and he struck back.²⁵ Similarly, the firm opposition of Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, to the union of the crusading orders, a plan which Philip himself favored, may have been one of the reasons for his government's attack on the Order.²⁶

Philip's sensitivity to the criticism of others seems closely connected with the scrupulosity and self-doubt reflected in many of his official acts. The justice and divine inspiration of the king's actions were often emphasized, but many of Philip's own acts and the policies of his government suggest that Philip was less confident than he appeared. In dealing with Boniface VIII, for example, the king and his ministers resolutely proclaimed that, as concerned the temporal affairs of the

²⁴ On the charges of sodomy against Boniface VIII, see Richard Scholz, 'Zur Beurteilung Bonifaz' VIII. und seines sittlich-religiösen Charakters', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 9 (1906) 505-506. The similar accusations against the Templars are discussed in Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (New York, 1887-88), 3.263-64 and Konrad Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887), 2.16-17; for Guichard of Troyes, who was accused of poisoning Philip's mother-in-law (and godmother), Blanche of Champagne, and his wife Jeanne, see Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard, évêque de Troyes (1308-1313)* (Société de l'École des Chartes, Mémoires et documents 1; Paris, 1896), pp. 100-101, 115, and note especially Rigault's analysis of the similarity among the charges formulated against the king's enemies (*ibid.*, pp. i-ii, 99, 237-56). Two newsletters that circulated in England in 1308 suggest that Philip the Fair was determinedly hostile to Piers Gaveston because of Gaveston's close relationship with Philip's son-in-law Edward II (J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322. A Study in the Reign of Edward II* [Oxford, 1970], pp. 82-86, 335-36). I am grateful to Dr. Maddicott for communicating to me his hypothesis that the newsletters published in his book were preserved among the papers of Robert Darcy, one of Gaveston's retainers.

²⁵ Robert Holtzmann, 'Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich und die Bulle "Ausculi fili"', *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* N.F. 2 (1897-98) 16-38; Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1936), 2.132-45; and Sylvia Schein, 'Philip IV and the Crusade: A Reconsideration' in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 122-23. See Kohut, 'Psychohistory', 317. I am currently preparing an edition of the document from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, mentioned by Digard, which demonstrates the close connection between the issuance of the great ordonnance of reform and Philip's struggle with the pope.

²⁶ A. J. Forey, 'The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries', *Traditio* 36 (1980) 321-24; Malcolm Barber, 'James of Molay, the Last Grand Master of the Order of the Temple', *Studia monastica* 14 (1972) 104-109; Sylvia Schein, 'The Future Regnum Hierusalem. A Chapter in Medieval State Planning', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984) 97-98; and Finke, *Papsttum* 1.120.

realm, the king was sovereign and immune from papal interference; nonetheless Philip was deeply concerned that the pope would condemn him for sins he had committed as ruler.²⁷ His relentless efforts after Boniface's death to secure papal condemnation of his late adversary's acts suggests a desire on Philip's part to prove to himself and the world that his attack on Boniface had been justified.

The captive of conflicting impulses and emotions, Philip weighed seriously the legitimacy of his actions and yet found it exceedingly difficult, and often impossible, to bring himself to implement the policies he believed were just. He found it easier to promise future action or secure formal release from the obligations he himself acknowledged.

After precipitating war in 1294 against his fifty-five-year-old cousin, Edward I of England, Philip the Fair, then twenty-six, for some time refused to sanction the monetary manipulations his councillors advised. Such tampering with the currency was believed sinful, but Philip finally agreed to it because, he claimed, the mutations were unavoidable. He still felt compunctions severe enough to lead him to promise restitution and make provision in his will of 1297 for all harmed by the mutations. Pledges to reform the coinage were given in 1304, and in 1306 some effort was made to carry out the promises. On the other hand, in that year Philip secured a papal bull excusing him from his admitted duty to make restitution of all money he had obtained for his wars by questionable means. The bull was ambiguous regarding coinage mutations and the king's obligations to his lay subjects. Philip's government delayed, and not until 1313 could he claim with any semblance of truth that the good money of his grandfather's reign had been restored.²⁸

Similarly, Philip loved to hunt, but he felt guilty enough about his enjoyment of the chase to set aside money in his three wills of 1288, 1297, and 1311 to make amends to those dwelling in or near the royal forests 'for the damages they had suffered because of the royal beasts'. His passion for hunting may have become less intense toward the end of his life, but he never abandoned the sport.²⁹

²⁷ See, inter alia, *Chronique métrique*, ed. Diverrès, pp. 126-27, 1818-38, 130, 2000-10.

²⁸ On Philip's coinage policies, see Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 137-69 and especially 157-59, and my article, 'Taxation and Morality in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Conscience and Political Power and the Kings of France', *French Historical Studies* 8 (1973) 17-18, and Finke, *Papsttum* 1.109. On attitudes to monetary manipulation at the time of Philip the Fair, see Armand Grunzweig, 'Les incidences internationales des mutations monétaires de Philippe le Bel', *Le Moyen Age* 59 (1953) 117-72 and Raymond Cazelles, 'Quelques réflexions à propos des mutations de la monnaie royale française (1295-1360)', *Le Moyen Age* 72 (1966) 83-86.

²⁹ '... in recompensacionem dampnorum que occasione ferarum nostrarum sustinuerint' (AN J 403, no. 12 [August 1288], no. 13 [March 1297], no. 17 [17 May 1311]). For the wills, see Brown, 'Royal Salvation', 369, and, on Philip's dedication to hunting, Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 11-12, 16; see also n. 12 above. Charles of Valois included a similar provision in his will of 17 September 1325, although such clauses were by no means commonplace (Joseph Petit, *Charles de Valois (1270-1325)* [Paris, 1900], p. 230). On Philip the Fair's forest policies, see Heinrich

The government's decision in 1302 to raise war subsidies from the kingdom not, as in the past, by simply imposing a tax, but rather by punctiliously calling all subjects to arms and permitting them to purchase exemption from service, can be read not simply as a means of proving to subjects that their support for the war was truly needed but also as a means of demonstrating to a scrupulous and self-questioning monarch that his demands were legitimate.³⁰ In levying taxes, Philip voluntarily implemented the principle that when the cause (the reason for collection) ceased, so should its effect (the levy), whether or not all justifiable expenses had been covered. This policy reveals his desire to make inescapably clear the morality and legitimacy of his impositions. Nonetheless, having cancelled and restored the proceeds of a war subsidy in 1313 when a truce with the Flemings was achieved, a year later, facing similar circumstances, he procrastinated, probably because the money was badly needed. First, twisting truth to his own purposes, he declared that a state of war still existed; only later, when he knew that he was dying, did he abolish the tax, although he did not bring himself, even then, to command restitution.³¹

Similar scruples, on the one hand, and hesitant opportunism, on the other, characterized Philip's relations with those against whom his wars were waged. After his father's death, he disengaged himself from the so-called Crusade which Philip III had been leading against Aragon to support Angevin ambitions and gain Aragon for Charles, Philip's only surviving full brother. He did so, however, slowly and deliberately, thus insuring to himself the continued collection of taxes for the war and to his brother a handsome settlement.³² After prolonged negotiations the conflict was finally resolved and peace achieved in 1295.³³ Years passed, however,

Rubner, *Untersuchungen zur Forstverfassung des mittelalterlichen Frankreichs* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 49; Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 128-40.

³⁰ On the change in royal policy, see Joseph R. Strayer, 'Consent to Taxation under Philip the Fair' in Joseph R. Strayer and Charles H. Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 66-75 and Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 174-78.

³¹ Brown, 'Taxation and Morality', 18-19, and my article, 'Cessante Causa and the Taxes of the Last Capetians: The Political Applications of a Philosophical Maxim', *Studia gratiana* 15 (1972) 576-80.

³² On the expedition, see Joseph R. Strayer, 'The Crusade against Aragon', *Speculum* 28 (1953) 102-13, reprinted in *Medieval Statecraft*, pp. 107-22. There seems to have been little enthusiasm for the expedition, and on 12 January 1284, in a letter to Abbot Mathieu de Vendôme of Saint-Denis, Edward I of England pointedly stressed the difference between Philip III's campaign and a true Crusade against the infidel by offering to help achieve peace 'pro statu Terrae Sanctae & Regum praedictorum, ac insuper Christianitatis commodo universae' (Thomas Rymer and Robert Sander-son, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae...*, 4 vols. in 7 [London, 1816-69], 1/2.637). See also Mathieu's letter to Edward of 2 March 1284 in Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 447-48; Petit, *Charles de Valois*, pp. 11-23; and Strayer, 'Consent to Taxation', 95 and also 23-24.

³³ Strayer, 'Crusade against Aragon', 119-20; Claude de Vic and Jean-Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. Auguste Molinier, 15 vols. (Toulouse, 1872-93), 9.113-15, 124-33; Juan Reglá Campistol, *Francia, la Corona de Aragón y la frontera pirenaica. La lucha por el Valle de Arán (siglos XIII-XIV)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1951), 2.12-15, nos. 9-10.

before Philip restored to the Aragonese the strategically important Val d'Aran, which the French had taken during the war.³⁴ Finally, on 26 April 1313, Philip announced that although he might have refused to act 'without offense to the law' ('sine iuris iniuria'), nonetheless, because of 'the most powerful bond of necessity and love' that bound him to the king of Aragon, he had decided not to retain the valley. Thus he restored to the king of Aragon possession of the valley, although not full rights of ownership or lordship, and, at least temporarily, he waived his right to destroy the fortifications he and his father had built there. Philip had apparently become convinced, however reluctantly, that, as a French memorandum of August 1312 put it, he could not retain the territory 'with justice and without sin'.³⁵ Likewise, feelings of guilt for provoking war with England in 1294 may have led Philip to conclude a truce with Edward I in 1297, despite the victories the French armies had achieved. Yet the stalemate created by the truce and its extensions were politically advantageous, and peace was not concluded until 1303, when Philip, stung by the taunts of Boniface VIII, found himself forced to demonstrate his dedication to the principles of good rulership which the promotion of peace exemplified.³⁶

An unusual episode in Philip's wars against the Flemings also suggests the king's punctiliousness and insecurity. In the peace of Athis, concluded with the Flemings in 1305, the king insisted on the inclusion of a clause stipulating that non-compliance would be punished by excommunication and interdict, to be imposed on the Flemings and lifted at the discretion of the king of France. Pope Clement V understandably balked at approving this unprecedented measure, evidently designed to manifest the equitableness of the peace treaty and insure in advance the theoretical justice of any future campaigns against the king's enemies. Thus Philip's agents carried on a campaign between 1305 and 1310 to force the Flemings,

³⁴ On these negotiations see Carl A. Willemsen, 'Der Kampf um das Val d'Aran...', *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, erste Reihe: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 6 (1937) 185-86, 194-95; Philippe Lauer, 'Une enquête au sujet de la frontière française dans le Val d'Aran sous Philippe le Bel', *Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section de géographie* 35 (1920) 17-38; and, for an insightful summary and analysis, Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, pp. 26-30. On 24 December 1308 Charles of Valois wrote the king of Aragon that Philip the Fair (his own brother) was 'our lord, and thus we cannot force him or his council' (Reglá, *ibid.* 2.57-58, no. 40; J. Pasquier, 'Cession définitive du Val d'Aran à Aragon', *Revue de Comminges* 7 [1892] 110-11, no. 1; Petit, *Charles de Valois*, pp. 384-85). Whatever diplomatic purpose this statement may have served, there seems no doubt that it contained a grain of truth, for Philip was deeply concerned, from the beginning of his reign, with the fate of the Val d'Aran. Nor is there any doubt that Philip was reputed to be determined: see n. 16 above.

³⁵ AN J. 588, no. 29, a memorandum addressed to the king of France; see also Lauer, *ibid.*, 21, 26, 29.

³⁶ These negotiations will be discussed in the article on Philip's reform ordonnance and his relations with Boniface VIII, referred to in n. 25 above.

community by community, to second his plea for papal endorsement of the treaty. In the end, the pope capitulated.³⁷

The striking frequency with which Philip the Fair's government appealed to the king's subjects for their counsel and consent can also be connected with the king's scrupulousness and self-doubt. Although the declarations against Boniface VIII and the Templars contain no hint that the king doubted the legitimacy of his position, the explicit adherence of his subjects was carefully solicited in connection with these campaigns, as on numerous other occasions.³⁸ These consultations made it patently clear that Philip was conducting no personal vendetta, but was rather acting as the kingdom's delegated leader. They also suggest a reluctance on the king's part to assume full and final responsibility for initiating and executing policies, an impression that is confirmed by other incidents.³⁹ In 1314, for example, when judging the lovers of his daughters-in-law, in almost Biblical fashion Philip himself called on the young men's fathers to sentence them for their crimes.⁴⁰ Further, the king seems to have adopted his most aggressive and dramatic policies only after others had urged him to act and insisted on his duty to do so.⁴¹

³⁷ Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre*, pp. 500-501, 506, 511-16, 541-59, 578-81, 632-35, 649, 654-58, 662 and Lizerand, *Clément v*, pp. 71, 217-22, 360, 484-85. See also *Acta aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291-1327)*, ed. Heinrich Finke, 3 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1908-22), 1.464, no. 309. In 1192, 1224, and 1226 sanctions of excommunication and interdict were included in agreements between the count of Flanders and the king of France, and in 1297 Philip the Fair employed the bull of Honorius III of 1224 to justify his attack on the Flemings. In none of these documents, however, was there any provision that the king should determine when such sentences should be lifted (Raymond Monier, *Les institutions centrales du comté de Flandre de la fin du IX^e s. à 1384* [Paris, 1943], pp. 91-93, and also p. 103).

³⁸ Strayer, "Constitutional King", 209-10; Thomas N. Bisson, 'The General Assemblies of Philip the Fair: Their Character Reconsidered', *Studia gratiana* 15 (1972) 537-64. On the solicitation of appeals to a general council against Boniface VIII, see Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège* 2.163-73. The desire for public support against the Templars is particularly striking; see, for example, Jean de Saint-Victor, in Étienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum avinionensium*, ed. Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914-27), 1.9, 11 and William Rishanger, in *Chronica monasterii s. Albani. Willelmi Rishanger ... Chronica et annales ... A.D. 1259-1307*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (RS 28.2; London, 1865), p. 496.

³⁹ In all likelihood it was to convince Edward II of the Templars' guilt (and thus to confirm his support of Philip the Fair) that the Order's chief denouncer, Esquieu de Floyran, was present in Boulogne in 1308, when Edward crossed the Channel to marry Philip the Fair's daughter, Isabelle; Philip the Fair must have been responsible for Esquieu's presence there (Finke, *Papsttum* 2.83-85, no. 57, and, on Esquieu, *ibid.* 1.111-15, and Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311-1312. Seine Quellen und seine Geschichte* [Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen 12; Münster i. W., 1934], p. 26). It seems equally likely that Philip the Fair pressed Edward II (unsuccessfully) to attend the Council of Vienne in the spring of 1312 in order to enlist the support of his son-in-law for his campaign against the Order (Lizerand, *Clément v*, pp. 467-71, no. 28).

⁴⁰ *Chronique métrique*, ed. Diverres, p. 203.5936-40, and also the mid-fourteenth-century chronicle of Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des histours, chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*, ed. Adolphe Borgnet and Stanislas Bormans, 7 vols. (Brussels, 1864-87), 6.197-98.

⁴¹ For the attack on Boniface, see Dupuy, *Différend*, pp. 56-59, and Guillaume de Nangis,

Many of the policies implemented by Philip the Fair's government (administrative reforms, fiscal policies, the seizure of the property of the Jews and Templars) can be viewed as practical, even opportunistic measures. Yet they all betray the same erratic flamboyance which the king himself occasionally revealed. Such impulses can be observed before 1305, most notably in Philip's provocation of war with Edward I of England in 1294. But the grandiosity of the king's enterprises (as well as the intensity of his scrupulosity, censoriousness, and sensitivity to moral issues) increased notably after the death of his wife Jeanne on 2 April 1305. Her strict moral principles appear to have been fundamentally similar to her husband's, and her death apparently magnified their importance in Philip's mind.⁴² Afterwards Philip doggedly pursued the Flemings and the Templars, carried on his vendetta against the memory of Boniface VIII, cancelled and restored the proceeds of the tax of 1313, and saw that the trial of those who had cuckolded his sons was conducted with full publicity. On all these occasions, Philip demonstrated his stubborn determination to implement decisions which manifested his own power and righteousness, whatever the cost to his realm, his family, and himself.

Other projects, never executed, reveal the hesitancy that sometimes informed the king's audaciousness. After his wife's death, for three years and more he contemplated abdicating the throne, leaving his eldest son as king of France, and himself becoming ruler of the Holy Land and the director of a single, united crusading order. This scheme may well have been inspired by Ramon Lull, who visited Philip on several occasions and whose visionary ideals, inspired by a certain realism, attracted the king's attention and interest. The king, however, never relinquished his throne or embarked for the East.⁴³ Similarly, for reasons both

Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300, avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368, ed. Hercule Géraud, 2 vols. (Publications de la Société de l'histoire de France 33, 35; Paris, 1843), 1.336. For the Templars, see Finke, *Papsttum* 1.111-15, 2.44-46 (no. 29), 83-85 (no. 57); Finke, 'Zur Charakteristik', 213-15; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, pp. 135-37, 346-47; and Wenck, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1890) 261-62.

⁴² See my article, 'Philip IV the Fair, of France', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 15th edition, 30 vols. (Chicago, 1974), 14.224 and Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 19-26. Jeanne's character is strikingly revealed not only in her pursuit of her mother Blanche's vendetta against Guichard of Troyes but also in the deathbed acts in which she founded the Collège de Navarre and the hospital of Château-Thierry (Rigault, *Procès de Guichard*, pp. 26-47 and the analysis of the trial given by Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, pp. 310-13; for Jeanne's foundation of the Collège de Navarre, see César Égasse Du Boulay, *Historia universitatis parisiensis...*, 6 vols. [Paris, 1665-70], 4.74-80; and for her endowment of the hospital of Château-Thierry: Château-Thierry, Archives Hospitalières AX-2, published with a number of errors by Barbey in *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Château-Thierry* [1872] 166-74).

⁴³ Hillgarth, *Lull*, pp. 28, 47, 49, 64-67, 72-77, 87, 93-94; Finke, *Papsttum* 1.121-22, 2.115-16; Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne*, pp. 11-12; and Forey, 'Military Orders', 321-29, 334-35, 337, 342. Cf. Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, p. 7 n. 19, who holds that Lull 'had no influence' on the king. In England it was rumored that Philip destroyed the Templars because of his desire to have one of his sons made

practical and emotional, Philip did not follow his father's example and seek the imperial crown for himself. Nonetheless, he made serious attempts to place a relative, first, his only full brother Charles, then his second son and namesake Philip, on the imperial throne.⁴⁴

Even more than in the case of the imperial title, Philip's attitude to the Crusade appears to have been profoundly ambivalent, and thus distinctly different from Louis IX's and Philip III's. In this case as in others, he favored pledges of deferred action over firm commitment.⁴⁵ Immediately after his father's death in 1285, he withdrew from the Crusade Philip III had launched against Aragon. In his last will Philip III had made specific provision for the relief of the Holy Land, for the sake not only of his own soul but also for the salvation of his first wife, Philip the Fair's mother, Isabelle of Aragon. But Philip the Fair appears to have been disenchanted with, or perhaps daunted by, the idea of setting out on Crusade himself.⁴⁶ Whatever his dreams of becoming king of Jerusalem, he was reluctant to make any public commitment to undertake such an expedition. On 29 December 1305, nine months after his wife's death and six weeks after Clement V's coronation as pope, he secured from Clement a bull awarding him conditional release from any

king of Jerusalem and his consequent wish that the Holy Land receive the Templars' wealth (*Adae Murimuth Continuatio chronicarum...*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson [RS 93; London, 1889], pp. 16-17; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson [Oxford, 1889], p. 5; *The Chronicle of England by John Capgrave*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston [RS 1; London, 1858], pp. 5-6). The author of the *Flores historiarum* (to 1325) believed that at the end of his life Philip lusted after the papal throne and that his sudden death was divinely ordained as a punishment for his inordinate ambition (*Flores historiarum*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 3 vols. [RS 95; London, 1890], 3.168).

⁴⁴ Lizerand, *Clément V*, pp. 161-78; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, p. 171; Strayer, "Constitutional King", 208 and *Reign of Philip*, pp. 346-67; Hillgarth, *Lull*, pp. 61-63, 83; and Gaston Zeller, 'Les rois de France candidats à l'empire. Essai sur l'idéologie impériale en France', *Revue historique* 173 (1934) 297-300. See also Monique Paulmier-Foucart and Mireille Schmidt-Chazan, 'La datation dans les chroniques universelles françaises du XII^e au XIV^e siècle', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (1982) 810-11.

⁴⁵ Schein, 'Philip IV', 121-26; Norman J. Housley, 'Pope Clement V and the Crusades of 1309-10', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982) 31-32; and Christopher J. Tyerman, 'Sed Nihil Fecit? The Last Capetians and the Recovery of the Holy Land' in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. John Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Cambridge-Totowa, N. J., 1984), pp. 170-71.

⁴⁶ In 1290 Philip the Fair refused to accept the guardianship of the Holy Land ('terre sancte custodia') which Pope Nicholas IV pressed on him. This guardianship was never exercised by Philip III; rather, the pope proposed it to Philip the Fair as a means of permitting the king to retain and employ for the needs of Jerusalem the tenth granted to Philip III for the Crusade which, 'preuentus morte', that ruler could not terminate. Philip the Fair astutely refused the proposition, claiming that his council ('Consilium Regium') would not agree to his assuming such a charge 'cum si quod absit de terra ipsa sub [eius] constituta custodia sinistrum aliquod eueniret / illud [ei] fortasse contingeret imputari' (Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana 45, fol. 176r, nos. 108-12, particularly nos. 108 and 111; *Les registres de Nicolas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape...*, ed. Ernest Langlois [Paris, 1886], pp. 642-43, nos. 4409-14; cf. Schein, 'Philip IV', 123).

crusading vows he might have taken in the past and from any he might take in the future.⁴⁷ Although at the Council of Vienne in 1312 he promised to take the Cross, he did not do so at once but simply said that he would depart on Crusade within six years' time.⁴⁸ The vow to take the Cross he fulfilled at Pentecost of 1313, eighteen months before his death. There is no evidence that he seriously intended, like Philip Augustus and Louis ix, to defend the Holy Land, but he was too scrupulous to die without making an impressive gesture of support for the Crusade. In none of his three wills had he included any provision for the Holy Land—which distinguishes his testaments from those of most of his predecessors and successors. Yet when he drafted a codicil to his will the day before he died, he bequeathed 100,000 *l.t.* to the war against the heathen. This legacy was equivalent to the sum Louis ix had ordered his son, Philip the Fair's father, to spend for the defense of the Holy Land; it was more than double the sum which Philip iii had left for that purpose.⁴⁹ In part because of this legacy for the Crusade, Philip the Fair's testamentary bequests and deathbed acts were so lavish that shortly after his death Louis x, his son and successor, reached a formal agreement with Philip's executors to defer full implementation of his father's final provisions 'until God granted the kingdom of France peace and prosperity'.⁵⁰

The boundaries between the capacities in which kings acted in the early fourteenth century are hazy, and none of Philip's acts can confidently be designated purely private. Like the condemnation of the lovers of his daughters-in-law and the ignominy visited on the daughters-in-law themselves, Philip the Fair's testamentary bequests fall into a special category of semi-public, semi-private acts, which affected both the royal family and the realm. Yet the wills, like other acts with less clearly public consequences than those that have been reviewed, cast important light on the workings of his mind and personality. These three distinctive acts, drawn up in 1288, 1297, and 1311, cannot be dismissed as the product of notarial formularies.

From the bequests found in the three documents Philip emerges as a person primarily interested not in the individuals who had supported and served him but rather in the means he could employ to gain his own salvation. Although during

⁴⁷ Lizerand, *Clément v*, pp. 424-25, and also pp. 56-58, 296.

⁴⁸ *Regestum Clementis Papae v*, ed. Luigi Tosti et al., 9 vols., Appendix and Index (Rome-Paris, 1885-1957), (Annus octavus), pp. 25-26, no. 8964, a bull dated 21 December 1312; Finke, *Papsttum* 2.287-88, 293 (Aragonese dispatches dated 27 March and 5 April [1312]); and Schein, 'Philip iv', 124.

⁴⁹ Brown, 'Royal Salvation', 372-73 and n. 47, 550-51; for the provisions of Louis ix, see *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet et al., 5 vols. (Paris, 1863-1909), no. 5735; for those of Philip iii, AN J 403, no. 11, printed from a vidimus (now lost) of December 1285 in Luc d'Achery, *Spicilegium*..., ed. Étienne Baluze et al., 3 vols. (Paris, 1723), 3.692. On Philip the Fair's attitude to crusading, see Strayer, 'Crusade against Aragon', *passim*.

⁵⁰ Brown, *ibid.*, 376-77, 382.

his lifetime Philip was generous to those who worked for him, his testaments are barren of the specific legacies to servants and individuals that are found in many wills. Instead, the king's bequests were made, virtually exclusively, to ecclesiastical establishments and impersonal corporate groups. Different as they are from the testaments of many of his contemporaries and royal successors, the wills suggest that those who saw the king as aloof and distant had solid grounds for their perceptions. Additional evidence of these qualities is found in the design of the royal palace on the Île-de-la-Cité, which Philip remodeled and expanded. There the royal apartments were carefully isolated from the public chambers and halls, where his servants worked and his subjects thronged.⁵¹

The attitudes to members of his own family, living and dead, that can be discerned in Philip's pronouncements and actions are also significant. His feelings for his father appear to have been distinctly ambivalent. Some acts, to be sure, bear the marks of conventional respect. In 1285 he buried Philip III's remains beside Louis IX's grave at Saint-Denis. In 1288 he established an endowment in the cathedral church of Narbonne, where his father's flesh had been buried. When he visited the south in the winter of 1303-1304 he had two precious cloths placed on Philip III's grave. He saw to the erection of monuments over his father's bones and heart.⁵² Other acts are decidedly more unusual and suggest that Philip harbored some animosity toward his father, that he wanted to demonstrate his freedom from his father's control and differentiate his own policies from those of Philip III. As has been noted, Philip the Fair quickly disengaged himself from his father's Crusade against Aragon. In 1286, just a year after his accession, and as if to demonstrate his newly acquired authority, the young Philip granted his older cousin Edward I of England a privilege regarding Gascon appeals that was far more generous than any his father had bestowed. Later, in 1294, he forced Edward into war to demonstrate his own superiority and sovereignty over a man who, more than any of his contemporaries, had established himself as a wise and powerful ruler and a dedicated champion of the Cross. Any such step his father had studiously avoided.⁵³ On a more personal level, soon after Philip III's death the new

⁵¹ Jean Guerout, 'Le Palais de la Cité à Paris, des origines à 1417. Essai topographique et archéologique', *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 1 (1949) 185-212, 2 (1950) 23-67, and particularly 2.67.

⁵² Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* 10.43 n. 7, and *preuves*, p. 233, no. 59-xxxii; *Comptes royaux (1285-1314)*, ed. Robert Fawtier with François Maillard, 3 vols. (Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers 3; Paris, 1953-56), no. 23953; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Bibliothèque de la Société française d'archéologie 7; Geneva, 1975), pp. 118-19, 171-73; and Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 9, 19. See n. 4 above for the possibility that Philip made a special effort to be present at Saint-Denis on the anniversary of his father's death.

⁵³ I intend to treat the war of 1294-1303 in a future study. For the privilege of 1286, see Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1962), pp. 291, 314-15; Pierre

king decreed, in response to the request of his Dominican confessor, Nicolas de Gorran, that his father's heart be interred at the Church of the Jacobins in Paris rather than with his bones at the abbey of Saint-Denis, where, in his last will, Philip III had said he wished his remains buried. Despite the protests of the monks of Saint-Denis and of Jean Cholet, papal legate in France, and despite the disapproval openly voiced by the theologians of Paris, Philip refused to give way, and his pledge to the Dominicans was kept.⁵⁴ Surely indicative of his conflicting feelings about his father were Philip the Fair's order in 1297 that his own heart should be buried next to his father's in the church of the Jacobins in Paris, and his later decision that it should be interred at Poissy, the monastery he had founded in honor of Louis IX.⁵⁵

Philip the Fair's attitude to his mother, Isabelle of Aragon, must for the most part be inferred from acts and pronouncements which did not directly involve her. Only a few of Philip's acts testify explicitly to the king's reverence for her; there is no evidence that his feelings for her were tender or warm.⁵⁶ However, he clearly respected her memory and apparently attached considerable importance to the blood-ties which, through her, bound him to Aragon, ties which were the subject of public and sometimes derisory comment.⁵⁷ The Crusade which, at the beginning of his reign, Philip the Fair abandoned was directed against Isabelle's brother, Pedro of Aragon, who died on 14 August 1285. Opposed by Louis IX's widow, Marguerite of Provence, its only wholehearted supporters at court were Marie of Brabant, Philip III's second wife, and her allies. According to one chronicle, when Philip the Fair withdrew from the campaign, he was accompanied by his maternal uncle, Jaime, king of Majorca, the brother of Isabelle and of Pedro.⁵⁸ Soon after

Chaplais, 'Le duché-pairie de Guyenne: l'hommage et les services féodaux de 1259 à 1303', first published in *Annales du Midi* 69 (1957) 5-38, and reprinted in Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981), no. III, pp. 24-26. For the text of the privilege, see Rymer and Sanderson, *Foedera* 1/2.665-66. This privilege has occasionally been misdated to 1283: see George P. Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration, 1259-1339*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1971), p. 9.

⁵⁴ See my article, 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse', *Viator* 12 (1981) 235-46.

⁵⁵ Brown, 'Royal Salvation', 369-70; see below at nn. 88, 100, 102, and 103. For the discovery of Philip's heart at Poissy in 1687 and for the inscription on the urn, see Jean Aimar Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle description de la France...*, 3rd edition, 13 vols. (Paris, 1753-54), 1.260-62.

⁵⁶ See Charles-Victor Langlois, 'Lettres missives, suppliques, pétitions, doléances', in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 36 (1927) 547, and *Privileges accordés à la couronne de France par le Saint-Siège...*, ed. Adolphe Tardif (Paris, 1885), nos. 125-128 (bulls dated 4 January 1306 granting indulgences for prayers for the souls of Philip himself, of his father, of his wife, and of his mother).

⁵⁷ Writing in 1290, an anonymous poet remarked of Philip the Fair, 'Aragon es; non Aragones tua sub juga pones' ('Satire ... 1290', 199). See below, nn. 108 and 110, for the remarks regarding Philip's Aragonese blood allegedly made by Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers.

⁵⁸ For the different views at the royal court regarding the Crusade, see Robert Fawtier, *Histoire du Moyen Age* 6.1 (Paris, 1940), pp. 276-81. For the presence of Jaime of Majorca with Philip the Fair, see the continuation of the chronicle of Gérard de Frachet, in HF 21.7.

his accession, Philip made an unusual request for the support of the prayers of the Cistercian Order, to which Isabelle appears to have been particularly devoted; toward the end of his reign he bestowed special privileges on Cîteaux and Clairvaux.⁵⁹ In addition, as will be seen, Philip the Fair's treatment of the tomb which his father had erected in Isabelle's honor at Saint-Denis suggests the king's desire to affirm the excellence of her birth and lineage—and thus, of his own.⁶⁰

As Robert-Henri Bautier has shown in his study of the acts which Philip validated, the king was extraordinarily concerned for his sole full brother, Charles of Valois. On 30 May 1300, Philip stipulated that if his wife died before their eldest son was of age, Charles should be his guardian. In the act the king said that he did so because of 'the special love and the great confidence which we have in our dear brother, since he is nearest to our children and we trust especially in him.'⁶¹ In 1308 Philip the Fair tried to help Charles gain the imperial title, and during his reign the king showered many favors on his brother.⁶² It is, on the other hand, striking that Queen Jeanne, not Charles of Valois, was named regent. Philip's actions toward his brother seem to have been motivated by a desire to control him, to guarantee that, as regarded the kingdom of France, Charles exercised only limited power, and yet to insure that he retained Charles's affection.

In sharp contrast with his relations with Charles, Philip the Fair was never close to their half-brother, Louis of Évreux, the son of Philip III and Marie of Brabant. Philip's attitude toward Louis was most strikingly manifested when he granted Louis the apanage which Philip III, before dying, had bestowed on him.⁶³ Philip III

⁵⁹ *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. Joseph-Marie Canivez, 8 vols. (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 9-14B; Louvain, 1933-41), 3.237, and see below, at n. 129; Joseph-Marie-Bruno-Constantin, baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 'Études sur l'histoire du xiii^e siècle. De la part que l'ordre de Cîteaux et le comte de Flandre prirent à la lutte de Boniface VIII et de Philippe le Bel', *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 28 (1854) n. 1 on 97-98, and, for the concession of 20 March 1314 to Clairvaux, *Codex dunensis sive diplomatum et chartarum medii aevi amplissima collectio*, ed. idem (Brussels, 1875), pp. 462-64, no. 319.

⁶⁰ See below, following n. 106.

⁶¹ 'Nous regardanz lespecial amour & la grant fiance que nous auons a nostre chier frere deuant dit meismement comme il soit li plus prouchains a noz enfanz & de cui plus especiaument nous fions...' (AN J 401, no. 5). See below, n. 75, for Philip the Fair's grant of regency powers to his wife Jeanne in 1294.

⁶² Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 12-14, 25; and Petit, *Charles de Valois*, pp. 11, 16-17, 24-25, 37-38, 56, 117-19, 137. For Philip's act of 30 May 1300, see AN J 401, no. 5, published in Pierre Dupuy, *Traité de la majorité de nos rois, et des régences du royaume...* (Paris, 1655), pp. 200-204; see also above at n. 44. The imperial election of 1308 has been treated by a number of authors. Particularly valuable are Robert Pöhlmann, 'Zur deutschen Königswahl vom Jahre 1308', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 16 (1876) 357-64 and Carl Wenck, *Clemens v. und Heinrich VII. Die Anfänge des französischen Papstthums. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1882), pp. 82-135; see also Lizerand, *Clément V*, pp. 169-79 and Zeller, 'Candidats', 297-99.

⁶³ For Philip III's original assignment of Louis' apanage on 28 February 1285, see AN J 390,

had decreed that Louis should receive lands worth 12,500 *l.t.* a year, and on 6 October 1298 (the day following the anniversary of their father's death) Philip the Fair made a generous assignment of land worth 15,000 *l.t.*⁶⁴ However, although some lands were given to Louis,⁶⁵ Philip apparently did not take steps to execute the assignment fully until April 1308,⁶⁶ and Louis claimed that 'he was greatly deceived and damaged' by one of the awards which was made to him. He attempted fruitlessly to secure redress from Philip the Fair and his son and successor, Louis x. But only in October 1317, after the accession of Philip the Fair's second son, Philip v, did Louis receive compensation. In making the award, Philip v said that he was doing so 'in order to discharge the souls of our said lords, our father and brother, and our conscience.'⁶⁷

no. 6, J 226, no. 18 (a vidimus of October 1285) and J 975, no. 4 (a late copy); published in Louis-François du Vaucel, *Essai sur les apanages ou Mémoire historique de leur établissement*, 2 vols. (Paris?, inter 1780-92), 1.132-33 and Louis-Claude Douët-d'Arcq, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur les anciens comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise, du xi^e au xiii^e siècle* (Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie, Documents inédits concernant la province 4; Amiens, 1855), pp. 120-21, no. 184. On Louis' character, see Roland Delachenal, 'Trois lettres d'Édouard premier prince de Galles, fils d'Édouard I^{er} roi d'Angleterre', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 59 (1922) 178.

⁶⁴ AN J 390, no. 8; see also Adolphe Baudouin, *Lettres inédites de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1887), p. 264, no. 23.

⁶⁵ AN JJ 53, fol. 143v, no. 341 and JJ 56, fol. 16r, no. 51 (October 1317), for references to Philip the Fair's assignment of property to Louis in October 1300; Robert Fawtier with Jean Guerout, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes* 2.1 (Paris, 1966), nos. 638, 1672. In January 1305 Philip awarded Louis compensation for 48 *l.* 10 *s.p.* of annual income which Louis complained he could not collect 'in assisia terre a nobis [i.e., Philip] eidem dudum facta' (*Cartulaire de la léproserie du Grand-Beaulieu et du prieuré de Notre-Dame de la Bourdinière*, ed. René Merlet and Maurice Jusselin [Collection de cartulaires chartrains publiés aux frais et sous les auspices du Conseil général d'Eure-et-Loir 2.1; Chartres, 1909], pp. 173-74, no. 388).

⁶⁶ Fawtier, Glénisson, and Guerout, *Registres* 1, no. 981, and see no. 833 (18 May 1308) for orders to implement the assignment.

⁶⁷ In granting Louis 3000 *l.p.* of land, Philip v declared in October 1317 'que comme nostre chier & feal Loys Cuens de Eureus se fust plusieurs foiz complains a nos chiers Seignours pere & frere ou temps que il vuoient / & a apre [sic] a Nous seur ce / que si comme il disoit en la assiete / la quele li auoit este faite pour cause de son apanage il auoit este grandement deceuz & domagiez / Et eust requis par moult de foiz que la veritez fust seue sus ce & deue recompensation li en fust faite. A la parfin Nous en veulent deschargier les ames de noz diz Seignours Pere & frere & nostre conscience feismes sauoir la verite sus ces choses par certaines personnes de nostre conseil que Nous establismes a ce / les quelles personnes veue la assiete dessus dite / Nous raportèrent que nostre diz oncles auoit este domagiez en la dite assiete / de Trois mil' liur' de terre a Paris. Pour quoy Nous qui le droit daustruj ne voudriens si comme ne deuons retenir en deschargent les ames de nos diz Seignours pere & frere de nostre conscience aussi...' (AN JJ 53, fol. 143v, no. 341; see also JJ 56, fol. 16, no. 51 and Fawtier and Guerout, *Registres* 2.1, nos. 638, 1672, 1668 [December 1317] and 2099 [June 1318]). A late copy of Philip v's 'Dons a heritage', taken from a roll of the Chamber of Accounts, lists the assignment to Louis of Évreux of 3000 *l.p.* 'en recompensation de la deception ou arier[ance] faite en lassiette de son partage'. This list also indicates that in the St. John's term of 1317 Louis received property in Quercy 'In complemento assisiarum sibi factarum ratione appanagii sui' (BN fr. 32510, fols. 113r, 116r); for an act of June 1318 relating to the assignment, see Fawtier and Guerout, *Registres* 2.1, no. 2099. Philip the Fair's stepmother (the mother of Louis of Évreux),

As to Marie of Brabant, the stepmother of Philip the Fair (who survived him to die in 1322), throughout his reign the relations of Philip the Fair with Marie were cool, proper, and distant.⁶⁸ Curiously, Philip III did not mention Marie in his will, but nonetheless in 1298 Philip the Fair bestowed on her, for her life, a house at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and there is no evidence that he interfered with her enjoyment of the dower of 10,000 *l.t.* of annual income which his father had assigned her in 1280.⁶⁹ On the other hand, no sooner had Philip the Fair ascended the throne than steps were taken to restore to his see Pierre de Benais, bishop of Bayeux and a faithful servant of Louis IX and Philip III, who had had to take refuge in Rome because of charges made against Marie.⁷⁰ Further, for the coronation of Philip the Fair at Reims on 6 January 1286 neither Marie nor her son Louis of Évreux appears to have been given such jewels as were provided for Philip's full brother Charles of Valois or for his queen, Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre.⁷¹ Because of Marie's close connections with Brabant, she was from time to time involved in negotiations with Flanders. She remained generally isolated, however, after one unsuccessful foray into other affairs of state in mid-winter of 1294, when she, Queen Jeanne, and Jeanne's stepfather, Edmund of Lancaster, arranged a draft settlement of issues disputed between England and France, only to see Philip the Fair summarily reject it.⁷²

Philip the Fair's attitude toward Marie of Brabant is not typical of the feelings he manifested toward other women in his family, whom he seems to have respected

Marie of Brabant, was a close friend and relative of the mother-in-law of Philip V, Mahaut of Artois, and both Marie of Brabant and Louis of Évreux may have profited from this relationship (Langlois, *Philipp III*, p. 34; Jules-Marie Richard, *Une petite-nièce de saint Louis. Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302-1329)*... [Paris, 1887], pp. 9-10, 97, 103-104). In 1325 Louis of Évreux's daughter Jeanne married Charles of La Marche, since 1322 king of France, the last of Philip the Fair's surviving sons (Anselme, *Histoire généalogique* 1.97).

⁶⁸ See the preceding note, and also Strayer, "Constitutional King", 201, and his *Reign of Philip*, pp. 6, 23. For Marie's death and burial in the church of the Franciscans in Paris, and for the interment of her heart with that of Philip III in the church of the Jacobins in Paris, see *Nangis*, ed. Géraud, 2.38, and Anselme, *ibid.* 1.88. See Meredith Parsons Lillich's discussion of Marie's character in 'European Stained Glass around 1300: The Introduction of Silver Stain' in *Europäische Kunst um 1300. Akten des XXV. Internationaler Kongress für Kunstgeschichte. CIHA. (Wien 4.-10.9.1983)*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1986), 6.45-60.

⁶⁹ For the assignment of September 1280, AN JJ 34, fol. 28v and Françoise Barry, *La reine de France* (Paris, 1964), pp. 417, 425.

⁷⁰ Richard Kay, 'Martin IV and the Fugitive Bishop of Bayeux', *Speculum* 40 (1965) 480-82.

⁷¹ *Comptes royaux (1285-1314)*, ed. Fawtier and Maillard, nos. 27823-24.

⁷² Rymer and Sanderson, *Foedera* 1/2.793-96. The draft treaty provided for the marriage of Marie's daughter and Philip the Fair's half-sister Marguerite to Edward I, on terms exceedingly favorable to the princess. On Edmund of Lancaster, see Walter E. Rhodes, 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster', *English Historical Review* 10 (1895) 19-40, 209-37. For Marie's later activities at court, see Albert Werminghoff, 'Reise nach Frankreich und Belgien im Frühjahr 1899', *Neues Archiv* 26 (1900) 27-31 (1300); *Annales gandenses*, ed. Johnstone, p. 90 (1308); and Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre*, p. 661 (1314).

and to some of whom he was apparently close. His dealings with them also reveal countervailing, more negative sentiments, which he expressed in a number of ways.

There is little information regarding Philip's relations with his grandmother Marguerite of Provence, the widow of Louis IX, but when she died in 1295, she was buried with dignity in a special place of honor at Saint-Denis, between the original burial place of Louis IX and the main altar behind which, after his canonization in 1297, his remains were placed. As to her daughter Blanche, born on crusade in 1252, widow of Fernando de la Cerda (eldest son of Alfonso X of Castile), the dedicated supporter of the Cordelières of Saint-Marcel, the acts of Philip the Fair indicate that, at least for a time, he was devoted to her. At the beginning of his reign, renewing a policy his father had abandoned on undertaking his crusade against Aragon, Philip the Fair supported her son's claims to Castile. Eventually, however, he abandoned this position and in 1293 and 1294 conducted with Sancho IV of Castile (who had usurped his nephew's throne) negotiations for the marriage of one of Philip's two daughters, Marguerite or Blanche, with Sancho's son and heir.⁷³

Philip the Fair seems to have been extremely close to his wife, Jeanne, countess of Champagne and queen of Navarre. There are, however, indications of strains underlying their relationship while she was alive, perhaps in part because of the popularity she enjoyed with his subjects.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, her premature death at thirty-two in 1305 affected the king profoundly. Striking testimony to Philip's regard for her is found in the act of October 1294 in which he named Jeanne regent of France if he should die before their son came of age. Although in the act Philip indicated that the step he was taking was not alien from the examples of his progenitors, the act was in fact the first royal ordonnance to vest complete regency power in a queen. In it Philip lauded Jeanne's 'known faith, tried fidelity, and the zeal of her innate affection' for the kingdom and its inhabitants, as well as 'the natural and sincere feeling with which maternal affection is accustomed to cherish its offspring.'⁷⁵ Jeanne was rarely separated from Philip, and, to an unusual extent,

⁷³ Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 14; Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, pp. 371-72; Anselme, *Histoire généalogique* 1.86-87; Georges Daumet, *Mémoires sur les relations de la France et de la Castille de 1255 à 1328* (Paris, 1913), pp. 27, 45, 49-50, 70, 87-88, 91, 93, 100-104, 110-11, 115-24, and 207-17, nos. XXII-XXIV; and Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1922-28), 3.ccl-cclii, no. 509.

⁷⁴ See the proceedings of the trial of Bernard Délicieux (BN lat. 4270, fols. 87v-88r, 99r, 236v, 245v, and 264v-265r) where she is likened to the Biblical Queen Esther: *Chronique métrique*, ed. Diversès, p. 148.2959-66 and *Annales gandenses*, ed. Johnstone, pp. 82-83.

⁷⁵ 'Nam et si matre [sic] legatur tutrix nulla fidelior / ipsius etiam Regine nota fides / experta fidelitas / et innate quodam modo affectionis zelus quem ad Regnum et Regnicolas gerere sentimus eandem / ac etiam naturalis et sincerus affectus quo prolem materna diligere consequuit affectio / nos ad hoc specialiter inuitarunt. Nec id indecens uel absonum reputamus / nec a progenitorum nostrorum uestigijs que libenter insequimur alienum. ex quorum prouisionibus in hac parte / sinistrum nunquam uel raro describitur aut contrarium accidisse' (AN J 401, no. 4, dated October

her name was associated with his in important acts, in part, perhaps, because of her own rank and status.⁷⁶ When in March 1305 it became evident that Jeanne was on the verge of death, Philip greatly increased the amount of money his wife could bequeath, so that she was able to found the Collège de Navarre and richly endow the hospital of Château-Thierry.⁷⁷ After Jeanne died, Philip never remarried. He demonstrated his dedication to her memory through numerous donations in her honor, and her sympathy for Bernard Délicieux, the rebellious Franciscan who led a revolt of southerners against the king in 1304, may have been the reason why Philip had mercy on Bernard even as, in late 1304 and 1305, harsh punishments were being visited on his fellow conspirators.⁷⁸ Similarly, although the king did not personally intervene in the proceedings, his attachment to Jeanne may well explain the determination with which his officers pursued her enemy, Guichard of Troyes, who was accused of bringing about her death.⁷⁹

Despite his generosity to Jeanne immediately before her death, however, Philip never saw to the full execution of her testamentary bequests and left it to their sons to implement her last wishes.⁸⁰ Nor had he always accepted her advice or approved her actions. In 1294 she, as well as Marie de Brabant, had helped negotiate the peace settlement with England which Philip abruptly rejected.⁸¹ Further, on their grand tour of Languedoc in the winter of 1303-1304, when Queen Jeanne publicly

1294, published in Dupuy, *Traité de la majorité*, pp. 196-200). See also François-Jean-Marie Olivier-Martin, *Études sur les régence*, vol. 1: *Les régence et la majorité des rois sous les Capétiens directs et les premiers Valois (1060-1375)* (Paris, 1931), pp. 105-106, and, for the powers exercised by Blanche of Castile, mother of Louis IX, *ibid.*, 45-91; see also Élie Berger, 'Le titre de régent dans les actes de la chancellerie royale', *BEC* 61 (1900) 415. Between 27 February and 20 October 1300 Philip received pledges from a number of the leading magnates of the kingdom to accept his designation of Jeanne; see above at n. 61 for Charles of Valois.

⁷⁶ Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne*, p. 45 n. 3; Barry, *Reine de France*, pp. 295, 426.

⁷⁷ For the wills and codicil of Jeanne of Navarre, see AN J 403, nos. 15-16 ter (1 April 1304 and 25 and 31 March 1305); the second will, codicil, and Philip's authorization to their son Louis to approve her acts are published in Du Boulay, *Historia universitatis parisiensis* 4.74-82, as are her act of foundation of the Collège de Navarre and Philip's authorization of Louis' approval of this act (*ibid.*, pp. 82-85). See n. 42 above for Jeanne's endowment of the hospital of Château-Thierry.

⁷⁸ Michel de Dmitrewski, 'Fr. Bernard Délicieux, o.f.m. Sa lutte contre l'inquisition de Carcassonne et d'Albi, son procès, 1297-1319', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 17 (1924) 205-206, 210, 319-23, 336-337, 457-65.

⁷⁹ Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, pp. 300-13.

⁸⁰ Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 21, and also Fawtier and Maillard, *Registres* 1, index, s.v. 'Salut des âmes du roi, de la reine Jeanne'. On 10 April 1305, eight days after his wife's death, Philip issued numerous letters to provide for those who had served Jeanne (AN JJ 36, fols. 95r-96r, no. 220; JJ 35, fol. 107v, no. 210 bis). In an ordonnance drawn up on 28 November 1314, the day before his death, Philip the Fair set out specific steps to be followed to implement Jeanne's will (Brown, 'Royal Salvation', 373-74 and see Fawtier and Guerout, *Registres* 2.1, nos. 1860, 1935 for efforts of Philip V to carry out the bequests). In the year after Jeanne's death it was rumored that Philip was to marry the daughter of the count of Burgundy, the sister of the king of Castile, or a daughter of Robert of Artois (Finke, *Papsttum* 2.13, 23-25, 33).

⁸¹ See above at n. 72.

demonstrated her sympathy for citizens of Carcassonne whom Philip rightly suspected of heretical and treasonous leanings, the king, in a rare display of emotion, forced her to return the gifts she had accepted from them.⁸² Even more curious was the king's behavior when Jeanne gave birth to their third son, Charles, in June 1294. Philip was on his way to Creil, where she was awaiting the child's birth, when he received news that his son had been born. Instead of continuing on to Creil, he turned aside to Saint-Christophe-en-Halatte, one of his favorite sites for hunting, and sent the constable, Gaucher de Châtillon, to attend the infant's baptism.⁸³ While she lived, Jeanne was, as queen, necessarily subordinate to her husband, but in the end she defied his wish that she be interred with the kings of France at Saint-Denis by leaving instructions that she should be buried at the church of the Franciscans in Paris.⁸⁴

Particularly close ties bound Philip to the only one of his three daughters who lived to adulthood, Isabelle, who bore the name of his mother, Isabelle of Aragon, and of his aunt, the saintly sister of Louis IX. When Isabelle, then twelve years old, married Edward II of England in 1308, Philip bestowed lavish wedding gifts on her and on the church of Notre-Dame of Boulogne-sur-Mer where she was married. After her wedding he sent envoys and presents to her in England. Philip was deeply concerned about her welfare, understandably so, given Edward II's devotion to Piers Gaveston, and relations between France and England notably improved after she became pregnant early in 1312, and particularly after Gaveston was killed

⁸² For the testimony of Bernard Délicieux regarding the incident, given on 4 October 1319, see BN lat. 4270, fols. 103r-104r, and see fols. 74v-75r and 250v for the accounts of Guilhem Fransa and Arnaud Garsie; see also fols. 70v and 252r for Bernard Délicieux's contacts with Jeanne and her confessor, Durand de Champagne. On the episode in Carcassonne see particularly Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'inquisition albigeoise (1300-1320)* (Paris, 1877), pp. 91-92.

⁸³ In early 1322 the Constable testified at the proceedings concerning the nullity of Charles's marriage to Blanche of Burgundy 'se recordari quod domina Johanna mater dicti domini Regis [Charles, king in 1322] tempore partus ipsius dominj Regis erat apud Credulium et Rex Philippus ueniebat ibi / et ipse testis qui loquitur / et multi alij cum ipso / et fuit significatum domino domino Philippo Regi per dictum Malengrene valletum Camere quod dicta domina Johanna vxor sua Regina pepererat. et tunc dictus dominus Philippus Rex / mutauit iter suum & iuit apud Sanctum Christophum in halata [over "Siluan" cancelled] et precepit ipsi testi quod iret ad Baptismum dicti domini Karoli' (AN J 682, no. 2, membrane 10; for Pierre Malengraine, see Fawtier, Glénisson, and Guerout, *Registres* 1, nos. 2063 [November 1313] and 2129 [March 1314]). On Philip's hunting in the forest of Halatte, see Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 9-10.

⁸⁴ 'Regina francie Johanna die .ij. mensis aprilis in quadragesima in domo nemoris uicinarum moritur et contra uotum mariti sui regis francie atque propositum qui ipsam cum regibus francorum in Monasterio sancti dionisij sepeliri disposuerat confessoris sui monitu qui frater minor erat litteris furtiuus ut dicitur eligens sepulturam etiam post ultimam unctionem Parisius in fratrum minorum Monasterio sepelitur' (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4598, fol. 203r, a continuation to 1307 of the *Universal Chronicle* of Guillaume de Nangis, on which see Léopold Delisle, 'Documents parisiens de la Bibliothèque de Berne', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 23 (1896) 255-56, and, for a modified version of the passage, Nangis, ed. Géraud, 1.347.

on 19 June, a few months later. It may have been to attend her during childbirth that Philip sent his own surgeon, Henri de Mondeville, to England.⁸⁵ However, Philip's stinginess outweighed his evident love for his daughter when it came to providing her with a dowry; pressed by the English, the king responded that they should desist from asking what Edward had acquired by marrying his daughter, since, because of the marriage, he had relinquished to Edward the continental lands which the English had, by right, forfeited and had granted him privileges he would not otherwise have obtained.⁸⁶ Later, the English attempted to capitalize on Philip the Fair's affection for Isabelle. She and her husband succeeded in obtaining a number of graces from Philip in 1313 when, at his request, they visited Paris to be present at the knighting of her brothers and, with them and her father, to take the Cross. A year later, in the spring of 1314, she was chosen to present to Philip, in her husband's name, several important petitions regarding England and Gascony. This was done both because of her closeness to her father and because, since she would have no credentials, she could not formally bind her husband. The intuition of the English was correct, and her supplications moved Philip, uncharacteristically, to relax his uncompromising posture and, as in 1313, grant many of her requests.⁸⁷ She was one of the few individuals mentioned in the codicil Philip drew up on 28 November 1314. In it he left her two rings she had given him and ordered that the 'beautiful cape' she had presented to him should be bestowed on the monastery of Poissy.⁸⁸

The special favor which Philip the Fair showed to female monasteries suggests that his attachment to Queen Jeanne and to Isabelle reflects a deep-seated inclination to honor women. At the end of his life, however, he demonstrated spectacularly how angry disobedient and willful women could make him when, visiting public humiliation on his sons, and at the risk of jeopardizing the legitimacy of his descendants, he inflicted humiliating punishments on his daugh-

⁸⁵ Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 82-86, 125-30, 133-37, 152; and n. 24 above. See also Mondeville, ed. Pagel, p. 332; Edward III was born on 13 November 1312.

⁸⁶ See the first chapter of my book, *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair* (Cambridge, Mass., in press), for the interchange between the French and English over the dowry and for the gifts (totaling more than 21,000 *l.*) which Philip gave to Isabelle at the time of her marriage.

⁸⁷ London, Public Record Office C47/27/8/31, a memorandum entitled 'Cause propter quas Supplicationes & querele proponende Sunt nomine domine nostre Regine'; for the petition which she presented to her father, see London, Public Record Office E30/1530. For Philip's favorable responses to Isabelle's pleas, see Charles-Victor Langlois, 'Rouleaux d'arrêts de la Cour du roi au XIII^e siècle', BEC 50 (1889) 53-65; London, Public Record Office C47/29/8/19 and SC1/37/23, 37/25, 37/26, 37/27; *Actes du Parlement de Paris, 1^{re} série, de l'an 1254 à l'an 1328*, ed. Edgard Boutaric, 2 vols. (Paris, 1863-67), 2.126, no. 4304. I am now working on a study of Isabelle's trip to France in 1314.

⁸⁸ Edgard Boutaric, 'Notices et extraits de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France sous Philippe le Bel', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques* 20.2 (1862) 231, 233.

ters-in-law, including Jeanne of Burgundy, the wife of his son Philip, who appears to have been innocent of involvement in the affairs of her sister and cousin, the wives of Philip the Fair's other sons. Not until Philip died was Jeanne released from the confinement to which the king had relegated her.⁸⁹

Philip the Fair seems to have taken a serious interest in the rearing of his four sons, Louis, Philip, Charles, and Robert. Those who were close to Philip the Fair supervised his sons' upbringing.⁹⁰ According to William Rishanger, in 1308 Guillaume de Nogaret gave as one of the reasons for the king's disillusionment with the Templars the fact that he had trusted them enough to commit his sons to them to be educated.⁹¹

Philip the Fair provided amply for his sons during his lifetime, but his policy regarding their apanages was curious and doubtless frustrating. Breaking with tradition, Philip the Fair promised his younger sons financial, if not landed, independence after their marriages, but these promises were never fully implemented. Titles the sons indeed received, and some money was finally allocated to them, yet Philip did not permit his sons to possess or control the lands on which their portions were assigned; for some years, Philip appropriated to his own use money which the wife of his third son, Charles, brought with her as her dowry. Even his eldest son, Louis, who inherited the kingdom of Navarre and the county of Champagne from his mother in 1305, was allowed little freedom of action and was, like his brothers, kept closely dependent on his father.⁹² On the other hand, the king, to an unusual extent, depended on his sons for support. They travelled on particularly important royal tours, and the names of Louis and Philip were included with Queen Jeanne's in some of the king's most formal acts.⁹³

⁸⁹ Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 22; and my article, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X', *Traditio* 34 (1978) 234-38. I discuss the adultery scandal and Philip the Fair's treatment of his sons and daughters-in-law in the study cited in n. 23 above.

⁹⁰ Guillaume de Paris, the king's confessor, acquired two Bibles for the use of the young Louis and Philip in 1300 (*Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, ed. Jules-Marie-Édouard Viard [Paris, 1940], no. 4480). The king's own physician, Henri de Mondeville, attended the royal children for a good part of 1301 (*Chirurgie de maître Henri de Mondeville, chirurgien de Philippe le Bel, composée de 1306 à 1320. Traduction française avec des notes, une introduction et une biographie*, trans. Édouard Nicaise, with Dr. Saint-Lager and F. Chavannes [Paris, 1893], p. xxiv, and see p. xxv for Mondeville's service to Louis X); during 1301 he spent 234 days with the king's children and at court, and 9 days away from court. For Philip the Fair's gifts to the woman who nursed his son Philip, see BN fr. 26707 (P.O. 233, de Bauffremont), no. 2.

⁹¹ '... apud illos deposuit thesaurum suum, illis revelavit secreta sua, apud illos commisit filios suos educandos' (Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 493).

⁹² I discuss Philip's treatment of his sons in my forthcoming book (see n. 86 above) and in the study cited in n. 23 above. See Charles T. Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy 1224-1328* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 32-64. For Philip the Fair's control over the households of his sons, see *Comptes royaux (1285-1314)*, ed. Fawtier and Maillard, 2.547, and see also no. 24015.

⁹³ For the king's tour through the south in the winter of 1303-1304, see HF 21.74 and n. 3 (Bernard Gui); for the presence of Philip of Poitiers and Charles of Valois at Poitiers in 1308, when

The extent to which Philip attempted to associate his sons with his aims is suggested by the report that, during his struggle with Boniface VIII, Philip the Fair, in the presence of all his court, condemned his sons should they ever suggest that the kingdom of France was held from anyone save God.⁹⁴ Philip the Fair's ambitions for his sons seem to have been, on occasion, as exaggerated as those which, from time to time, he cherished for himself. As has been seen, after Queen Jeanne's death, he contemplated abdicating the throne in favor of his eldest son; he hoped to see one of his sons become king of Jerusalem; he proposed his son Philip as candidate for the imperial throne in 1313 and assured his emissary to the papal court that his son would be a 'faithful, just, and God-fearing man'.⁹⁵ But, according to Jean de Saint-Victor, Philip often upbraided his eldest son Louis for his 'puerility',⁹⁶ a failing for which Philip the Fair himself was in some measure responsible. To paraphrase a remark which Philip made in 1313 to his envoy to the papal court, he 'did not so love his sons but that he loved his own soul more', and it seems clear that he was more concerned about his own salvation and the welfare of the realm than he was about their personal well-being.⁹⁷ Clear proof of his priorities was given in 1314 when, cleansing the royal court of moral impurity

Philip was negotiating with Clement v regarding the Templars, see Finke, *Papsttum* 1.200-201, 2.142; for that of Charles of Valois and the king's sons at Lyon and Vienne in the spring of 1312, *ibid.* 2.286; for the appearance of Louis of Navarre with his father when the excommunication of the Flemings was proclaimed at Notre-Dame of Paris on 4 August 1314, see A. Hellot, 'Chronique parisienne anonyme de 1316 à 1339 précédée d'additions à la chronique française dite de Guillaume de Nangis (1206-1316)', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 11 (1884) 22, no. xxii. For the inclusion of his sons' names in public acts, Funke, *Benedikt xi*, p. 75 (1295) and Prutz, *Entwicklung*, pp. 306-308, nos. 20-21 (1303, 1304).

⁹⁴ For the text recording Philip's conditional condemnation of his sons see HF 21.812, n. 5 (an anonymous chronicle of Saint-Martial of Limoges continued to 1320); this and another passage from the chronicle are printed (with a number of variant readings) 'ex veteri libro MS' in Dupuy, *Différend*, p. 59; the version in HF dates the episode Sunday, 28 January 1302, whereas that found in Dupuy dates it Friday, 26 January 1302. Later, on 10 April 1302, a royal spokesman declared to an assembly at the Louvre that Philip, his predecessors, and his subjects were recognized to hold the kingdom of France from God alone (*Documents relatifs aux États généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel*, ed. Georges Picot [Paris, 1901], pp. 7, 13). See also Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne*, p. 49. According to William Rishanger, in his address before Clement v at Poitiers in 1308, Guillaume de Nogaret stated that the king had obligated 'himself, his sons, and all his goods' to defend the Church from the Templars' blasphemy (Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 494-95).

⁹⁵ '... et quia, ut communiter presumitur, erit homo fidelis, iustus et timens Deum' (Jakob Schwalm, 'Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Aus dem vaticanischen Archive', *Neues Archiv* 25 [1900] 564); Forey, 'Military orders', 321-24, 332-33; Hillgarth, *Lull*, pp. 93-94; and see above at nn. 43 and 44.

⁹⁶ Jean described Louis as 'largus et prodigus et admodum puerilis, licet a patre super hoc fuisset pluries, dum viveret, castigatus' (HF 21.661).

⁹⁷ '... quia rex non solum ad hoc inducitur carnis vel sanguinis occasione, set pro zelo et propter rei publicae utilitatem, quia adeo filium non diligit, quin plus diligat animam suam' (Schwalm, 'Beiträge', 565). This comment was made when Philip the Fair was recommending his second son for the position of Emperor.

by punishing his adulterous daughters-in-law, Philip the Fair permitted his sons to be revealed as cuckolds.

Of all his forebears, Philip the Fair seems to have been most influenced by and to have felt closest to his sainted grandfather, Louis IX. In his ordonnances Philip invoked Louis' reign as an ideal to which his own aspired,⁹⁸ and as soon as he became king, Philip pressed Louis' canonization with special urgency.⁹⁹ Even before this was accomplished in 1297, Philip began to plan a Dominican nunnery at Poissy, the site of Louis' birth and baptism, and after its establishment Philip lavished attention on the house; he also founded the priory of Val-des-Écoliers at Royallieu, in honor of St. Louis and in memory of Queen Jeanne.¹⁰⁰

The attempts to link Philip and his government to the king's holy ancestor can be read as the product of calculated desire to elevate the monarchy by capitalizing on Louis' reputation. But the speed with which the new king moved to secure his grandfather's canonization, the importance he attributed to it, and the steps he took to honor Louis' memory suggest that, in Philip's mind, more was at stake. Had Philip had his way, the celebration of Louis' canonization would have been held in Paris rather than at Saint-Denis. In an act recalling the bestowal of his father's heart on the church of the Jacobins in Paris, Philip vainly attempted in 1294 to gain control of Louis' remains. Had it not been for the determined opposition of the monks of Saint-Denis, Philip would have had all save a token portion of St. Louis' bones transferred from Saint-Denis, his grandfather's chosen

⁹⁸ For the great ordonnance of reform of 1303, see *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race...*, ed. Eusèbe-Jacob de Laurière et al., 22 vols., and *Supplément* (Paris, 1723-1849), 1.357; see *ibid.*, p. 390 for the ordonnance against private warfare which Philip issued on 9 January 1304 at Toulouse; and *ibid.*, p. 402 for his ordonnance of 12 February 1304, issued at the request of the consuls of Béziers. For Louis' coinage, see above at n. 28.

⁹⁹ Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de saint Louis—de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII—et la bulle *Gloria laus*, du 11 août 1297', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 57 (1971) 26-29; Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège* 2.218; Marrone and Zuckerman, 'Simon of Beaulieu', 208; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Georges Digard et al. (Paris, 1884-1939), no. 2301. Pietro Colonna's bitter account of French envoys' exploitation of the breach between his family and Boniface in 1297 to obtain the canonization and 'many great privileges' is published in Karl Adolf Constantin Höfler, *Rückblick auf P. Bonifacius VIII. und die Literatur seiner Geschichte...* (Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-hist. Abt. 3; Munich, 1841), p. 59; see also Ludwig Mohler, *Die Kardinäle Jakob und Peter Colonna. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Bonifaz' VIII.*, vol. 1: *Die Entstehung ihres Kampfes mit Bonifaz VIII.* (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, herausgegeben von der Görres-Gesellschaft 17; Paderborn, 1914), pp. 260-61. Philip's later relations with Boniface made that pope's canonization of Louis in 1297 a source of embarrassment to the king; in 1310 one of the witnesses at the process against Boniface's memory argued that 'even if Boniface did some good things, such as canonizing the blessed Louis, he is not therefore to be judged good' (Scholz, 'Beurteilung Bonifaz' VIII.', 509).

¹⁰⁰ On Poissy, Brown, 'Royal Salvation', 370, 372, and, for bibliography, 547 n. 33. On Royallieu, see *Cartulaire de Royallieu*, ed. Paul Guynemer (Compiègne, 1911), pp. vi, 18-25, nos. 1-2, 4. See also Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 19-20; Hallam, 'Philip the Fair', *passim*; and Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 140-42.

burial site, to the Sainte-Chapelle, adjoining the palace that Philip later rebuilt as the center of royal government and justice. The king persisted, and in 1306 he finally succeeded in gaining for the Sainte-Chapelle the larger part of his grandfather's head, widely considered the body's most important (chief) part.¹⁰¹ Philip first decreed that his own heart should be buried at the Dominican church in Paris, where, by his decree, his father's heart lay. In 1311, however, he ordered its interment at Poissy, the site so closely connected with St. Louis' memory, where, in August 1307 or 1308,¹⁰² Robert, the only one of his sons to predecease him, was buried. It was to Poissy that Philip the Fair had himself taken after he fell mortally ill in the autumn of 1314, before having himself carried to Fontainebleau, his own birthplace, where he died.¹⁰³ Finally, breaking with the tradition of the royal house that the eldest son of the king should bear his grandfather's name,¹⁰⁴ Philip's firstborn son was called Louis rather than Philip.

¹⁰¹ See my article, 'Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 95 (1980) 175-82.

¹⁰² I am grateful to Élisabeth Lalou for informing me of her hypothesis that Robert died in 1307 rather than in 1308, the date usually assigned to his death; see the forthcoming itinerary of Philip the Fair which she and Robert-Henri Bautier will soon publish. Their hypothesis is based on the statement of Piganiol de la Force (*Nouvelle description* 1.262) that Robert died at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and was then buried at Poissy; on the fact that the only time when Philip the Fair journeyed from Saint-Germain-en-Laye to Poissy was in August 1307; and on the lack of any evidence that Robert attended his sister Isabelle's marriage to Edward II at Boulogne in January 1308. Philip the Fair was at Poissy between 14 and 21 August in 1308; Lalou believes that he was there for the anniversary mass, rather than the burial, of his son. See also HF 21.708 (Bernard Gui, who gives the date 1308), and Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, 1.90.

¹⁰³ See my articles, 'Royal Salvation', 371 and 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France. The Funeral of Philip V', *Speculum* 55 (1980) 269-70; and Charles Baudon de Mony, 'La mort et les funérailles de Philippe le Bel d'après un compte rendu à la cour de Majorque', *BEC* 58 (1897) 13. An anonymous chronicle ending in 1342 states that Philip died 'in eadem camera in qua natus fuerat' (HF 22.19).

¹⁰⁴ Although the complexities of medieval royal and noble naming patterns are only beginning to be deciphered, it seems clear that, at least by the time of Philip Augustus, the French royal family adopted the imperial practice of calling the firstborn son and heir after the grandfather and naming the second son after the father. See Hans-Walter Klewitz, 'Namengebung und Sippenbewusstsein in den deutschen Königsfamilien des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Grundfragen historischer Genealogie', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 18.1 (1944) 23-37; see also Georges Duby, 'Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XII^e siècle dans la région mâconnaise: une révision', *Annales: É.S.C.* 27 (1972) 806, and, for a survey of recent developments and suggestions for future work, Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Liens de parenté et noms de personne: un problème historique et méthodologique' in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du colloque de Paris (6-8 juin 1974)*..., ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Collection de l'École française de Rome 30; Rome, 1977), pp. 13-18, 25-34. *The History of the Kings of France to 1205* (continued to 1214 and translated by the Menestrel of Alfonse of Poitiers) states that Louis VII named Philip Augustus 'de nomine avi sui' (HF 12.220). Writing in the mid-thirteenth century Gérard de Frachet recorded that Charles the Simple, Louis the Stammerer's only legitimate son, 'nomine aui sui ... nominatus est' (BN lat. 4937, fol. 62v and lat. 5039, fol. 69r; followed in the *Universal Chronicle* of Guillaume de Nangis, Vatican Library Reg. lat. 544, fol. 276v). I am grateful to Andrew W. Lewis for the advice he has given me over the years

Fully as unusual was Philip's treatment of the tombs of the crossing of Saint-Denis, which had been installed, surely with Louis' approval, between 1264 and 1267. The arrangement of majestic effigies graphically demonstrated the fusion of Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian lines in the persons of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. Their silver gilt monuments in the center of the crossing were flanked by the tombs of eight Capetians on the north and of a Merovingian and seven Carolingians on the south, where the tomb of Dagobert lay close to the main altar. This arrangement gave visual expression to a tradition which, dating from the late twelfth century, was incorporated into the writings of Vincent de Beauvais, who was close to Louis IX.¹⁰⁵ According to this tradition, Hugues Capet and his line had, by divine command because of his service to the Church, been permitted to replace, for seven generations, the line of the Carolingians (to whom Pope Stephen II had promised perpetual rule over France); only the return of the Carolingian line through the marriage of Philip Augustus to Charlemagne's descendant Isabelle of Hainaut made possible the continued rule of the Capetians.¹⁰⁶ In 1285, following the custom that sons should be buried beside their fathers, Philip III was buried next to Louis IX, who had been interred beside his own father, Louis VIII. The tomb of Isabelle of Aragon was moved from the side aisle to stand beside Philip III's grave. But during the reign of Philip the Fair, in 1306, the arrangement of tombs was abruptly altered. Four of the Carolingian tombs on the south side of the crossing were moved, two of them into the Capetian line on the north; Philip III's casket and the tomb of Isabelle of Aragon were installed in the row of Carolingian memorials. According to the monk of Saint-Denis who recorded these movements, they were ordered by the king, who also stipulated that his own remains should be interred in the position his father's had once occupied—next to the burial place of Louis IX.¹⁰⁷

regarding naming practices in the royal family; he deals with many aspects of these problems in his *Royal Succession* (see especially pp. 57-58).

¹⁰⁵ For the relationship of Vincent de Beauvais to Louis IX, see Robert J. Schneider, *The 'De Morali Principis Institutione' of Vincent de Beauvais: Introduction and Critical Edition* (Diss. Notre Dame, 1965), pp. v-xiii and Serge Lusignan, *Préface au Speculum maius de Vincent de Beauvais: réfraction et diffraction* (Cahiers d'études médiévales 5; Montreal-Paris, 1979), pp. 16-17, 51-58. For the seven-generation dispensation, see Schneider, *ibid.*, pp. 28-38, and also Vincent's *Speculum historiale*, ed. les Bénédictins de Saint-Vaast à Douai, John Jones (P. Leander of Saint-Martin) (Douai, 1624), pp. 1275-76.

¹⁰⁶ For background and bibliography, see my article, 'La notion de la légitimité et la prophétie à la cour de Philippe Auguste' in *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le temps des mutations*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier (Colloques internationaux du CNRS 602; Paris, 1982), pp. 77-110.

¹⁰⁷ Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi*, pp. 81-83; Georgia Sommers Wright, 'A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis', *The Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) 224-43; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 133-49; and, for a summary of conclusions presented in a paper ('Politique funéraire et manipulations symboliques à Saint-Denis') in Georges Duby's seminar at the Collège de France on 13 March 1980, my articles, 'Remains of Saint Louis', 176-77 and 'La notion de la légitimité', 95-96. My hypotheses

The movement of funerary monuments served a number of purposes. Installing the tomb of his mother, Isabelle of Aragon, among those of the Carolingians can be seen as a dramatic response to a taunt which Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, was in 1301 said to have uttered—the charge that Philip the Fair was not of the right line of the kings of France but was illegitimate because all those of the house of the king of the Aragonese were illegitimate.¹⁰⁸ Further, the rearrangement meant that Philip the Fair would one day be buried in the place his father's remains should have occupied, next to Louis IX's original burial site. Finally, the restructuring explicitly negated the distinction among the three royal houses of France which the old arrangement had confirmed.

Various occurrences may forcibly have reminded Philip the Fair of the old tradition that divine dispensation alone permitted his line to rule. At the beginning of his reign invidious comparisons were drawn between the governance of the Carolingians on the one hand, and that of the Capetians on the other.¹⁰⁹ Later, at the inquest of 1301 into the offenses of Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, two stinging allegations were imputed to the bishop: first, that Philip was not of the line of Charlemagne or the direct line of the kings of France; second, that Louis IX had declared on his deathbed that after a certain number of generations Capetian rule would end if the Capetians did not rule with holiness, goodness, and justice.¹¹⁰

were elaborated in a paper written for a conference at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in July 1982: 'The Quest for Ancestry in later Medieval Europe: Myths of Origin and Genealogies in Capetian France and the Anglo-Norman and Angevin Dominions'. Cf. Bernard Guenée, 'Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être capétien, en France, au Moyen Age', *Annales: É.S.C.* 33 (1978) 450-77, and particularly 475-77.

¹⁰⁸ When charges of treason against Bernard Saisset were being investigated in 1301, the bishop of Béziers reported that Saisset had stated that the king 'non erat de recto genere Regum Franciae, & quod erat de genere spuriorum ex parte matris, nam omnes illi de domo Regis Aragonum erant spurii' (Dupuy, *Différend*, p. 635). Perhaps because of its offensiveness to the king, no reference to this charge appeared in the formal list of accusations prepared by the king's minister Pierre Flote and incorporated in a pronouncement issued by Boniface VIII on 13 February 1302 (*ibid.*, pp. 653, 658 and also Finke, *Acta aragonensia* 3.173, no. 76).

¹⁰⁹ 'Satire ... 1290', 198.

¹¹⁰ Dupuy, *Différend*, pp. 631-32, 634-45, 649, 653, 658; for the charges regarding Philip's maternal descent, see n. 108 above. During the inquest the Dominican Arnaud-Jean of Toulouse reported that Saisset had told him 'quod sanctus Ludouicus in infirmitate qua mortuus est vocauit dominum Philippum patrem istius Regis qui nunc est: & dixit sibi: Fili, nos sumus prope illam generationem in qua debet regnum Franciae terminari, quia terminabitur in te vel in filio tuo, & mutabitur ad aliam generationem, quia in decimam generationem debet magnam mutationem recipere: ideo consulo quod sis deuotus Ecclesiae; quia si fueris, non solum regnum durabit vsque in decimam generationem, imo vsque ad vndecimam, duodecimam & vltra, si sis sanctus & bonus & iustus' (*ibid.*, p. 637). Other witnesses differed regarding the precise number of generations within which Louis IX was reported to have said Capetian rule would terminate; one attributed to Saisset the statement 'quod infra tertiam generationem regnum Franciae perderetur', another 'quod in quarta generatione status regni Franciae debebat mutari' (*ibid.*, pp. 636, 639). The count of Comminges testified that Saisset had asserted 'quod dominus noster Rex est de genere Capeti, & decimus ab illo

Further, the bull of 27 August 1283 in which Martin IV bestowed Aragon on a son of Philip III echoed the Biblical warning which Vincent de Beauvais associated with the story of God's seven-generation dispensation for the Capetians, that God translates and establishes kingdoms and transfers them from one people to another because of injustices, wrongs, injuries, and divers deceits.¹¹¹ Had Philip not already been concerned about the legitimacy of his line, it seems unlikely that these remarks would have moved him to take the steps he did to demonstrate his lineage's, and his own, direct bloodties to the first kings of France, alleged descendents of the Trojans.

Philip's concern regarding his descent was demonstrated in other ways. On the base of the reliquary created for the head of Louis IX were placed, without distinction of descent, the names of all the Christian kings from Clovis through Philip who had ruled the kingdom of France.¹¹² Similar dynastic continuity was implied in the series of royal statues, beginning with Pharamond, which, probably by 1313, Philip had had installed in the Great Hall of his new palace on the Île-de-la-Cité.¹¹³ Far more important, the wish to prove the existence of blood-ties between the Capetians and their predecessors led, through the intervention of Abbot Gilles de Pontoise of Saint-Denis, to a reinterpretation of the history of the king's line. This new interpretation, rejecting the seven-generation dispensation,

Chapeto, & quod in eo finiret regnum, & dicebat quod hoc inueniebatur in scripturis & Chronicis Franciae' (ibid., p. 651, and see also p. 644); for Pierre Flote's summary of the charge, which gives no specific number of generations, ibid., pp. 653, 656, 657.

¹¹¹ 'Qui Regna transfert atque constituit / ipse scripture sacre docet eloquio / Regnum a gente transferendum in gentem / propter iniusticias iniurias contumelias dolosque diuersos' (AN J 714, no. 305⁴, and J 594, no. 4; see also no. 4 bis, a vidimus by the bishops of Paris and Senlis dated 22 June 1291). The pope's statement is based on Eccl 10:8. See above at n. 106.

¹¹² On the reliquary, see my article, 'Remains of Saint Louis', 175-78; see also Louis-Claude Douët-d'Arcq, 'Inventaire des reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle', *Revue archéologique* 5 (1848) 201-203, where the list of kings (numbering thirty-one, from Clovis to Philip III) is published from an inventory of 1563 (AN LL 636, fol. 113v); two near-contemporary copies (AN LL 637, fol. 108r and LL 638, fol. 70v) contain an additional name, although all the lists are defective. Curiously, the lists include Charles Martel, who was never crowned but who was accorded the title 'Rex' on his funerary monument at Saint-Denis; he was not represented among the assemblage of royalty in the Great Hall of the Palais de la Cité.

¹¹³ For the statues, see Gilles Corrozet, *Les antiquitez chroniques et singularitez de Paris, ville capitale du royaume de France*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1561), fols. 92r-97v; Noël Valois, address of 12 May 1903, published in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 30 (1903) 87-90; Sabine Salet, 'La sculpture à Paris sous Philippe le Bel' in *Paris, foyer d'art au moyen âge*, ed. Jean Dénens et al. (Document archéologia 3; Dijon, 1973), pp. 42-52; and BN fr. 5734, fols. 112r-116r, a copy of the inscriptions beneath the statues found in a history owned by André Thevet (1502-90), which Hervé Pinoteau brought to my attention, and which we hope to publish. Precisely when the statues were commissioned and installed is unknown, but work on the Great Hall was still in progress in 1312; it had probably been decorated before the knightings of Philip's sons was celebrated at Pentecost of 1313 (Guerout, 'Palais de la Cité', 2.137; Favier, *Enguerran*, pp. 88-89). See also *Chronographia regum Francorum*, ed. Henri Moranvillé, 3 vols. (Publications de la Société de l'histoire de France 252, 262, 284; Paris, 1891-97), 1.173.

emphasized ties of kinship to Charlemagne which, through the mother of Hugues Capet, allegedly made Hugues himself a Carolingian. In the second recension of the *Universal Chronicle* of Guillaume de Nangis it was substituted for the traditional account found in the first recension. This reading of the past was stressed with special force in the *History of the Life and Miracles of Saint Denis* which Yves de Saint-Denis, encouraged by Gilles de Pontoise, wrote at Philip the Fair's request.¹¹⁴ Thus it is particularly interesting that, according to one chronicle, Philip the Fair declared to agents of Boniface VIII that his ancestors, under God's direction, had won the kingdom of France from the infidels and turned it to the Catholic faith, an evident allusion to Clovis, and that he held the realm, as he had received it from his ancestors, from God alone.¹¹⁵ In light of this evidence, there seems little doubt that Philip the Fair would have been pleased by the allusion of his ministers, Nogaret and Plaisians, before the papal commission investigating Boniface VIII's character, to their ruler's descent from Pepin.¹¹⁶

The evidence regarding Philip the Fair's relations with his family and his attitude toward his lineage, as well as his extraordinary actions regarding his kingdom, reveal him as a captious, sternly moralistic, literalistically scrupulous, humorless, stubborn, aggressive, and vindictive individual, who feared the eternal consequences of his temporal deeds. Like his censoriousness, his grandiose but abortive schemes for himself and his sons are consistent with the self-doubt manifested in some of his acts. The energy invested in demonstrating the irreproachable legitimacy of his line suggests that the king harbored insecurities concerning his own origins. Philip's overriding concern for himself to the exclusion of others, including

¹¹⁴ I discuss this historiographical reorientation in some detail in the two papers cited in n. 107 above. For Guillaume de Nangis, see Vatican Library Reg. lat. 544, fols. 187v, 292r and cf. BN lat. 4918, fol. 310v; for Yves de Saint-Denis, see BN lat. 13836, fols. 76r-77v, and on his history, Léopold Delisle, 'Notice sur un recueil historique présenté à Philippe le Long par Gilles de Pontoise, abbé de Saint-Denis', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques* 21.2 (1865) 252-65. The verses which terminate the presentation copy of Yves's work say that the book concerns the life of St. Denis, the deeds of the kings and 'regali successu, nobile quali / regnat honore dei nunc usque genus clodouei / et karoli magni' (BN lat. 13836, fol. 135v). Philip the Fair valued the copy of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais which his confessor, Guillaume, had given him; in the codicil he drew before his death, he bequeathed it to the Dominican house of Poissy (Boutaric, 'Notices et extraits', 231). In view of Vincent's endorsement of the doctrine of the seven-generation dispensation, Philip's concern for this volume is curious, but it is noteworthy that a number of manuscripts of Vincent's work omit the passage in which the doctrine is set forth, and that one of these manuscripts belonged to the Dominicans of Paris: BN lat. 17550 (cf. fol. 369v). I am grateful to Gregory G. Guzman, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Monique Paulmier-Foucart, and Alison M. Stones for their help with these manuscripts.

¹¹⁵ HF 22.18 (an anonymous chronicle ending in 1342); and Emile Roy, 'Philippe le Bel et la légende des trois fleurs de lis' in *Mélanges de philologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris, 1927), pp. 387-88.

¹¹⁶ Dupuy, *Différend*, p. 518.

his own sons and descendants, was dramatically revealed in the fate visited in 1314 on his daughters-in-law, as well as in his extravagant testamentary bequests and in his rearrangement of the tombs of Saint-Denis, which made it difficult for any of his successors to be buried in the church's crossing. Many of these qualities are reflected in official, public acts and declarations which transposed and modulated the standards, ambitions, and hesitations manifested in Philip's own actions. The exaggerated claims regarding God's special relationship to king and kingdom, as well as the support and approval which the king solicited from his subjects, betray some want of assurance. The pledges of reform and justice, some carried out at once, others reluctantly executed, suggest the same confused blend of moralism, legalism, and hesitancy found in Philip's own acts. His government's dramatic attacks against those who could be blamed for moral lapses often served the interests of the state but inevitably emphasized the moral superiority of the king himself. Philip may not have devised all the policies implemented in his name, but he authorized their execution, and many of them bear the indelible mark of his own character.

THE CHILDHOOD OF PHILIP THE FAIR

How, then, did Philip the Fair become the adult he did? Some answers may be sought in the events of his childhood.

Philip was born at Fontainebleau between April and June of 1268. He was his parents' second son, and his older brother Louis was destined, after their father, to succeed to the crown then worn by Louis IX. The two boys were the sons of Philip III, himself the secondborn son of Louis IX and Marguerite of Provence, and of Isabelle of Aragon, daughter of Jaime I of Aragon and Yolande of Hungary. When Philip was born, the couple had been married for six years, and they were young and vigorous (his father twenty-three, his mother twenty-one).¹¹⁷ Still reigning was the boys' grandfather, Louis IX, who, since his accession in 1226, had acquired great renown for his personal sanctity and the standards of rulership which he implemented. The young Philip was only two when his grandfather departed for the Crusade on which he died, but Philip may nonetheless have had some memories of Louis; he surely knew that he had been in his presence and that he had been touched and held by his grandfather.

Neither the day nor the year of the birth of Philip's older brother is recorded, and although the year of Philip's own birth is known, its season must be deduced

¹¹⁷ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique* 1.87-89, 99. Philip was doubtless born after Easter (8 April) 1268, within a month or two of that date. Isabelle had another son, Robert, before bearing her fourth son Charles, who is known to have been born during Lent (26 February-12 April) of 1270, and, according to a statement made in 1284, between 1 March and 1 April. See *Nangis*, ed. Géraud, 1.233; Berger, 'Annales de Saint-Denis', 293; and Rymer and Sanderson, *Foedera* 1/2.640.

from the attested birthdate of one of his younger brothers. This is not surprising, since in the fourteenth century the anniversary of a person's death, the moment of birth to eternal life, took precedence over the date of physical birth as a time of commemoration.¹¹⁸ Nor are the identities of Philip's godfathers known, although the papal dispensation that permitted his marriage to Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre reveals that Jeanne's mother, Blanche, was his godmother.¹¹⁹

Whatever the difference in age between the young Louis and Philip, their statuses were markedly dissimilar. The distinction was witnessed by the names they bore. According to the custom of royal naming that had been established in the preceding century and a half, Louis, his father's natural successor, was named after his grandfather, and Philip, the secondborn, after his father.¹²⁰ The boys' names thus signified the profound disparity in the positions they were expected to hold as adults, and that they must have occupied as children.

Above and beyond their future expectations, firstborn offspring, and especially firstborn sons, were held in particularly high regard. In the 1280s, in a book dedicated to Philip the Fair, Giles of Rome based his argument for primogeniture on the fact that fathers generally preferred their firstborn sons to those born later; thus, a king would be more likely to attend carefully to his kingdom if he knew that it would some day pass to the son he most cherished.¹²¹ The condescension publicly expressed in 1322 for the status of Philip the Fair's thirdborn son Charles supports Giles's assertions, as does the fact that, following common usage, on his brother Louis' death in 1276 the young Philip the Fair immediately became not

¹¹⁸ At the inquest held in 1322 regarding the birth and baptism of Philip the Fair's son Charles IV, the only witness who recalled Charles's precise birthdate (Friday before the feast of St. John the Baptist, or 18 June 1294) was Isabelle de Soisy, who said that she remembered it 'quia nutriuit & ablat[t]auit eum a principio' (AN J 682, no. 2, membr. 8, where Isabelle is said to have testified that Charles 'habuit in die veneris ante festum beati Johannis baptiste preterito XXVII annos & non amplius'); in 1321 the Friday in question fell on 19 June, but I think that Isabelle probably remembered the day, rather than the date, on which Charles was born, and in 1294 the Friday preceding the feast day was 18 June. On the proceedings see J.-Robert de Chevalance, 'Charles IV le Bel et Blanche de Bourgogne', *Bulletin philologique et historique* (1936-37) 315 and Pierre Bonnassieux, 'Un baptême royal au moyen âge', *Le cabinet historique* 27 (1881) 185. In June 1325 the most that could be said of the age of Louis, son of Charles of Valois, was that he was seven years old 'vel circa' (AN P 1358², no. 526; see also AN P 1378¹, no. 3016). When the birth of an important person fell on a particular feast day, its date seems to have been better remembered (Anselme, *Histoire généalogique* 1.83, 87 for Louis IX and Philip III, and, for Louis IX, Jean, sire de Joinville, *Histoire de saint Louis. Texte original...*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, new edition [Paris, 1914], p. 30, no. 69).

¹¹⁹ *Privileges*, ed. Tardif, p. 310, a notice of the dispensation for the marriage, 'non obstante quod Regina Blanca dictum Philippum de sacro fonte levaverat'.

¹²⁰ See n. 104 above.

¹²¹ Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum libri III* (Rome, 1482), 3.2:5, and also 2.2:18. See also the remarks on the qualities of the firstborn son in the preamble to Charles V's ordinance of August 1374 on the royal majority (*Ordonnances* 6.26-27).

simply heir but also 'primogenitus' ('firstborn'). This suggests that the heir was, at some level, considered to replace, in a virtually physical sense, the firstborn son.¹²²

During his first two years, Philip, like most royal children, doubtless lacked the close attention of his own mother and father. Although according to popular belief the mother's milk was especially suitable for her children,¹²³ Philip's mother is hardly likely to have nursed him. She became pregnant soon after his birth and bore another son, Robert, in 1269; still another, Charles, was born during Lent of 1270.¹²⁴ Philip the Fair and his brothers were, however, well provided with parental surrogates. In their early years, each had two chief attendants; the royal accounts reveal that Philip's *nutrix* was called Héloïse; Robert's Marie, and that each received 2 s. a day, 13 l. 12 s. a year, as well as clothing valued at 70 s.¹²⁵ The importance of the chief nurse (the *nutrix*) is indicated by the fact that she was called the child's *mater* or mother, even, in her testament, by Queen Isabelle, the children's natural mother. The second attendant, termed the *cunabularia* (*berceuse* or cradle rocker), must, to judge from the title, have relieved the *mater* during the long hours when babies fret.¹²⁶

¹²² Giles of Rome dedicated his book on the rulership of princes to Philip the Fair, 'primogenito & heredi preclarissimi viri domini Philippi'. For Philip III's similar situation following the death of his older brother Louis in 1260, see *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, no. 4785 (July 1262), and *Spicilegium*, ed. d'Achery, 3.664, although note that in his list of the witnesses to the sanctity of Louis IX, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus referred to Philip III as 'fiuz du benoiet saint Loys, secont engendre, qui gouverna le royaume de France apres lui' (HF 20.61). Two of the questions posed to witnesses at the inquest of 1322 (see n. 118 above) related to Charles IV's sibling rank. Article 22 concerned the availability of suitable brides for Charles 'secundum exigenciam sui status in quo tunc erat scilicet sine terra ac sine Comitatu et tertio genitus dicti domini Philippi secundi franc' Regis'; the following article asserted that the women named in article 22 were fully as well born as 'consueuerunt esse ille / que olim cum filiis franc' Regum contrahere consueuerunt. Presertim cum vltimo genito' (AN J 682, no. 2, membr. 1). See the comments of Andrew W. Lewis, 'L'idée de succession royale et baronniale chez Bernard Itier', *Annales du Midi* 91 (1979) 97.

¹²³ Mary Martin McLaughlin, 'Survivors and Surrogates: Children and Parents from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries' in *The History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd deMause (New York, 1974), pp. 115-16; Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum* 2.2:15; Rishanger, *Chronica*, ed. Riley, pp. 438-49; and Élie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille, reine de France* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 70; Paris, 1895), p. 21. See also *Les quatre âges de l'homme. Traité moral de Philippe de Navarre* [sic, for Novara] publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Paris, de Londres et de Metz, ed. Marcel de Fréville (Paris, 1888), p. 2.

¹²⁴ For Robert's sibling rank, see Henri Moranville, 'Le texte latin de la chronique abrégée de Guillaume de Nangis', BEC 51 (1890) 655, confirmed by the order in which Isabelle of Aragon listed her sons and their attendants in her will. See nn. 126 and 128 below.

¹²⁵ HF 22.754 (accounts of the *bailliages* of France for Ascension 1276), and see *ibid.*, p. 758 (accounts of Champagne for 1285) for Damoiselle Gille de Liefroville, the nurse of Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre.

¹²⁶ For Isabelle's will, see Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Le testament d'Isabelle d'Aragon, reine de France, épouse de Philippe III le Hardi (Cosenza, 19 janvier 1271)', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* (1983-84) 134-37, and particularly p. 135. The Capetian children were thus

Shortly after Philip the Fair's second birthday his parents left with Louis IX on the king's ill-fated Crusade. Louis died on 25 August, and by the end of 1270 the army, stricken by pestilence and death, was returning home, led by the new king, Philip III. Fresh tragedy occurred in Italy with the death of Queen Isabelle of Aragon, then six months pregnant, who fell from her horse while crossing a swollen river near Martirano. Delivered of a stillborn son, she died on 28 January 1271 in the hillside town of Cosenza.¹²⁷ After her injury, nine days before her death, Isabelle made a will leaving impressive sums of money to her children's attendants, to her midwife, and to her other servants. To Louis' *mater* she bequeathed 100 *l.t.*, to those of Philip, Robert, and Charles 60, 50, and 40 *l.t.*; their respective *cunabularie* were left 40, 30, 25, and 20 *l.t.*¹²⁸ How close the young queen felt to her children and their nurses is impossible to say. She listed her own servants by their Christian names and designated the children's nurses only by their titles, but she may have done this to insure that those who were actually caring for her children received the bequests, and not because she did not know or had forgotten the names of those who were attending the children when she left France in the summer of 1270. The will, drawn up by the queen when she was 'half-alive', is strikingly simple by the standards of the time, and it is not easy to infer from its provisions what sort of person Isabelle may have been. Aside from demonstrating her loyalty to those who had served her, her testament reveals simply that she had been raised in a Cistercian abbey (whose name she did not give), to which she left 300 *l.t.*¹²⁹

Guillaume de Nangis reported, perhaps conventionally, that after Isabelle died Philip III became depressed and dedicated himself to works of penance.¹³⁰ Apparently devoted to her and her memory, he requested prayers on her anniversary from all Cistercian houses and commissioned an elaborate tomb for her flesh and entrails at Cosenza and a magnificent monument for her bones at Saint-Denis. In addition, the will he drew up in March 1285, which did not

better attended than those of Henry III of England, who had to make do with a single *cunabularia* among them: see Hilda Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7 (1923) 390 n. 4.

¹²⁷ William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade. A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 214-17; Saba Malaspina, *Rerum sicularum libri VI* (*Rerum italicarum scriptores* 8; Milan, 1726), p. 861; Anselme, *Histoire généalogique* 1.88.

¹²⁸ Carolus-Barré, 'Testament', 135.

¹²⁹ See Saba Malaspina, as cited in n. 127 above. Isabelle also left 200 *l.t.* to poor Cistercian houses in France. For Philip III's request that Isabelle's anniversary be celebrated in all Cistercian houses, see *Statuta ... ordinis cisterciensis*, ed. Canivez, 3.95, no. 12 and 3.103, no. 69 (1271).

¹³⁰ HF 20.490-91 (Guillaume de Nangis' *Life of Philip III*); and also *Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Viard, 8.41-42 and BN lat. 13836, fol. 118r (Yves de Saint-Denis), both of which are dependent on Guillaume de Nangis.

mention his second wife, ordained that for the repose of Isabelle's soul ten knights should be sent on the first general expedition to depart for the Holy Land.¹³¹

Even more than the death of his wife, the death of his father left Philip III in a difficult position. As Joinville later wrote of Louis IX's canonization, so too the holy king's acts promised 'great honor to those of his line who were like him in doing well, and equal dishonor to those descendants who did not choose to follow him in performing good works; great dishonor, indeed, to those of his line pursuing the paths of evil, since people would point to them and say that the sainted king from whom they were sprung would never have committed such evil.'¹³² While Louis was alive, Philip III had been overshadowed by his father and subjected to the ambitions of his determined mother, Marguerite of Provence. Long frustrated in her desire for authority, Marguerite hoped to attain it through her son. After he became heir presumptive on the death of his older brother Louis, she forced Philip to swear a complex, secret oath of obedience, which obligated him, among other things, to remain under her tutelage until he was thirty. Only on 6 July 1263, when he was eighteen and married, did Philip secure papal release from his sworn commitment.¹³³ In 1270 Philip III found himself, at twenty-five, called upon to carry on his father's work. He could have found little comfort in such expectations as were later voiced by his uncle, Charles of Anjou, that 'as his father had exceeded his father, so he too should exceed his own'.¹³⁴

Having buried the bones of his father, his wife, and other dead crusaders at Saint-Denis, and having been crowned in a ceremony at which Charlemagne's

¹³¹ On the monuments, Erlange-Brandenburg, *Le roi*, pp. 83, 112, 115, 168-70, figs. 152-56, and, on the tomb in Cosenza, Gisberto Martelli, 'Il monumento funerario della regina Isabella nella cattedrale di Cosenza', *Calabria nobilissima* 4 (1950) 9-16 and 5 figs. For Philip III's will of March 1285, in a vidimus of December 1285, *Spicilegium*, ed. d'Achery, 3.692. See also above, preceding n. 46.

¹³² Joinville, *Histoire*, ed. Wailly, p. 313, no. 761.

¹³³ For Marguerite's life and aims, see Edgard Boutaric, 'Marguerite de Provence, son caractère, son rôle politique', *Revue des questions historiques* 3 (1867) 417-23; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, no. 4859; *Les registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264)*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris, 1901-58), no. 273; and Bernard Barbiche, *Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives Nationales de Paris*, vol. 2: 1261-1304 (Vatican City, 1978), no. 1203. See also Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 2, 4, 35-37.

¹³⁴ MGH *Legum sectio IV. Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. 3: *Inde ab A. MCCLXXIII. usque ad A. MCCXCVIII.*, ed. Jacob Schwalm (Hanover-Leipzig, 1904-1906), p. 588, a memorandum prepared for Charles of Anjou to present to the pope in 1273 in support of Philip III's candidacy for the imperial throne; see Zeller, 'Candidats', 287-89. Immediately after the death of Louis IX, Thibaut V of Navarre expressed, in more moderate terms, similar expectations for Philip III. Writing to the Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum on 24 September 1270, he mentioned Philip's piety and his obedience to his father's wishes and concluded 'que nous avons grant esperance nostre seigneur que il sera un grant prudomme se Dieu plect' (Antoine-Jean Letronne, 'Sur l'authenticité d'une lettre de Thibaud, roi de Navarre, relative à la mort de saint Louis', *BEC* 5 [1843-44] 113 and 109-10, and idem, 'Sur l'authenticité de la lettre de Thibaud, roi de Navarre, à l'évêque de Tusculum', *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 16.2 [1846] 398-415; see also Langlois, *Philippe III*, p. 9).

sword, *Joyeuse*, was ostentatiously displayed, Philip III threw himself into a number of different enterprises, chief among them a campaign against Foix in 1272.¹³⁵ In 1273 his candidacy for the imperial throne was vigorously, but unsuccessfully, promoted.¹³⁶ Then, in August 1274, when Philip the Fair was six, Philip III married Marie of Brabant a young, vivacious woman who came to Paris accompanied by a flock of courtiers from her native land.¹³⁷

For Philip III the marriage was a good one, since Marie's lineage was impeccable. A twentieth-generation descendant of Charlemagne, she was the sister of Duke Jean of Brabant, to whom Louis IX had married his daughter Marguerite.¹³⁸ Thus the marriage gave Philip a prized link with the Carolingians which any Capetian who, like Louis IX, accepted the tradition of the Capetians' seven-generation dispensation to rule would have found particularly desirable. This tradition aside, the prominence accorded Charlemagne's sword at his coronation, like his imperial ambitions, suggest that Philip III was moved by legends of Charlemagne and the imperial past. Yet the blessing afforded by the marriage was mixed, for there were those who believed that the ruling house of Brabant possessed a right to the kingdom of France superior to that of the Capetians. A Brabantine genealogy compiled during the lifetime of Louis IX proclaimed Jean of Brabant the twelfth of the 'Karolides' from Charles of Lorraine and declared that he had been unjustly deprived of the kingdom of France by Hugues Capet. 'Thus', the genealogy continued, 'the line of Charlemagne ceased reigning in France, despite the hereditary right confirmed to it by apostolic authority and the election of the Franks, and despite the sentence of anathema issued [by Pope Stephen II] against any others who might attempt to take France from them. This glorious line, by which Holy Church and Christian law had been exalted, has continued to rule in Brabant, from which it had taken its origin.'¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Hervé Pinoteau, 'La tenue de sacre de saint Louis IX, roi de France. Son arrière-plan symbolique et la "renovatio regni Juda"', *Itinéraires* 162 (1972) 152-53, reprinted in *Vingt-cinq ans d'études dynastiques* (Paris, 1982), pp. 452-63, 490; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich. Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des abendländischen Staates*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Weimar, 1960), 1.141; Zeller, 'Candidats', 292; Theodore Godefroy, *Le ceremonial françois*, ed. Denys Godefroy, 2 vols. (Paris, 1649), 1.142-43; HF 20.495 (Guillaume de Nangis' *Life of Philip III*); Alfred Leroux, 'La royauté française et le saint empire romain au moyen âge', *Revue historique* 49 (1892) 256-57; and, most important, Hervé Pinoteau, 'L'ancienne couronne française dite "de Charlemagne" (1180?-1794)', originally published in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique et artistique. Le vieux papier* 26 (1972) 305-12, 351-62, 381-99, and reprinted with important emendations and comments in *Vingt-cinq ans*, pp. 387-88, 409-10. For the campaign against Foix, see Nangis, ed. Géraud, 1.242-44.

¹³⁶ See the sources cited in n. 44 above, and also the preceding note.

¹³⁷ On Marie and her relations with Philip III, see Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 21-35, and Lillich as cited in n. 68 above.

¹³⁸ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique* 1.87.

¹³⁹ '... duodecimus Karolidarum a Karolo duce, qui Franciam amisit sibi debitam. Et sic cessavit stirps Karoli Magni regnare in Francia, in qua ipsa confirmata fuerat hereditarie apostolica auctoritate

The importance which Philip III accorded to his marriage to Marie is suggested by the lavishness of her coronation at the Sainte-Chapelle on 24 June 1275, for which expenses were almost twice as great as those for Philip III's own coronation ceremonies.¹⁴⁰ The impressive festivities accompanying their stepmother's advent can hardly have escaped the notice of the sons whom Isabelle of Aragon had borne to Philip III. Some diversion may have been provided by the arrival at the royal court in the spring of 1275 of two refugees, the two-year-old Jeanne, heiress of Champagne and Navarre, and her mother Blanche, the godmother of Philip the Fair. Philip III welcomed the exiles from Navarre, and in May 1275, a month before the coronation of Marie of Brabant, he and Blanche agreed that Jeanne should be raised with his own children and should eventually wed one of his sons. The pope, Gregory X, disapproved, fearing the power that such an alliance would bring to the kingdom of France. His eventual decision that she should marry the king's second son, the young Philip, failed of its purpose, since by the time of their marriage, Philip had become his father's heir.¹⁴¹ As a result of the agreement between Philip III and Blanche, Jeanne, who ten years later married the young Philip, was exposed to many of the same influences that affected her future husband's development; she and Philip were raised virtually as brother and sister.

et Francorum electione, lata etiam sententia anathematis in omnes alienigenas regnum Francorum contra ipsam prosapiam invasuros. Hec stirps gloriosa, per quam exaltata fuerat sancta ecclesia et lex christiana, principando permansit in Brabantia, ex qua originem traxerat' ('Genealogia ducum Brabantiae ampliata', ed. J. Heller [MGH *Script.* 25; Hanover, 1880], p. 395). See also Robert Fawtier, *Les Capétiens et la France. Leur rôle dans sa construction* (Paris, 1942), pp. 57-58; in the translation, *The Capetian Kings of France. Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London, 1960), pp. 56-57. On the story of Stephen's blessing and anathema at the time of his unction of Pepin and his sons, see Alain J. Stoclet, 'La "Clausula de Uctione Pippini Regis": mises au point et nouvelles hypothèses', *Francia* 8 (1980) 1-42 and plates i-vii.

¹⁴⁰ For Marie's coronation, see HF 20.496-97 (Guillaume de Nangis' *Life of Philip III*), and the *Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Viard, 8.52. The expenses of the ceremony totaled 22,564 l. 12 s. 5 d. (probably *parisis*), those for Philip III's 12,931 l. 8 s. 1 d. (probably *parisis*), those for Philip the Fair's 23,160 l. 72 s. 1 d. p.: HF 21.405 (copied from the Chamber of Accounts' register *Pater*). See also, for Philip the Fair, *Comptes royaux (1285-1314)*, ed. Fawtier and Maillard, nos. 27806-25.

¹⁴¹ For Jeanne's background, see Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, 6 vols. in 7 (Paris, 1859-66), 4/1.440-56 and Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 96-108, 177. An inquest held on 11 March 1284 established that Jeanne had been born on 14 January 1273 (Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire* 6.102, no. 3856). The epitaph engraved on a plaque attached to her coffin stated that she died 'anno xxxiii etatis sue, inchoato a festo b. Hilarii' (13 January), on 2 April, 'feria sexta', 1305 (new style) (Émile Raunié, *Épigraphier du vieux Paris...*, 5 vols. [Paris, 1890-1974], 3.309, no. 1184; Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis Franciscanae...* [Rome, 1587], p. 120). See also HF 20.494-96 (Guillaume de Nangis' *Life of Philip III*), where (ibid., p. 496) Jeanne was said to have been 'si petite quelle gisoit en berceul' when she arrived in France. For the marriage negotiations, see Odorico Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici ... ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronius*, 34 vols. (Lucca, 1738-56), 22.377-78; for a fourteenth-century copy (with French translations) of documents of May 1275, September 1284, and August and November 1288 relating to the marriage, see BN fr. 25992, no. 4.

In 1277 another refugee, Blanche of France, daughter of Louis IX and widow of Fernando de la Cerda of Castile, fled to France, and even before Philip III had become her champion in the struggle to make good her captive eldest son's right to the throne of Castile.¹⁴²

The year 1276 was critically important for Philip III and his sons, and particularly for Philip the Fair, then eight. In the late winter and spring Philip's uncle Pedro of Aragon, who in late July would succeed his father as king of Aragon, visited his nephews and their father in France.¹⁴³ As brother of Isabelle of Aragon and of Yolande, widow of Alfonso X of Castile, Pedro had many ties with the French royal family. Relations between him and Marie of Brabant seem, however, to have been strained, and while he was at the royal court, she apparently remained away.¹⁴⁴ In the Middle Ages ties between the maternal uncle and his nephews were traditionally close,¹⁴⁵ and, in the course of his uncle's visit, Philip the Fair seems to have conceived special affection and admiration for Pedro. During the summer of 1285, when the Crusade against Aragon was being readied, Philip sent his uncle, against whom the Crusade was directed, a letter which Pedro termed 'affectionate'; in it Philip asked Pedro to dispatch a secret envoy to him.¹⁴⁶

Before May of 1276, the young princes were moved from the Louvre to the Bois de Vincennes. Tragedy then struck with the sudden death of Philip III's eldest son

¹⁴² See Daumet, *Mémoires sur les relations*, pp. 27-30, 48-52, and also above preceding n. 73.

¹⁴³ Extracts from the accounts of the *baillages* of France for the Ascension term of 1276 which relate to these events are published in HF 22.754-56. See the brief account of Pedro's trip in the anonymous chronicle ending in 1286 (published in HF 21.92), which states that Pedro came to France 'voir ses neveux; et mout li fist li roi Phelippes bonne chere, et mout le festoia'. Pedro's expenses for the 102 days between 2 February (the Purification) and 14 May (Ascension) of 1276 totaled 7300 *l.* 5 *s.* 4; see HF 22.755. For the same period, the expenses 'puerorum de Lupara' (of the king's sons, housed at the Louvre) amounted to 1791 *l.* 14 *s.* 6 *d.*, of which some 74 *l.* were spent 'peregrinationibus et offrandis' (ibid.). In 1282 Pedro owed Philip III 10,000 *l.*, which he may have borrowed while he was in France in 1276 (ibid., pp. 756-57). At his father's death on 25 July 1276, Pedro of Aragon succeeded to the throne, although he was not crowned until the following November (Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* 9.49-51).

¹⁴⁴ During the 102 days mentioned in the last note, Marie was for 87 days 'sine rege' (HF 22.755). During this period she spent more than 6000 *l.* (probably *tournois*).

¹⁴⁵ William Oliver Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste. A Study in the Survival of Matriarchy* (New York, 1913); see also McLaughlin, 'Survivors and Surrogates', 135 and 178 n. 217. See above preceding n. 58 for Philip the Fair's relations with Pedro's younger brother Jaime.

¹⁴⁶ Isidoro Carini and Raffaele Starrabba, *Gli archivi e le biblioteche di Spagna*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1884-97), 2.59-60. In his dramatic (but highly inaccurate) account of the launching of the Crusade against Aragon, Ramón Muntaner laid special emphasis on the young Philip's affection for his uncle Pedro and on his outspoken opposition to the expedition (*Chronik des edlen en Ramon Muntaner*, ed. Karl Lanz [Stuttgart, 1844], pp. 183-84). Muntaner also reported (ibid., pp. 258-60) that before dying, Philip III, regretting the expedition against Aragon and admitting his error in undertaking it, asked Philip the Fair to promise to retreat from Spain and not to blame his brother Charles for the Crusade. See Petit, *Charles de Valois*, p. 11.

Louis. Philip, the secondborn, thus found himself suddenly acknowledged as *primogenitus* and heir to the throne. Whatever resentment Philip felt at the secondary position he had previously occupied in the princely hierarchy would have increased any feelings of guilt and insecurity he harbored because of the radical alteration of his fortunes and his title. His dead brother's burial at Saint-Denis, near Louis IX and the members of the Merovingian and Carolingian houses interred there, emphasized the firstborn prince's primary but aborted right to the throne.¹⁴⁷ During May 1276 the blows of fortune continued. By the middle of the month Philip the Fair and his brother Charles had also lost their thirdborn brother Robert, who, like their elder brother Louis, was buried at Saint-Denis.¹⁴⁸ In the same month Marie of Brabant gave birth to her first son, shortly before she and the boys' father set off to campaign against Castile.¹⁴⁹

The name bestowed on Marie's son was Louis, the same name borne by the princes' grandfather and the royal heir who had just died. Although it was not unusual to give a baby the name of a dead child, in the case of Louis (later Louis of Évreux) the decision had unfortunate implications, since it suggested that he was, in some sense, replacing the prince whose name had signified his right to ascend the throne of France. The choice of name could only have fueled rumors that Marie of Brabant was responsible for the first Louis' death by poisoning and that she planned to dispose of all Isabelle's offspring so that her own child, directly descended from Charlemagne, could become king. The second Louis' pedigree was unquestionably superior to that of the half-Aragonese Philip, whose links to the Carolingians were in the 1270s generally believed to have come from the wives of Louis VII and Philip Augustus rather than from any more proximate source.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ For the transfer of the princes from the Louvre, apparently before young Louis' death, see the anonymous chronicle ending in 1286, in HF 21.94. Louis' death occurred before the birth of Louis of Évreux in May (Berger, 'Annales', 293). For Louis' burial at Saint-Denis, see Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi*, pp. 25, 78, 83; see also Nangis, ed. Géraud, 1.247, and the anonymous chronicle ending in 1328 published in HF 21.146.

¹⁴⁸ Robert was referred to as 'defunctus' in the account of the *bailliages* of France for the Ascension term of 1276; see n. 143 above and HF 22.754. For his burial at Saint-Denis, see Moranvillé, 'Texte latin', 656; BN fr. 15485, fol. 246r; and Erlande-Brandenburg, *ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Life of Philip III*, in HF 20.502-503; *Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Viard, 8.61-67; Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* 9.54. In 1278 (probably in January), the papal legate Simon de Brion testified that Philip departed for the south two months after Marie had her child, and a chronicle of Saint-Martial of Limoges ending in 1315 states that the Queen and the oriflamme accompanied him (J[ules] de G[aulle], 'Documents historiques', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 9/2.4 [1844] 89, 92, and HF 21.803, where the young Louis' death is said to have taken place in 1275). An anonymous chronicle ending in 1286 and Guillaume Guiart indicate that the expedition preceded the birth of Louis of Évreux (HF 21.94 and 211-12.12237-54). On the expedition, see Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 103-107, and for the speedy settlement of the causes of dispute through a treaty concluded with Alfonso X in November 1276, see Daumet, *Mémoires sur les relations*, pp. 31, 40-43.

¹⁵⁰ Fawtier, *Les Capétiens et la France*, pp. 56-57 (*Capetian Kings*, p. 56).

The young Philip, and perhaps his brother Charles as well, must have feared that, like their two brothers, they might soon die, suddenly and mysteriously.

After the birth of her son, Marie of Brabant was formally charged with poisoning her eldest stepson. Pierre de la Broce, chamberlain to Louis IX and Philip III and Isabelle of Aragon's testamentary executor,¹⁵¹ was involved in the accusations. He and his relative Pierre de Benais, bishop of Bayeux, apparently led the campaign against Marie, whereas a Templar, Arnoul de Wisemale, was instrumental in defending her. Inquests were held, supposedly in secret. The young princes, however, must have known of the scandal, particularly since, in 1278, Pierre de la Broce was seized and hanged, and the bishop of Bayeux driven to seek asylum in Rome; the reasons for their fall were common knowledge.¹⁵² As for Marie, Pope Nicholas III became embroiled in the charges against her because of Philip III's attempts to sequester the temporalities of the bishop of Bayeux. In letters addressed to Philip and to Marie on 2 and 3 December 1278, he declared the accusations unthinkable and advised the king to desist from steps that would draw attention to the charges. Nonetheless, the rhetoric which the pope used to dismiss the accusations against Marie would hardly have stopped speculation. In answer to the question 'What would have provoked her and her familiars to inflict such a cruel death on an innocent?', the Pope dismissed the possibility that it could have been 'the desire to secure the succession for her offspring'. Others, however, were less inclined to do so.¹⁵³ The accusations against Marie, thus given publicity, would hardly have alleviated the fear, suspicion, and mistrust which the events of 1276 must have aroused in the young Philip and his brother Charles. These boys can hardly have been pleased when Philip III gave Marie their sainted grandfather's breviary, believed to have been miraculously restored to him after he was captured by the Saracens.¹⁵⁴

At the same time as the accusations against Marie of Brabant were circulating, Philip III himself was confronted with charges of unnatural sexual acts.¹⁵⁵ Framed

¹⁵¹ Carolus-Barré, 'Testament', 136. For Pierre's service to Louis IX and Philip III, see Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 13-32, and also Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles de saint Louis*, ed. Percival B. Fay (Paris, 1931), p. 71, for Pierre's position as Louis' surgeon.

¹⁵² See F. Éd. Schneegans, 'Trois poèmes de la fin du XIII^e siècle sur Pierre de la Broce', *Romania* 58 (1932) 520-30 and 538.105-112.

¹⁵³ Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 22-31, 35; Kay, 'Martin IV', 460-83; and particularly *Les registres de Nicolas III*, ed. Jules Gay and Suzanne Vitte (Paris, 1898-1938), nos. 389, 391 (2-3 December 1278); Barbiche, *Actes*, no. 1628; G[aulle], 'Documents historiques', 89. See also Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass.-Leiden, 1978), pp. 95-96 n. 191.

¹⁵⁴ L. S. Crist, 'The Breviary of Saint Louis: The Development of a Legendary Miracle', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965) 320-31 n. 13; Léopold Delisle, 'Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 12 (1885) 29, no. 196.

¹⁵⁵ '... pechie contre nature ... entechiez de ce vice' (G[aulle], 'Documents historiques', 89). For

by a canon of Laon and two holy women of Liège, these accusations had been noised abroad before the death of the king's sons Louis and Robert. Indeed these tragedies in some measure substantiated the charges, since the king's accusers had prophesied that one of his sons would die within six months if he did not cease his sinning.¹⁵⁶ Given the gravity of the charges, Philip III may have had the case against Marie of Brabant treated as formally and publicly as he did in order to divert attention from rumors touching his own person, which he tried hard to suppress.

These rumors apart, Philip III possessed little stature. His attempts to gain prestige by displaying Charlemagne's sword, by seeking the imperial title, and by obtaining papal graces were ineffective; as a military leader he was a failure.¹⁵⁷ The king suffered under the weight of his father's reputation, and with every passing year Louis IX's fame increased. Inquiries into Louis' merits began, on papal orders, within three years of his death, but five years passed before Philip III, doubtless wounded by the humiliating charges that had been made against him, pressed the pope for his father's canonization.¹⁵⁸ The contrast between father and son became sharper in the course of the formal public inquest into Louis' life and miracles that was held at Saint-Denis in 1282 and 1283.¹⁵⁹ One of the incidents reported was the miraculous cure effected at Louis' tomb in 1274 after Philip III had attempted in vain to heal a child through the royal touch.¹⁶⁰

What is incubus to one can be inspiration to another, and the influence which Saint Louis' reputation exerted on his grandson Philip was distinctly different from its effect on his son, Philip III. Philip the Fair and his brothers were surrounded by those who had known and venerated their grandfather. As youths, their *custos* was Pierre de Laon, former chamberlain of Louis IX, and the boys doubtless learned from him of the miraculous cure he had experienced through remains of Louis that he had preserved. When his arm became immobilized with terrible pain, Pierre remembered that he had kept some of the dead king's hair. With it he touched his arm three times, and the arm was gradually restored to health.

St. Augustine's denunciation of 'flagicia contra naturam', included in Gratian's *Decretum*, see *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879-81), 1.1143 (C. 32, q. 7, c. 13).

¹⁵⁶ Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 23-27; Kay, 'Martin IV', 474-75.

¹⁵⁷ Zeller, 'Candidats', 287-89; Hillgarth, *Lull*, p. 61; Leroux, 'Royaute française', 262-63; and Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Paris, 1950), pp. 304-308. For bulls obtained by Philip III, see particularly, *Privilèges*, ed. Tardif, nos. 46, 50.

¹⁵⁸ Henri-François Delaborde, 'Fragments de l'enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282 en vue de la canonisation de saint Louis', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 23 (1896) 2-3; Carolus-Barré, 'Enquêtes pour la canonisation', 19-22; Kay, 'Martin IV', 477.

¹⁵⁹ Delaborde, *ibid.*, 3-5; Carolus-Barré, *ibid.*, 24-26.

¹⁶⁰ Saint-Pathus, *Miracles de saint Louis*, ed. Fay, p. 76.

Afterwards he had the remains enshrined in a gold and silver reliquary, which he guarded reverently and devoutly.¹⁶¹

The boys also knew their grandmother, Louis' widow, Marguerite of Provence, who was a powerful figure at the royal court.¹⁶² Joinville admired and sympathized with the queen, and his tales of her courage and patience must have increased the respect with which she was treated.¹⁶³ How much Marguerite talked about her dead husband is unclear; it is noteworthy that she did not testify at the inquests regarding Louis' life and miracles.¹⁶⁴ Nonetheless, whatever her own feelings about Louis, she provided the young princes with a living and particularly close link with their grandfather and with his saintly sister Isabelle. Once, when Prince Philip was suffering from a fever, Marguerite took him to Longchamp and made him lie near Isabelle's tomb, an experience which resulted in Philip's cure—and which he never forgot.¹⁶⁵

The royal children were doubtless reminded of St. Louis not only by Marguerite of Provence and Pierre de Laon, but also by others at or close to the royal court who remembered the king and revered his memory. Their aunt Blanche, widow of Fernando de la Cerda of Castile, was particularly devoted to her father. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus acted as Blanche's confessor after the death of Marguerite, Louis' widow, whom he had attended in the same capacity. It was at Blanche's request that he wrote a lengthy account of Louis' life and miracles, filled with stories which must have circulated at court.¹⁶⁶ Louis' own confessor, Geffroi de Beaulieu, composed a detailed life of Louis, and Louis' former chaplain, Guillaume de Chartres, wrote an account supplementing Geffroi's.¹⁶⁷ As seneschal of Champagne, Jean de Joinville was close to the young Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre,

¹⁶¹ HF 20.59 (Guillaume de Chartres on Louis' life and miracles) and, for a similar account, *ibid.* 23.165 (a lectionary composed after 1297). The miracle was recounted in the office for the octaves of Louis' feast day (BN lat. 911, fols. 25v-26r; see also Carolus-Barré, 'Enquêtes pour la canonisation', 25).

¹⁶² Boutaric, 'Marguerite de Provence', 445-57 and Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 35-38.

¹⁶³ Joinville, *Histoire*, ed. Wailly, pp. 166-67, nos. 397-400; pp. 255-56, nos. 605-608; pp. 265-66, nos. 630-33; pp. 271-73, nos. 646-49. See also *ibid.*, p. 250, nos. 593-94 for Joinville's unusually critical remark that he did not think it proper for a man to be as distant from his family as was Louis.

¹⁶⁴ Carolus-Barré, 'Enquêtes pour la canonisation', 24.

¹⁶⁵ See the life of St. Louis' sister Isabelle, by Agnès de Harcourt, third abbess of Longchamp, in Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Histoire de S. Louys...* (Paris, 1668), p. 177, a story related on the basis of Philip the Fair's own testimony; see my article, 'Funeral of Philip v', 270 n. 15.

¹⁶⁶ HF 20.60; *Vie de saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite*, ed. Henri-François Delaborde (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 27; Paris, 1899), pp. ix-x; Léon Levillain, 'La vie de saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus', *Le Moyen Age* 16 (1903) 110-24.

¹⁶⁷ Geffroi de Beaulieu wrote his work at the request of Pope Gregory x (1272-76), one of whose first acts as pope was to ask Geffroi to record the king's virtues (Carolus-Barré, 'Enquêtes pour la canonisation', 20-21). For Guillaume de Chartres, see HF 20.27-28.

who was raised with the royal children at court. At Jeanne's urging Joinville later recorded his recollections of Louis for the first son, named after his great-grandfather, whom Jeanne bore to Philip the Fair in 1289. From Joinville and the others the royal children must have heard of Louis' good works and of the widely known *enseignements* which Louis drew up for Philip III. In this document Louis counseled restitution and gave other explicit advice on good rulership, setting goals which Philip III was never able to attain, but which remained as a standard of rulership for the holy king's successors.¹⁶⁸

Louis IX was not the only model to which the royal children were exposed. According to Joinville, Louis himself had drawn on the past for the stories he told his own children of good and evil rulers, to persuade them to imitate the former and avoid the example of the latter, who brought ruin on their realms.¹⁶⁹ As has been seen, Louis was impressed by Vincent de Beauvais and his writings; he presented a copy of Vincent's *Speculum historiale* to Alfonso X of Castile. Further, he seems to have encouraged Primat's composition of his great chronicles of France at Saint-Denis.¹⁷⁰ These works and other similar compilations were available as a source of instruction for the royal children, although there is no evidence that, like his father, Philip III made a personal effort to instruct his sons in their duties as Christians and their responsibilities as rulers. Sermons were preached to the royal children in their residence in the Louvre,¹⁷¹ and a number of mentors were charged with their education. The children's spiritual counselor

¹⁶⁸ Joinville's ties with Jeanne are discussed in Gaston Paris, 'Jean, sire de Joinville', *Histoire littéraire de la France* 32 (1898) 344, 347-53. For the teachings which Louis addressed to his son Philip and for the other examples of good rulership which Joinville reported, see Joinville, *Histoire*, ed. Wailly, pp. 281-300, nos. 667-719 and pp. 307-10, nos. 739-54. On the *enseignements*, see Henri-François Delaborde, 'Le texte primitif des Enseignements de saint Louis à son fils', *BEC* 73 (1912) 73-100, 237-62; Émile-A. van Moë, *Saint Louis, enseignements à son fils aîné* (Paris, 1944); David O'Connell, *The Teachings of Saint Louis. A Critical Text* (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature 116; Chapel Hill, 1972) and his *Les propos de saint Louis* (Paris, 1974). Yves de Saint-Denis gave special notice to the *enseignements* in the work which he wrote for Philip the Fair and presented to Philip V: BN lat. 13836, fols. 101r-105v (published as 'Gesta alia s. Ludovici noni Francorum regis. Authore monacho sancti Dionysii anonimo' in *Historiae Francorum scriptores coetanei...*, ed. André Duchesne, 5 vols. [Paris, 1636-49], 5.397-99).

¹⁶⁹ Joinville, *Histoire*, ed. Wailly, p. 291, no. 689; see also HF 20.7 (Geffroi de Beaulieu), 87 (Guillaume de Saint-Pathus) and BN lat. 13836, fol. 101r (Yves de Saint-Denis). For the treatise on the education of kings and princes which Guibert de Tournai addressed to Louis IX in 1259, see *Le traité 'Eruditio regum et principum' de Guibert de Tournai, O.F.M. (étude et texte inédit)*, ed. Alphonse de Poorter (Les philosophes belges, textes et études 9; Louvain, 1914).

¹⁷⁰ See n. 105 above; Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 78-89, and particularly pp. 87-89; for Louis' gift to Alfonso, Georges Daumet, 'Les testaments d'Alphonse X le Savant, roi de Castille', *BEC* 67 (1906) 90; see also *Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Viard, 1.xx-xxiii.

¹⁷¹ Albert Lecoy de La Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge, spécialement au XIII^e siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporains* (Paris, 1868), pp. 213-14.

was Laurent d'Orléans, the Dominican confessor of Philip III and testamentary executor of both Isabelle of Aragon and Louis IX's son, Pierre of Alençon.¹⁷² To judge from the manual for kings which he composed, he stressed simple, strict principles of behavior, emphasizing the necessity of adhering to the Ten Commandments, as he interpreted them, and of observing the admonitions of the theologians. His work was not original, and the doctrines he advocated were doubtless similar to those the children heard from other mentors.¹⁷³ Philip the Fair's tutor, Guillaume d'Ercuis, introduced the young prince to the study of letters and remained Philip's devoted supporter. Dedicated to the memories of Louis IX and Isabelle of Aragon and to Philip III, he was also close to Jeanne of Champagne.¹⁷⁴ He was apparently a man of an uncompromising, legalistic, and punctilious cast of mind. Among the books he purchased figure works of systematic theology, the epistles of St. Paul, and books of canon and civil law. His registers show how carefully he administered his property and kept his personal accounts, whereas his will reveals a scrupulous concern for restitution, a virtue which he doubtless advocated to his young charges.¹⁷⁵

Before becoming king, Philip the Fair knew and admired the Augustinian Giles of Rome, who, associated with the University of Paris, had been a student of Thomas Aquinas.¹⁷⁶ It is a sign of Philip's gravity and precocity, as well as his high

¹⁷² For Isabelle's will, see Carolus-Barré, 'Testament', 136; for that of Pierre d'Alençon, see Du Cange, *Histoire*, p. 186. On Laurent, see Pierre Mandonnet, 'Laurent d'Orléans auteur de la Somme-le-Roi', *Revue des langues romanes* 56 (1913) 20-23 and Charles-Victor Langlois, *La vie en France au Moyen Age du XII^e au milieu du XIV^e siècle*, vol. 4: *La vie spirituelle...* (Paris, 1928), pp. 123-92. A copy of Laurent's *La Somme le Roy*, once owned by Philip the Fair and said to be 'bien enluminé', was bequeathed by Blanche of Navarre, widow of Philip of Valois, to her son the duke of Orléans (Delisle, 'Testament', 30, no. 202 and 36, no. 291).

¹⁷³ There are striking similarities between Laurent's book and the *Summa confessorum* of Durand de Champagne, Jeanne of Navarre's confessor, on whom see Léopold Delisle, 'Durand de Champagne, franciscain' in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 30 (1888) 302-19.

¹⁷⁴ *De libro rationis Guillelmi de Erqueto*, ed. Joseph Petit (Paris, 1900), pp. 7-17, 36, 95, 97, 106; Strayer, *Reign of Philip*, pp. 8-9. For his life, see Léopold Delisle, 'Guillaume d'Ercuis, précepteur de Philippe le Bel' in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 32 (1898) 154-71, and H. Coustant d'Yanville, 'Guillaume d'Ercuis, précepteur de Philippe-le-Bel. Son testament.—Sa famille', *Mémoires de la Société académique d'archéologie, sciences & arts du département de l'Oise* 5 (1863-64) 547, 549.

¹⁷⁵ *Ercuis*, ed. Petit, pp. 27-28; Delisle, *ibid.*, 161, 168; Coustant d'Yanville, *ibid.*, 546, 553, 555. Note particularly the initial clause of his will, dated 13 July 1314 in which, having 'cum corde constricto' commended his soul to God, Christ, and the Virgin Mary, he ordered 'debita sua quecumque, si que debeat, reddi integraliter et persolvi, et foresta [sic] sua omnia et singula penitus restitui ac etiam emendari, et precipue personis infrascriptis', who were listed by name (Coustant d'Yanville, *ibid.*, 546; see also Brown, 'Royal Salvation', 366).

¹⁷⁶ Particularly useful on Giles are Félix Lajard, 'Gilles de Rome, religieux augustin, théologien' in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 30 (1888) 421-566; August Baumhauer, *Philipp der Schöne und Bonifaz VIII. in ihrer Stellung zur franz. Kirche mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bischofswahlen* (Freiburg i. Br., 1920), pp. 107-10; and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 132-35.

regard for Giles, that before he became king Philip asked Giles to write a manual on the rearing of princes and the rulership of kings. Philip's satisfaction with the book Giles produced is shown by the French translation he commissioned soon after the original version was completed, as well as by the favors he bestowed on Giles in later years.¹⁷⁷ According to Giles, the ideal prince should be a person of aloofness, magnificence, liberality, and power, who dedicated himself to the people's common welfare and fought just wars in their defense, who inventoried and harbored the resources of his kingdom, who restrained himself from greed and rapine. Described as 'animate law', the king was, Giles said, subject to God and natural law but superior to all positive law.¹⁷⁸ Unlike the children of warriors, Giles wrote, royal offspring were to be trained to be prudent and subtle of mind, and they were therefore to avoid exercise and the 'hardened flesh' which exercise fostered. They were rather to study the moral sciences, to ponder often the good customs of the realm, and to hear frequently the worthy deeds of their ancestors.¹⁷⁹ Whether Giles framed these prescriptions in the knowledge that Philip the Fair approved them, or whether they molded the thinking of the young man, Philip's posture as king embodied many of the ideal traits Giles described. Giles's admonition that a king should avoid familiarity with his subjects (reflecting ancient and Byzantine tradition and the teachings of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*) is particularly striking in light of Philip the Fair's stony and reserved attitude, which so impressed his contemporaries.¹⁸⁰

In 1284 Philip the Fair was sixteen, and in that year two ceremonies testified that he had come of age. Knighted at Paris on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, 15 August, he was married on the following day to the eleven-year-old Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre.¹⁸¹ In the spring of 1285 he left with his father on the Crusade against Aragon which was being waged to secure Aragon for Charles, his younger and only surviving full brother. The costly enterprise proved

¹⁷⁷ For the translation of Giles's work, see Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne*, pp. 7-8; Samuel Paul Molenaer, ed., *Li Livres du gouvernement des rois, A XIIIth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise De regimine principum* (New York, 1899), pp. xxvi-xxviii; and Lajard, *ibid.*, 168-73.

¹⁷⁸ Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum* 1.1:12, 4:3; 2.3:10-12; 3.2:9, 17, 19. Giles's statements condemning usury and rapine and advocating restitution were amplified and emphasized in quodlibetic questions which he composed in 1287 (Palémon Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320*, 2 vols. [Bibliothèque thomiste 5, 21; Le Saulchoir, 1925-35], 1.140-43).

¹⁷⁹ Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum* 2.2:18.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.* 2.3:17, 3.2:9; cf. *Li Livres*, ed. Molenaer, pp. 264-65, 317. For ancient and Byzantine analogues, see Hans Peter L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire*, trans. Dr. and Mrs. Knut Berg (Princeton, 1965), pp. 121-25; for the *Secretum secretorum*, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. 5: *Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis, tractatus brevis et utilis ad declarandum quedam obscure dicta Fratris Rogeri*, ed. Robert Steele and trans. A. S. Fulton (Oxford, 1920), p. 49.

¹⁸¹ *Nangis*, ed. Géraud, 1.262, especially n. 2; Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire* 4/1.453-55.

disastrous. On the return journey to France Philip III fell ill and died at Perpignan on 5 October 1285. According to the continuator of Gérard de Frachet's chronicle, the moribund king made his son and heir swear to continue the struggle against Aragon on his brother's behalf.¹⁸² Philip III's death, however, made Philip the Fair king of France, and no longer could his father's wishes, or the wishes of any mortal, bind him.

CONCLUSION

In some cases the connections between Philip the Fair's childhood experiences and his character as an adult seem inescapably clear; in other instances, although less obvious, they are persuasive. The aggressiveness and bravado that inform his government's policies can, for example, be seen as reflections of a need felt by Philip to establish beyond doubt the throne-worthiness of a second son who had not been born to be king. But links between his early experiences and his attitudes as an adult are most convincingly hypothesized on a personal level. The events of his childhood make it easy to understand his distant attitude toward his stepmother Marie of Brabant, suspected of poisoning one or two of his brothers and possessing a Carolingian descent of enviable legitimacy; his relations, less than fully cordial, with Louis of Évreux, born soon after the death of Philip's elder brother and bearing the name of that brother and of Philip's revered grandfather; the favors he granted to Charles of Valois, his only full brother and with him the sole survivor of their troubled early years; his closeness to Pedro and Jaime of Aragon, his maternal uncles and the brothers of the mother he had lost before he was three; his affection for his sole surviving daughter Isabelle, who bore the name of his dead mother and aunt, St. Louis' holy sister; his exaggerated admiration for and expectations of his wife, Jeanne of Navarre; his mingled respect for and distance from Marguerite of Provence and Blanche of France, the grandmother and aunt who provided living links to St. Louis.

In addition to affecting Philip the Fair's attitudes to the individuals who lived on after 1285, his early relations with them seem to have had a variety of more subtle effects. The loftiness of Marie of Brabant's ancestry and Philip's likely antagonism to her, for example, can be linked to his concern regarding his own lineage's past. His ties to his mother and his Aragonese uncles seem clearly connected, on the one hand, with his policies toward the Spanish peninsula and, on the other, with his attitude toward crusading, which also seems to reflect his conflicting sentiments regarding his father and his grandfather. Philip's loss of his mother when he was an infant, which a child could well have perceived as abrupt

¹⁸² '... quod suum fratrem Karolum ad regnum Aragoniae acquirendum pro posse fideliter adjuvaret' (HF 21.7). For the date of Philip III's death see n. 4 above.

and unjustified abandonment, may account for his distant attitude to her memory—as well as his distrust of and distance from other people. The effect of this loss can also be detected in Philip's lavish praise of his own wife, in the ambivalence that can be seen in his relations with her and the other women who were close to him, and in the noticeable change in his personality after his wife's death. Philip III's influence on Philip the Fair seems equally clear, expressed in his son's stubborn assertion of independence from his father's policies, his determination to control his father's earthly remains, and his unusually grandiose ambitions to exceed his father's accomplishments. Philip's puritanical sensitivity to charges of sexual immorality may have had its roots in youthful reactions to the accusations of sins against nature levelled against Philip III. His efforts to gain the imperial title for his brother Charles may have been in part motivated by a desire to make amends for having failed to carry out his father's wish to see Charles installed on the Aragonese throne. Like his bestowal of the name of Louis on his eldest son, the lengths to which Philip the Fair went to insure that his body, not his father's, would lie next to St. Louis' at Saint-Denis and that his own heart would be interred at Poissy suggest that, at some level, Philip was rejecting the ties that bound him to his own father and believed himself, rather than his father, to be his grandfather's true heir.

When Philip the Fair was a child, he and his companions at court seem to have lived in the shadow of St. Louis, the perfect king, a daunting example and challenge to them all. Many of Philip the Fair's acts as king were presented as mirroring his grandfather's accomplishments and principles, but, probably because of his own rearing, Philip imitated and followed his grandfather's example in a literalistic, grudging, and occasionally legalistic and opportunistic fashion. The restitution which Louis had endorsed Philip practiced, but generally with hesitancy and reluctance foreign to his grandfather's acts. Like Louis, Philip the Fair made peace with England, but it was he who provoked the conflict which had to be resolved, and in the end his treaties with England were concluded under the shadow of his conflict with Boniface VIII. Other actions suggest that Philip aimed to exceed his grandfather's deeds. He publicized and insisted on the royal curative power as Louis had not. He revealed himself as an uncompromising paragon of moral rectitude through the publicity accorded to the prosecution of adultery in the royal household. His thoughts of abdicating his throne may have been inspired by Geffroi de Beaulieu's story that Louis wished to relinquish his throne, but Louis' humble wish to become a Mendicant contrasts strikingly with Philip's ambition to become chief of all militant crusaders and king over other kings, the ruler of Jerusalem.¹⁸³ Philip found it easiest to implement those of Louis' precepts

¹⁸³ HF 20.7; see also Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 130.

which could be fulfilled without radically affecting the way he lived: by founding and visiting religious establishments, by asking his successor to have his subjects offer prayers for his soul.¹⁸⁴ Like Philip III's, St. Louis' legacy to Philip the Fair prompted in his descendant acts that vacillated from obedience, to rejection, to extravagant competitiveness. Philip the Fair's obsessive attempts to imitate and outdo his grandfather were doubtless fired by his awareness of his inability to rival Louis' achievements. Joinville, for one, voiced disapproval of Philip's policies in his *Life of St. Louis* and openly expressed it by leading the confederation of nobles of Champagne which was formed in the last months of Philip's reign to protest the monarchy's policies.¹⁸⁵

The painful experiences which Philip suffered as a child were, even by the standards of his time, remarkably severe. There is no evidence that, as a child, he received the attention and love that would make the distance and aloofness and the need for reassurance which he manifested as an adult difficult to understand. He and the other royal children were surrounded by people who apparently reinforced the strict ideals of conduct presented by the children's mentors. Both Philip and his wife Jeanne seem to have absorbed from their preceptors a respect for the life of the mind. Philip became a notable patron of writers and artists; he manifested a sincere, and at times compulsive interest in the history of his lineage.¹⁸⁶ For her part, Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre, before dying, established the Collège de Navarre.¹⁸⁷ But the rigid, intellectualized, and often inconsistent principles and examples with which the young people were indoctrinated do not seem to have

¹⁸⁴ For Louis IX's dying request to his son, see Joinville, *Histoire*, ed. Wailly, p. 310, no. 754, and HF 20.9 (Geffroi de Beaulieu) and 80-81 (Guillaume de Saint-Pathus). For Philip the Fair's similar request, HF 21.207 (Yves de Saint-Denis) and Léon Lacabane, 'Dissertations sur l'histoire de France au XIV^e siècle. I. Mort de Philippe le Bel.—Avènement de Louis Hutin', BEC 3 (1841-42) 10; for its implementation: *Comptes royaux (1314-1328)*, ed. François Maillard, 2 vols. (Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers 4; Paris, 1961), nos. 13535-40; Millau, Archives Municipales CC 346, fols. 39r, 47r; and BN nouv. acq. fr. 564, fols. 83r, 85v (Najac). At the request of Philip's daughter Isabelle and her husband Edward II, Philip's memory was celebrated soon after his death in all the churches of London (*Annales Paulini*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. [RS 76; London, 1882-83], 1.277). Philip's visits to and endowments of ecclesiastical establishments are discussed in Bautier, 'Diplomatique et histoire politique', 19-22.

¹⁸⁵ Joinville, *Histoire*, ed. Wailly, pp. 17-18, no. 422, and also p. 233, no. 555. For his participation in the alliance of Champagne, see Henri-François Delaborde, *Jean de Joinville et les seigneurs de Joinville, suivi d'un catalogue de leurs actes* (Paris, 1894), pp. 159-61, and my doctoral dissertation, *Charters and Leagues*, especially pp. 399-402.

¹⁸⁶ Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne*, pp. 72-73; and see above, following n. 113.

¹⁸⁷ Wenck, *ibid.*, pp. 8-20; Hillgarth, *Lull*, pp. 47-49; Camille Enlart, 'L'émaillerie cloisonnée à Paris sous Philippe le Bel et le maître Guillaume Julien', *Monuments Piot* 29 (1927-28) 1-97; Guérout, 'Palais de la Cité'; François Énaud, 'Découverte de peintures murales à l'église abbatiale de Lavaudieu (Haute-Loire)', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1968) 174; and see above at n. 77.

been balanced by exposure to living individuals who could demonstrate how the standards of the moralists could practically be balanced with the demands of the real world. Philip's compulsion to seek absolution in advance for wrongs he feared he might commit, his impulse to exact literalistic compensation for wrongs suffered and to make similarly literalistic atonement for wrongs inflicted were consistent with the teachings of the moralists of his time, yet the lengths to which he went to implement these principles were extraordinary. His determined punctiliousness was so pronounced as to suggest that he never fully outgrew the same sort of puerility for which he upbraided his eldest son Louis. He perhaps deprecated in his son what he deprecated in himself—imperfection. A negative estimate of himself as a human being could be compensated for and balanced by an exalted estimate of his position as ruler and of his relationship to God, and by a compulsive desire to establish the impeccableness of his pedigree. Conflict among such extreme emotions would have provided fertile ground for the development of the insecurity, anxiety, hesitancy, and distrust of other human beings that can be perceived in many of his actions. It could explain the distance he maintained between himself and most other individuals, as well as the ability to influence and manipulate him that was exercised by those to whom he felt closest: his daughter, his ministers, and sometimes his wife.

The early years of Philip the Fair were in many respects similar to those of other royal children, characterized as they were by the attention of nurses, cradle rockers, tutors, and religious counselors, by tales of royal forebears, and by court intrigue and gossip. It was, however, the distinctive rather than the common elements in Philip's upbringing that were important in his development. In the absence of individuals and occurrences to counterbalance and offset them, the extraordinary events of his childhood—the untimely deaths of his mother and brothers, the sinister aspirations attributed to Marie of Brabant, the charges leveled against his father, exposure to an idealized image of his grandfather—contributed to produce the man of grandiose, unrealistic, and conflicting ambitions, of deep-seated insecurities and suspicions, of compulsive scrupulosity who profoundly influenced the fortunes of western Europe as ruler of the kingdom of France.

Brooklyn College and The Graduate School, City University of New York.

THE COMMENTARY OF THE REGIUS PSALTER: ITS MAIN SOURCE AND INFLUENCE ON THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSS

William Davey

THE fourteen glossed and partly glossed Old English psalters have long been of interest to scholars.¹ These Old English glosses, ranging from the late eighth century (some scattered glosses of the Blickling Psalter) to the mid-twelfth century (the Canterbury Psalter), preserve a rich word hoard of Old English. While debate exists over the exact dialect and provenance of some of these psalters, most scholars agree that the Regius Psalter (London, British Library ms. Royal 2 B.v) is one of the most accurate and influential of these texts. Building on the work of Uno L. Lindelöf, Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam have argued that the Regius or D-type gloss, of which the Regius Psalter is the closest extant example, has influenced to some degree all of the glossed psalters which followed.² This influence is all the more remarkable since the Regius Psalter is a mid-tenth-century

¹ Albert S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (London, 1898), pp. xxviii-xxx, established alphabetical designations for these psalters with the exception of L for the Bosworth Psalter, assigned by Uno L. Lindelöf, 'Die altenglischen Glossen im Bosworth-Psalter', *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors* 5 (1909) 137 ff. These sigla are assigned to the manuscripts cited throughout the article:

- A = London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A.i (Vespasian Psalter)
- B = Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 27 (Junius Psalter)
- C = Cambridge, University Library Ff.1.23 (Cambridge Psalter)
- D = London, British Library Royal 2 B.v (Regius Psalter)
- E = Cambridge, Trinity College 987 (R.17.1) (Canterbury Psalter)
- F = London, British Library Stowe 2 (Stowe Psalter)
- G = London, British Library Cotton Vitellius E.xviii (Vitellius Psalter)
- H = London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.vi (Tiberius Psalter)
- I = London, Lambeth Palace Library 427 (Lambeth Psalter)
- J = London, British Library Arundel 60 (Arundel Psalter)
- K = Salisbury, Cathedral Library 150 (Salisbury Psalter)
- L = London, British Library Addit. 37517 (Bosworth Psalter)
- M = New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.776 (Blickling Psalter)
- P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8824 (Paris Psalter).

Other psalter fragments have been found recently: Klaus Dietz, 'Die AE. Psalterglossen der Hs. Cambridge, Pembroke College 312', *Anglia* 86 (1968) 273-79, and René Derolez, 'A New Psalter Fragment with O.E. Glosses', *English Studies* 53 (1972) 401-408.

² Uno L. Lindelöf, *Studien zu altenglischen Psalterglossen* (Bonn, 1904), and Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, *The Salisbury Psalter* (EETS ES 242; London, 1959), pp. 39-47.

copy of the Roman version of the Psalms which was superseded by the Gallican version introduced into England from the continent during the Benedictine Revival.³

While the Old English gloss to the Regius Psalter has rightly received much attention and deserves more,⁴ the Latin commentary, which is written in the margins and less frequently interlinearly, has received only passing notice.⁵ Unlike other glossed psalters that were written by two or more scribes,⁶ the Regius scribe wrote the entire Latin Psalter, the Old English gloss, the hymns and the Latin commentary.⁷ The same care and learning evidenced in the Old English gloss are also found in the commentary. Therefore, since the D-type gloss has been so influential and since parts of the gloss depend on the Regius commentary, it is worthwhile to examine the source of the commentary and the commentary's influence on the Old English gloss.

Before we discuss the source of the commentary, however, it is useful to consider its nature and extent. As the Sisams have rightly noted, the Regius Psalter appears to have been a book intended for study rather than liturgical use.⁸ This scholarly intent is indicated by the presence of the Latin commentary, which runs continuously throughout the Psalms, hymns eight to eleven (with one comment in hymn 1). In general, these comments are of three types. First, textual notes clarify the psalms in various ways. For example, at Ps 36:35 the literal meaning of *Libani* is identified by the factual note 'nomen montis' (fol. 47v), and *Beatus* of Ps 1:1 is explained by 'beatus a beatitudine' (fol. 8r).⁹ In other instances, pronominal antecedents are identified, or elliptical words are supplied. At Ps 68:35, *eum* refers

³ See Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 318-20, no. 249; the Roman version *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, ed. Robert Weber (Collectanea biblica latina 10; Rome, 1953); and the Gallican version *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, vol. 10: *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione sancti Hieronymi...* (Rome, 1953).

⁴ See for example: Helmut Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972) 79 and Mechthild Gretsch, 'Æthelwold's Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and Its Latin Exemplar', *ibid.* 3 (1974) 150.

⁵ Fritz Roeder, *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter, eine Interlinearversion in Hs. Royal 2.B.5 des Brit. Mus.* (Halle, 1904), presented the first edition of the Old English and Latin texts and discussed the commentary on Ps 75 as an illustration. The Psalter text and commentary are edited in my dissertation, *An Edition of the Regius Psalter and Its Latin Commentary* (Ottawa, 1979).

⁶ The best-known example of several scribes contributing to a Psalter is the Canterbury Psalter, which has twenty-one hands; see Bruce Liles' edition, *The Canterbury Psalter: An Edition with Notes and Glossary* (Diss. Stanford, 1967).

⁷ While the Psalms, hymns and commentary are by the same hand, preceding and following this main text are additions by later hands, namely, fols. 1-7 and 190 ff. See Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 249 for details of the contents and of publications of this added material.

⁸ Sisam and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 52.

⁹ Here and elsewhere in this article I have followed modern principles of punctuation and capitalization when quoting from the manuscript.

to the God who will save Sion, and the commentary aptly designates the pronoun with 'Deum omnipotentem' (fol. 81v); at Ps 89:11 the comment 'nouit' (fol. 107v) fills in the elliptical verb which was used in the text one manuscript line above. Finally, in a few instances these textual comments give a variant reading: at Ps 29:2 the original text reads *dilatasti* and the comment cites a variant, 'Alii dicunt, delectasti' (fol. 36r). In general, then, this type of comment clarifies the text by providing factual information, antecedents, elliptical words, and, occasionally, textual variants.

Biblical quotations are a second frequent type of comment used in the Regius Psalter. At Ps 32:5 the statement *Diligit misericordiam* recalls the Sermon on the Mount, and Mt 5:7 is quoted: 'Ut ait, *Beati misericordes quoniam misericordiam consequuntur*' (fol. 40r). Later in the same Psalm (verse 15), *qui intellegit* suggests to the commentator *Scrutans corda et renes deus* (fol. 40v) from earlier in the Psalter (Ps 7:10). Approximately 60 per cent of these quotations are from the New Testament, and the rest from the Old; the most frequently quoted biblical sources are Matthew (26 per cent) and the Psalms (20 per cent).¹⁰

The third and most numerous kind of comment is traditional exposition, which is largely dependent on interpretations established by patristic exegesis. These comments vary from a single word notation to a fuller paraphrase or quotation of the Church Fathers. The abbreviated notes most often interpret a place name (e.g., at Ps 145:10, *Sion* is explained by 'O ecclesia', fol. 168r) or a person's name (e.g., at Ps 113B:10, '*Aáron* significat sacerdotes', fol. 136r), but they also remark on common nouns, such as *principes* at Ps 118:161 being identified as 'principes seculares' (fol. 149r). The longer and more detailed exposition presents a great

¹⁰ These quotations usually contain the exact words of the biblical text, but occasionally D's grammatical forms and vocabulary do vary slightly. The quotations are from the following: Gen 1:7, 12:17, 32:38; Ex 15:1, 19:8, 20:1-17, 32:1; Num 20:10; Deut 10:17, 32:39; Esth 13:9; Job 7:20, 19:19; Ps 1:1 (twice), 1:2, 7:10 (3 times), 10:2, 10:3, 14:5, 14:11, 15:10, 17:16, 17:31, 17:32, 18:13, 21:8, 33:9, 33:10, 37:11, 48:8, 49:10, 49:23, 55:5, 65:12, 67:2, 67:3-4, 67:7, 74:9, 75:12, 77:21, 93:23, 106:12, 111:1 (twice), 117:21, 118:62, 118:72, 118:107, 136:4, 143:3, 144:14, 145:6 (twice), 146:5; Prov 1:20-21, 2:13, 3:18, 10:19, 11:1, 16:3, 19:5, 21:11; Eccli 2:11-12, 4:10, 15:9; Cant 6:8; Sap 1:4, 1:7, 3:1; Is 2:3, 11:1 (twice), 40:3, 40:12, 46:10, 60:19, 62:2 (twice), 62:6-7, 62:22; Jer 17:5, 20:9, 23:29; Ez 18:32; Dan 2:35; Mt 3:10, 3:17 (twice), 5:3, 5:5 (3 times), 5:6, 5:7, 5:8, 5:10 (twice), 7:6, 10:23, 11:6, 11:30 (twice), 11:50, 12:24, 13:25, 13:43, 22:16, 22:37-39, 24:35 (twice), 25:34 (8 times), 25:39, 25:41 (9 times), 26:32, 26:38, 26:39, 26:55, 26:60-61, 26:66 (3 times), 26:72, 27:25, 27:35, 27:42, 27:43, 28:10, 28:13, 28:20; Mc 1:35; Lc 2:52, 6:37, 12:4, 14:11, 21:33, 23:21 (6 times), 23:34, 23:42, 23:44-45, 23:46; Jo 1:1, 1:26, 4:13-14 (twice), 4:18, 8:44, 8:48, 10:9, 10:18 (twice); 10:27, 10:30, 11:13, 11:48, 11:50, 12:28 (twice), 14:6 (twice), 14:27, 14:30 (twice), 17:1 (twice), 19:6-7, 19:10, 19:11, 19:12; Ac 1:11, 7:54; Rom 1:24, 7:24-25, 8:31, 8:35, 11:34, 11:36, 12:12, 13:12; 1 Cor 2:8 (twice), 3:17, 4:21 (twice), 6:10, 15:25; 2 Cor 2:16, 3:5, 5:10, 6:2, 8:9, 9:6; Gal 4:4; Eph 6:17; Phil 2:7, 2:9, 2:10, 3:20; Heb 13:5; Jac 4:6, 5:20; 1 Petr 2:3, 4:8.

I have not included eighteen other quotations in this list as they refer to two or more places in the Bible. For instance, at Ps 30:23 the quotation *Deus, deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti* (fol. 38v) has Mt 27:46 and Mc 15:34 as possible sources.

variety of interpretation but tends to favour the typological interpretation of the text. For example in Ps 56, five of fourteen comments point out the parallels between the psalmist's suffering and Christ's passion, and the majority of the Psalms have at least one allusion to Christ. As is demonstrated more fully in the following discussion of sources, these interpretive comments follow the traditional views expressed by the Church Fathers. Generally, then, these three main types of comments provide a balanced guide that clarifies the text, uses quotations to reinforce the relation between the Psalms and other parts of the Bible, and states a traditional exegetical view.

Although source study yields valuable information, the task is fraught with difficulties. As James E. Cross has recently reminded Old English scholars, '... it is sometimes difficult to define an immediate source in this period of abstracting and of transmitting the "flowers" of the fathers.'¹¹ He continues to note the difficulties involved when distinguishing immediate, intermediate, or ultimate sources, as well as when tracing the dissemination of certain ideas and sequences of words. With Cross's warning about the pitfalls of source studies in mind, I would like to begin the process of establishing the main source of the Regius commentary.

The primary source of the Regius commentary is the *Expositio Psalmorum* of Cassiodorus.¹² The commentary has been derived either directly from Cassiodorus as an immediate source, or indirectly from an intermediate source which was extremely faithful to the text of Cassiodorus. Of the approximately 4,280 comments, 75 per cent reflect the exegesis of Cassiodorus. More specifically, 1,310 of the Regius comments (30 per cent) are parallel in vocabulary to Cassiodorus and another 1,932 comments (45 per cent) repeat ideas found in Cassiodorus' exposition.¹³ The remaining comments consist of clarifying statements, biblical quotations not found in Cassiodorus, and exegesis other than that of Cassiodorus.

It is interesting to observe how the commentary uses its main source. At times, it reproduces the vocabulary, even of lengthy quotations. For example, Cassiodorus comments on *de terra Aegypti* at Ps 80:6 by stating: 'Nam sicut ille per maris Rubri undas saluatus eiectus est, sic nos a terra Aegypti, id est a uitiiis carnalibus absoluti, sacra unda regenerante, renascimur' (p. 751). This long statement also appears in the Regius commentary with two minor changes: 'regenerante' appears as 'regenerationis' and 'ille' is erroneously changed to 'illi populus' (fol. 97r). As

¹¹ James E. Cross, 'The Literate Anglo-Saxon—On Sources and Disseminations', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1972) 67-68 ff.

¹² Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. Marc Adriaen (CCL 97-98; Turnhout, 1958); subsequent references to Cassiodorus will be from this edition and page numbers noted in the text.

¹³ This percentage does, however, vary among the Psalms. For instance, only 33 per cent of the comments on Ps 14 reflect Cassiodorus in contrast to 100 per cent on Pss 56, 69, 112, 115, 127 and 137.

one would expect from a marginal and interlinear commentary where brevity is essential, the duplication of such a long quotation is rare. More common are excerpts and key words found in Cassiodorus, and these account for a substantial part of the Regius commentary. A typical example of this tendency is the culling of Cassiodorus' explanation of *oris tui* at Ps 118:72, 'Consideremus autem uim istius uerbi quod dicit, *oris tui*, non tam prophetarum, non apostolorum, sed praecepta euangelica sibi testatur esse pretiosissima, quae Christi Domini sunt ore prolata' (p. 1088), to 'praecepta euangelica' (fol. 143v).

Besides selecting key words from Cassiodorus, the Regius commentary also paraphrases its source. While explaining *columbae ... posteriora* and *in specie auri* from Ps 67:14, Cassiodorus states: 'Huius *columbae posteriora*, id est ultima, *in specie auri* clarificata resplendent, quia postquam de hoc mundo discesserit, supra aurum eius gratia relucebit' (p. 591). This statement appears in reduced form in the Regius: 'ultima' is written above *posteriora*, and Cassiodorus' comment, 'quia ... discesserit', is paraphrased with 'in sancta uita' (fol. 78r), the state to which the blessed depart.

On a few occasions, the commentary seems to renounce attempts to paraphrase by simply alluding to a tract where more information can be found by the ambitious reader. In Ps 49:9-13 Cassiodorus' *Expositio* and other commentaries give the significance of several animals mentioned in these verses. Rather than recording the detailed discussions, the Regius merely refers to the tracts for the significance of *omnes fere siluarum* (Ps 49:10): 'Sunt apud tractatores sensus sublimiores quam hic enarrantur' (fol. 61v).¹⁴

Most of these borrowings from Cassiodorus make good sense, but occasionally corrupt readings in the Regius commentary result almost certainly from partial reconstructions or misreadings of Cassiodorus. For example, at Ps 49:6 the erroneous use of the accusative in the Regius statement, 'Caelos sunt uiros iustos quibus celestis dispensatio condonatur' (fol. 61v), is probably derived from a fragmentary rendering of Cassiodorus: '... per *caelos* significans uiros iustos, quibus uerbi caelestis dispensatio condonatur' (p. 444). Similarly, at Ps 103:8 the grammatically awkward genitive plural, 'in conuallium' (fol. 120v), probably results from excessive reduction of Cassiodorus' statement: '... fecit in conuallium humilitate residere' (p. 928). These and other errors indicate the close relation between the Regius commentary and that of Cassiodorus.¹⁵

¹⁴ The heading to Ps 37 is a similar example: 'Psalmus iste penitentis quadrifaria distinctione diuisus est. In prima mouet misericordiam benigni iudicis et sic in tribus sicut dicitur in tractatione psalmodum' (fol. 48r).

¹⁵ For example, the Regius commentary transmits two errors in ascription, wrongly made in Cassiodorus. At Ps 91:8, the false attribution in the Regius commentary of a quotation to Jeremiah derives from Cassiodorus (p. 839), as does a similar error at Ps 135:6 where a quotation from Isaiah is incorrectly attributed to Job (p. 1225).

Although the majority of the Regius commentary agrees with the *Expositio Psalmorum*, some differences in emphasis do exist. For instance, at Ps 90:9 Cassiodorus urges: 'Intendamus autem sollicitius quid sit quod dicit propheta...' (p. 833), and this appears in the Regius as: 'Dicit ecclesia' (fol. 108v). Similarly, at Ps 79:9 Cassiodorus associates *Vineam* with 'Ecclesiae' (p. 743), while the Regius presents an alternative interpretation: 'siue de Christo uersus isti' (fol. 96r). Finally, at Ps 2:8 the Regius gives a reading less apt to the context of the Psalm by recording 'Id est nationes in toto corde' (fol. 9r) instead of the 'orbe' found in Cassiodorus: '*Gentes* autem significat nationes toto orbe diuisas' (p. 46). These changes are, however, relatively minor in contrast to the many instances of agreement.

While Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum* is clearly the main source for the Regius commentary, the source for the remaining 25 per cent is less certain. Since the Regius scribe also copied at least part of Jerome's *Tractatus siue Homiliae in Psalmos*, one might expect Jerome to be a major source for the Regius commentary.¹⁶ Collation of the two commentaries, however, indicates that this expectation is incorrect. Where comments are common to both the Regius commentary and Jerome's, they are also usually found in Cassiodorus. Moreover, the parallel is often closer between the Regius exegesis and Cassiodorus,¹⁷ with only a few of the Regius comments closer to Jerome than to Cassiodorus.¹⁸

In addition to relying on Cassiodorus and rarely on Jerome, the Regius commentary is also dependent on traditional or commonplace interpretations of the Psalms. For ease of discussion, these traditional interpretations are classified as those interpreting names and those explaining other well-known passages. As Herbert Dean Meritt and, more recently, Fred C. Robinson have noted, the

¹⁶ The observation that one scribe copied the Regius Psalter and Jerome's text (London, British Library Royal 4 A.xiv) was first made by Kenneth Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 53 n. 1. ms. Royal 4 A.xiv begins imperfectly at Ps 109, but the manuscript evidence indicates that the scribe probably copied Jerome's entire work. George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum* 1 (London, 1921), p. 82, describe the manuscript as 'originally part of a larger volume, the first gathering being numbered xxvii.'

¹⁷ Two examples serve to illustrate that the Regius commentary is closer to Cassiodorus than to Jerome. In the commentary on *ex utero* of Ps 109:3, Cassiodorus and the Regius state 'ex arcano substantiae meae' (p. 1010 and fol. 133r respectively, but with spelling differences in the Regius), while Jerome, *Tractatus siue Homiliae in Psalmos*, has 'de mea substantia' (CCL 78; Turnhout, 1958), p. 224. At Ps 109:7 the Regius again is closer to Cassiodorus' view, '... Dominus Christus bibit in uia, id est in hac uita dum corpore pertulit' (p. 1012), from which the Regius retains: 'Pertulit in hac uita' (fol. 133v). On the other hand, Jerome expounds on the phrase at great length, and again shares the idea but does not use the exact vocabulary found in the Regius: 'Via saeculi istius dicitur...' (p. 227) and 'Quia ergo bibit Dominus de torrente et gustauit mortem...' (p. 229).

¹⁸ The four examples in Pss 109-150 where the Regius commentary is closer to Jerome than to Cassiodorus are found at 115:16 (second comment), 142:6, 145:4 (third comment), and 148:7.

interpretation of both biblical and secular names was of central importance to the mediaeval mind.¹⁹ Robinson states:

It is essential to observe that these name-interpretations are not merely extracts from the many name-etymologies scattered throughout the Bible; in large part they are learned interpretations drawn from the long and expert tradition of onomastic analysis in the writings of the Church Fathers and early Biblical scholars.²⁰

As one indication of the value placed on the meaning of names, Robinson refers to '... such emphatic imperatives as that which introduces Augustine's interpretation of Ps 134:9: "Nomen adtendite ... Audite, audite nomina haec, interpretatione typica et sapientia plena".'²¹

With this emphasis on name interpretation, it is not surprising that the Regius explanation of names often corresponds to other tracts. At Ps 41:7, *Hermonis* is explained by the Regius comment, 'Id est anathema' (fol. 53v), an interpretation found in one glossed psalter (the Stowe) and in several commentaries: Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus, the pseudo-Bedan 'Item interpretatio nominum Hebraeorum', Remigius of Auxerre and Bruno of Würzburg.²² Similarly at Ps 134:20 the Regius comment on *domus Leui* is 'fidelium ministrorum' (fol. 157v) and the idea of *ministri* is found in the commentaries from Augustine and Cassiodorus to Peter Lombard.²³ In like manner, when we examine the Regius interpretation of *Seon* at Ps 134:11, '*Seon*, id est temptatio' (fol. 157r), it is difficult to determine with

¹⁹ Herbert Dean Meritt, 'The Old English Glosses *deðæ* and *minnæn*: A Study in Ways of Interpretation', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 43 (1944) 434-46; Fred C. Robinson, 'The Significance of Names in Old English Literature', *Anglia* 86 (1968) 14-58 and 'Some Uses of Name-Meanings in Old English Poetry', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 69 (1968) 161-71; and Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953; rpt. 1963), pp. 495-500.

²⁰ Robinson, 'Significance of Names', 16-17.

²¹ Robinson, *ibid.*, 19 n. 14, where he cites *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (CCL 38-40; Turnhout, 1956), p. 1951.

²² In brief, these comments are: Jerome: '*Hermon*, *anathema* interpretatur' (PL 26.1007D); Augustine: '*Hermoniim* anathematio interpretatur. Anathema teipsum, displicendo tibi; displicebis enim Deo, ...' (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, p. 469); Remigius of Auxerre: '*Hermon* interpretatur anathema eorum: et est in terra gentium' (PL 131.365A); Cassiodorus: '*Hermoniim* dicitur anathema...' (*Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 384); pseudo-Bede (=Manegold of Lautenbach?): 'Item Interpretatio nominum Hebraeorum.... *Ermon*, *anathema* ejus' (PL 93.1103B); and Bruno of Würzburg: '... interpretatur *anathema*, quod dicit hoc diabolo, ut sit ab eo anathema, ...' (PL 142.178C). Another three commentaries apparently follow a variant of Augustine's 'anathematio': pseudo-Bede: '*Hermon* autem interpretatur *anathematizatio*...' (PL 93.705B); Haymo of Halberstadt (=Anselm of Laon): '*Hermon* namque vel *Hermoniim*, anathematizatio interpretatur...' (PL 116.340D); and Peter Lombard: '*Hermon* ... interpretatur *anathematizatio*' (PL 191.419C).

²³ Cf. Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super Psalmos*, ed. A. Zingerle (CSEL 22; Leipzig, 1891), p. 712; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, p. 1956; Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 1221; Remigius of Auxerre (PL 131.795C); 'Haymo of Halberstadt' (PL 116.654C); Bruno of Würzburg (PL 142.488C); and Peter Lombard (PL 191.1194A).

certitude the immediate source; it might be Cassiodorus (p. 1218) or one of the other parallel exegetical sources.²⁴

An extended example of the Regius interest in proper nouns is illustrated by the annotation of *Israhel* with various forms of 'fidelis' at Pss 13:7, 24:22, 67:27, 70:22, 77:5, 117:2, 124:5, 127:6, 135:14, and 135:22. Although not every occurrence of *Israhel* in the Regius Psalter has a comment, the repetition of these interpretations indicates both the traditional, almost automatic, quality of these comments, and also their importance to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

In addition to traditional name interpretations, many words and phrases in the Psalms had explanations with widespread acceptance. Meritt's discussion of the Canterbury Psalter's *deðæ* (an error for *dedæ*) for *manipulos* at Ps 125:6 illustrates this practice. He refers to the commentaries of Hilary, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Alcuin, Haymo, Bruno of Würzburg and Peter Lombard to establish what he characterizes as 'The well attested traditional exposition on Ps. 125,6....'²⁵ As Meritt explains, *manipulos* in the context of Ps 125:6, '... means figuratively either good deeds or the fruits of these deeds.'²⁶ The Regius commentary follows the second tradition in giving 'fructuosissimas actiones' (fol. 153r), which is also found verbatim in Cassiodorus (p. 1171) and later, in Bruno.²⁷ It is this tradition which accounts for another portion of the Regius commentary.

Examples of this type of commonplace interpretation are plentiful in the Regius commentary. Meritt cites five other examples, two from the Lambeth Psalter and three from the Canterbury Psalter, in order to illustrate the influence of Latin commentaries on Old English glosses. In all of these, the Regius commentary supports the Old English interpretive gloss.²⁸ The prevalence of such exegetical glosses dependent upon commentaries again illustrates the importance of the traditional explanations. These few examples also illustrate the problem mentioned by Cross when one attempts to determine whether the source is immediate, intermediate, or ultimate. Most traditional comments in the Regius also appear in Cassiodorus, but their path of transmission is not clear.

²⁴ Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, p. 1951; Remigius of Auxerre (PL 131.794A); 'Haymo of Halberstadt' (PL 116.653D); and the post-Regius Bruno of Würzburg (PL 142.487A). For other examples of traditional interpretation, see Herbert Dean Meritt, *Fact and Lore about Old English Words* (Stanford, 1954), pp. 207-208.

²⁵ Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', 441.

²⁶ Meritt, *ibid.*

²⁷ Bruno of Würzburg (PL 142.472A).

²⁸ For complete details see Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', 440-41, but brief examples are: (a) in the Lambeth Psalter, Pss 36:3 *gelaðunge* = *terram* (cf. D's comment 'Hoc est in sancte ecclesie uisceribus perseuera') and 34:8 *feng þ deað* = *captio* (cf. D's 'Mors domini adprehendat eos in remissionem'); and (b) in the Canterbury Psalter, Pss 134:20 *ðenæs* = *levi* (cf. D's 'Fidelium ministrorum'), 59:11 *ða eorðlican þing* = *idumeam* (cf. D's 'In terrestria nisi tú qui utrumque es et in celo et in terra'), and 9:15 *gatum deofles þ deoðes* = *portis mortis* (cf. D's 'Id est de diabolo').

If the Regius commentary is dependent on well-known exposition, one might justifiably ask if it is as closely linked to any other exegesis as it is to that of Cassiodorus. In an attempt to answer this question, I collated the commentary from representative Psalms with the main expositions which were available when the Regius commentary was being copied, c. 950: Ambrosius, Jerome, Augustine, Rabanus, 'Haymo', Remigius, and the pseudo-Bede (*In Psalmorum librum exegesis*). As one might expect, the Regius commentary does have some interpretations in common with these main expositions, but, as is true with the preceding discussion of Jerome, all but a few comments from these tracts were also found in Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum*.²⁹

In summary, then, the Regius commentary relies on the *Expositio Psalmorum* of Cassiodorus for ideas and vocabulary for about 75 per cent of its comments. Although commonplace interpretations are shared with other commentaries on the Psalms, especially Jerome's *Tractatus siue Homiliae in Psalmos* and the pseudo-Bedan *In Psalmorum librum exegesis*, I have not found a source which is uniquely responsible for the other 25 per cent of the Regius commentary.

With a clear idea of the main source of the Regius commentary, it is possible to explore the influence that this commentary and that of Cassiodorus had on the Regius Old English gloss. As scholars working with glossed psalters have generally recognized, patristic exegesis has influenced those Old English glosses which interpret rather than literally translate the Latin text.³⁰ Although not much attention has been given to the Regius Psalter, it is a prime example of this tendency. Once again, it is useful to divide the interpretive glosses into those explaining names and those interpreting other words and phrases.

As was true with the Latin exegesis, the Old English equivalents for certain foreign names also have traditional or commonplace renderings. At Ps 59:11, the Regius *Idumeam* is glossed by *ða eorðlican þing* and this is supported not only by several commentaries but also found in a number of glossed Psalters (i.e., EHJK).³¹ Below at Ps 82:7, *þara eorþlicra* glosses *Idumeorum* in the Regius, with a similar gloss in FGHJK and supporting commentary in the Regius ('Hec sunt

²⁹ Of these tracts, Jerome's *Tractatus siue Homiliae* and the pseudo-Bede, *In Psalmorum librum exegesis* have the greatest number of parallels with the Regius commentary. In addition, the headings which introduce all but Ps 1 of the Regius Psalter are mainly from Cassiodorus' *Expositio*, but are parallel in many instances to the pseudo-Bedan exposition. For further discussion of the headings see Robert Ramsay, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Columban on the Psalms', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 8 (1912) 421-51.

³⁰ Lindelöf, 'Die altenglischen Glossen im Bosworth-Psalter'; Karl Wildhagen, ed., *Der Cambridge Psalter* (Hamburg, 1910); James L. Rosier, ed., *The Vitellius Psalter* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962); Liles, *Canterbury Psalter*; and A. P. Campbell, ed., *The Tiberius Psalter* (Ottawa, 1974).

³¹ Previously noted by Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', 440 (who cites the commentary in E), by Rosier, *ibid.*, p. 142, and by Campbell, *ibid.*, p. 149.

nomina gentium que declinant cum Anticristo', fol. 98v) and Cassiodorus ('*Idumaei interpretantur uel sanguinei uel terreni*', p. 764). Similarly, *Selmon* at Ps 67:15 is glossed by *besceadwunga*, a common interpretation supported by Cassiodorus and shared by glosses in FHIJK. These few examples indicate the conventional acceptance of these interpretive glosses, not only among patristic commentaries but also among the psalter glosses themselves.

The name interpretations were also occasionally extended throughout the psalter when the name was a significant one. An example of this in the *Regius* is the repeated translation of *Christus* with *cyning*. This association is most fully explained by an Old English rendering of a Latin comment on 'Christo suo' at Ps 17:51:

Wæs mid iudeum on geardagum
ealra cyninga gehwelc cristus nemned.
Omnis rex in antiquis diebus aput
iudeos nominabatur christus (fol. 25r).

Below at Ps 83:10, *Christi* has the comment 'regis' (cf. *cyninges* J, *cininges* K), but more often *Christus* is glossed with various forms of *cyning*, as for example at Pss 17:51 (also in HK), 19:7 (also in EF [glosses *dominus*]GHI), 27:8 (also in FGH), 104:15 (also in FGHJK) and at 131:17 (also in FIJ). Although not every appearance of *Christus* has this traditional interpretation, clearly the *Regius* gloss is influenced by exegetical interpretation. The parallels in other psalters indicate traditional acceptance of the interpretive glosses as well as the general influence of the D-type gloss.

These proper nouns are, however, not always explained by identical glosses, since often the context of the Psalm or the related commentaries alter the significance. With the support of Cassiodorus and at least one other commentary in each instance, the explanation of *Sion* in the *Regius* varies from *heahnesse* at Ps 19:3, to *besceawodnisse* at Ps 9:12 and to different Latin interpretations: 'ecclesie' at Ps 72:28, 'id est hierusalem' at Ps 13:7, 'sanctam' at Ps 128:5, and 'in superno regno' at Ps 83:8. Thus even though the exegetical glosses most often reflect a commonplace view, some variation is possible.³²

³² There are several other examples of D's glosses which interpret names; (a) those glosses parallel to D's and Cassiodorus' commentaries are:

at Pss	13:7	<i>Israhel</i>	= <i>ða getreowfullan</i>
	67:23	<i>Basan</i>	= <i>drignesse</i>
	107:10	<i>Moab</i>	= <i>deoful</i>

and (b) those glosses found in commentaries (especially Cassiodorus') but without exact parallels in D's commentary are:

at Pss	21:4	<i>Israhel</i>	= <i>ðæs haligan folces</i>
	21:25	<i>Israhel</i>	= <i>ealre getreowfulnisse</i>
	21:24 and 23:6	<i>Iacob</i>	= <i>getreowfulra</i>
	52:7	<i>Iacob</i>	= <i>se gecorena</i>

Besides the tendency to give exegetical interpretations to names, some of the Regius glosses to words other than proper nouns are also affected by commentary. Several of the interpretive glosses are supported by the Regius commentary. At Ps 16:14, *porcina* is glossed with *of fulnisse* instead of the more usual *swin(n)an*, as the Roman glossed Psalters ABCP (*swynen flæsc*) read, with the exception of the Regius and Canterbury Psalters. The Regius comment is instructive here: 'Saturatos ergo iudeos dicit de munditiis [*for immunditiis*], queque a domino abscondita, id est noscuntur esse prohibita' (fol. 21v). Cassiodorus has virtually the same comment (except 'immunditiis' for the Regius' erroneous 'munditiis' and 'quae' for the Regius' 'queque') and sums up with: '*Porcina* enim ad polluta respicit, quae inter cetera ueteris testamenti praecepta immunda prae-notatur' (p. 149).³³

Another instance of this type of exegetical gloss was first noted by Meritt in his discussion of the Canterbury Psalter. He points out that *gatum deofles † deoðes* at Ps 9:15 does not literally render *portis mortis* but is '... enlightened by Cassiodorus: "porta vero mortis est diabolus".'³⁴ Like the Canterbury Psalter, the Regius glosses *mortis* with *deofles*, but in addition the connection with patristic exposition is made evident by the Regius comment: 'Id est de diabolo' (fol. 14v). Since the Canterbury Psalter is known to have borrowed from the D-type gloss for corrections, it is probable that the interpretive gloss is derived from the Regius Psalter directly.³⁵

The Regius commentary is also helpful in clearing up some glosses which are ambiguous or troublesome. For instance, at Ps 62:3 the Regius has the reading *inaquoso*, which is a variant of the established Roman version *in inaquoso*, and reads:

on westenne	7 on ungefarenum	onwæterigum
In deserto	et in inuio	et inaquoso....

59:8	<i>Sicimam</i>	= <i>byrþen</i>
59:9	<i>Effrem</i>	= <i>wæstmbarnis</i>
59:10	<i>Allophili</i>	= <i>lease cristene</i>
64:2	<i>Sion</i>	= <i>heanisse</i>
82:7	<i>Hismahelitung</i>	= <i>synnehyrendra</i> .

³³ Liles, *Canterbury Psalter*, p. 310, states that the Canterbury gloss '... is the result of commentary by Petrus Lombardus'.

³⁴ Meritt, 'Old English Glosses', 440.

³⁵ Sisam and Sisam note regarding the heavily corrected section of the Canterbury Psalter (up to about Ps 78) that 'The corrector used primarily D, which was certainly at Christ Church (§ 107), or a gloss nearer to D than any that is extant' (p. 57). The interpretive gloss found in these two psalters provides further evidence for a direct relation between D and the first half of the Canterbury Psalter. This suggested line of transmission is made all the more probable since the Canterbury gloss was written 'probably in place of erasure' (Fred Harsley, ed., *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter* [EETS OS 92; London, 1889], p. 11). Also see *deofleos* H (for *deofles*, as Campbell notes in his edition, p. 16).

The problem is whether *onwaterigum*, the gloss for *inaquoso*, should be two words (meaning 'watery') or one (meaning 'waterless'). The scribe has written a single word, but this evidence loses its significance as the gloss is crowded and the scribe is not always careful about word division. Some editors assume the gloss *on* is a preposition rather than a negating prefix and accordingly divide the word, as for example do Roeder and the Sisams.³⁶ However, Sherman M. Kuhn in his Glossary to the *Vespasian Psalter* and A. P. Campbell in his edition of the *Tiberius Psalter* argue for one word.³⁷ The Regius commentary gives clear support for this second view, stating 'Id est in siccitate uirtutum' (fol. 73r) and is paralleled by Cassiodorus: '... *inaquosum* uero aridum atque infertile, ut merito eius anima nimia siccitate durescat' (p. 551).

The Regius commentary also serves to explain a few curious glosses in the Psalter text. At Ps 9:30 the Regius gloss *he hine framatyhð hine* ('draws him away') for *adtrahit eum* ('attracts him') may be, as Roeder suggests, rendering another Roman variant other than its own (i.e., *abstrahit eum*, 'draws him away'), but it is equally plausible that the gloss may reflect its own marginal comment 'Dum auerterit eum a ueritate' (fol. 16r).³⁸ Similarly, the Sisams describe the Regius use of *gerecum* ('by order or law') for *oportunitatibus* at Ps 9:10 and 22 as one of the 'unusual renderings, forms, or errors'.³⁹ This admittedly unusual gloss, however, reflects the ideas in the Regius commentary. At Ps 9:10 *in oportunitatibus* is explained by 'Id est in necessitatibus', and at verse 22, *Vt quid domine recessisti longe despicias in oportunitatibus in tribulatione* is accompanied by the comment 'Id est iterum postulat ut festinet in auxilium in necessitate cum malus ille uenerit' (fol. 15r). These and other examples indicate the significant influence that the Regius commentary had on its Old English gloss.

The influence of four other interpretive glosses is speculative, but again these glosses indicate how the Regius commentary and that of Cassiodorus accord and how they have possibly determined the Old English gloss. At Ps 34:26, *reuereantur* is glossed primarily in two ways: ABCJ use various spellings of the verb *onscunian* while DEGHK use various spellings of *arweorðian*. The first gloss agrees with the context of the verse (*Erubescant et reuereantur*, fol. 44r), but the second meaning seems to be influenced by the exegetical commentary like that in the Regius commentary, 'Id est conuersionis eorum indicia declararentur; id est conuertantur

³⁶ Roeder, *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, p. 111, and Sisam and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 158, note on verse 3.

³⁷ Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, 1965), p. 269; and Campbell, *Tiberius Psalter*, p. 153.

³⁸ Roeder, *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, p. 14.

³⁹ Sisam and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 67. Thomas N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement* (Oxford, 1921), p. 392, notes: 'The Latin word seems to have been misunderstood in a favourable sense, cf. *gefulltūmend æt ðelcere ðearfe* Ps. Th. 9,10, and see *un-gerec*.'

et agnoscant me' (fol. 44r), and in Cassiodorus: '*Reuerentia* est enim Domini timor cum amore permixtus; quod illis prouenit qui uoluntate sincerissima confessionis munera consequuntur' (p. 316).⁴⁰ A similar dual interpretation occurs for *reuerentia* later in the verse with ABC (variant spellings of *æwiscnesse*) differing from DEGHJK (variant spellings of *arweorþunge*).

At Ps 95:5, *woddreamas* glosses *demonia* in DGHK, while the more literal and usual gloss is *deoful* (variant spellings in ABCEFI and cf. *hildedeoful* P) and is used for *demonium* elsewhere in the Regius Psalter (Pss 90:6 and 105:37). In contrast to the literal usage, the glossator seems to be using *woddreamas* to interpret the lemma. The Regius commentary on *demonia* stresses the deception of the gods, 'Quid aliter dum nihil possunt, nisi decipiunt sperantes in se' (fol. 112v), as does that of Cassiodorus: '*Daemonia* sunt enim, quae nulli praestant; sed in se credentes semper decipiunt, semper illudunt. ... Haec sunt *daemonia* quae alios perdunt et seipsa decipiunt' (p. 864). The gloss seems to mean 'madness', which deceives both the worshippers and the gods.⁴¹ The cause, *demonia*, is replaced by the result, *woddreamas*; Wilfrid Bonser points out: 'Mental disease was usually regarded by the Anglo-Saxons, as it was in the New Testament, as the result of possession by a devil.'⁴² In contrast to the true God praised in verses 1-4, these false gods or devils are mad and consequently deceive both themselves and their followers.

At Ps 103:14, *he etep* glosses *educat* in D, while other Roman Psalters have the more expected gloss: *he utalæde* AC, *he utgelæde* B, *geledet* E and *ut alæddest* P; apparently the Regius gloss has confused *educat* with *edere* or *manducare* as the Sisams suggest.⁴³ Again, however, the Regius gloss may be exegetical. Its own commentary has '*Educitur panis de terra*' (fol. 121r) and suggests the fuller

⁴⁰ For a similar interpretation see Remigius of Auxerre (PL 131.324D) and 'Haymo of Halberstadt' (PL 116.314C).

⁴¹ The entry in Joseph Bosworth and Thomas N. Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898) lists *wóden-dreám* as the headword (p. 1261), while Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement*, p. 749, lists *wód-dreám* as the headword but suggests 'Cf. (?) *wóden-dreám*'. There are, however, several other extant compounds of *wod-*: *wodheortness*, *wodscinn*, and *wodþrag*.

⁴² Wilfrid Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England. A Study in History, Psychology, and Folklore* (London, 1963), p. 257. Bonser prefers the *woden*-compound: 'The word *dream* signifies joy, ecstasy, but the compound *wóden-dreám* signifies madness, fury. The connexion of these and other cognate words with Wóden, the god of the frenzied, is obvious' (pp. 257-58). For further discussion, see the previous note, the Bosworth and Toller entry for *woda*: '*demoniacus, insanus, amens*, Wülck. Gl. 218,41'; Otto B. Schlutter, 'Zum Wortschatz des Regius und Eadwine Psalters', *Englische Studien* 38 (1907) 25; and R. A. Peters, *A Study of the Old English Words for Demon and Monster and Their Relation to English Place-Names* (Diss. Pennsylvania, 1961), who defines the word as 'demonic possession, evil spirit, mad joy' according to the Old English compound (p. 55) and as 'evil spirit, demon' according to the Regius gloss for *demonia* (pp. 187-88).

⁴³ Sisam and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, pp. 39 and 221, and Roeder, *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, p. 192. K glosses *educas* with *he ete*.

explanation found in Cassiodorus: '*Educitur panis de terra, quando Domini praecepta complentur, ut de istis carnalibus atque uisualibus cibus fiat unde anima caelesti refectione pascatur. Panis enim uere noster est Christus,...*' (p. 931). The idea of Eucharist is further suggested in the Psalm's next verse where wine is mentioned: *uinum laetificat cor hominis* (fol. 121r). Here, the Regius comment again alludes to the Eucharist: '*Cor hominis, consecratum in sanguine domini*' (fol. 121r). Thus, although the gloss may have been made in error, Cassiodorus' interpretation of the bread as Christ in the Eucharist, the mention of *uinum* in the following verse, and the Regius' comment on this verse create a context that invites the interpretive gloss *eteph*.

Lastly, at Ps 119:4 the Regius *tolysendlicum* glosses *desolatoris*, as in IK (IK gloss *desolatoriis*), and creates two problems. The first is a grammatical inconsistency; as Roeder points out, the Regius gloss actually translates the adjective *desolatoriis* (the main Roman and Gallican reading), not its own noun, *desolatoris* (a Roman variant).⁴⁴ The second problem is one of exact meaning. The Sisams describe this gloss as one of the '... clear errors of translation in D ... D *tolysendlicum*=*desolatoris* (confused or associated with *desolut*)'.⁴⁵ However, the Regius gloss may not be so much an error in translation as once more an exegetical interpretation reflecting its own commentary, 'Id est orationibus que dissoluunt a poenis animam' (fol. 150r), and that of Cassiodorus: 'Potest autem et illud intellegi, ut *carbones desolatorios*, orationes accipiamus caritatis igne succensas, quae nos uitiiis ita mundant atque purificant, ut quod in nobis diabolus construxerat, desolatum atque euersum diuino beneficio sentiat' (p. 1142).⁴⁶ Thus the Regius gloss seems to mean 'loosening' or 'absolving'; the first sense accords with *tolisan* in the Bosworth-Toller *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and with Kuhn's translation for the noun *tolesend* in his glossary to the *Vespasian Psalter*, and the second meaning agrees with Toller's translation of the negative *untolysendlic* in his *Supplement*. The argument for these four glosses being exegetical interpretations is admittedly speculative, but this claim is strengthened by the tendency elsewhere in this Psalter and in other glossed Psalters to interpret lemmata according to exegetical commentary.⁴⁷

In addition to the Regius Psalter's own commentary, exegesis from other sources has shaped the gloss, and once again, the *Expositio Psalmorum* of

⁴⁴ Roeder, *ibid.*, p. 239.

⁴⁵ Sisam and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 39, and see the notes by the following editors on the gloss: Wildhagen, *Der Cambridger Psalter*, p. 323; Rosier, *Vitellius Psalter*, p. 317; and Andrew C. Kimmens, ed., *The Stowe Psalter* (Toronto, 1979), p. 245.

⁴⁶ For a similar interpretation of *carbones desolatoriis* see: Jerome (PL 26.1278B), Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, p. 1782 and Remigius of Auxerre (PL 131.769A).

⁴⁷ For examples of other glossed psalters translating the exegetical comment instead of the lemma, see particularly Meritt's comments on Psalter glosses mentioned below and his *Fact and Lore*, pp. 201 ff.

Cassiodorus is of primary importance. Since several of the examples have already been discussed by scholars in reference to other psalters, brief mention is all that is required here. As Meritt has remarked regarding the Canterbury Psalter, at Ps 20:10 the gloss *fyrðolle* ('instrument of torture') for *clibanum* ('vessel for baking bread') is influenced by elaboration of Cassiodorus: 'In qua similitudine merito peccatores ponuntur, qui in futuro iudicio et maerore animi, et poenali excruciatione torquendi sunt' (p. 185).⁴⁸ The same gloss is found in the earlier Regius Psalter. Another example comes from Rosier, who in his edition of the *Vitellius Psalter* comments on *forrotað* glossing *ueterascet* at Ps 48:15: '*forrotian* is more precisely a gloss to *putrefacio* or *putresco*. Pertinent here is Cassiodorus' comment: "... quorum auxilia tamquam panni putrefacti ueterescunt".'⁴⁹ This gloss is also found in the Regius, the Stowe (erased) and Tiberius Psalters.

Three other interpretive glosses have not received as much attention but also reflect exegetical influence. At Ps 28:5, the Regius gloss of *lange stefnas* for *cedros* (shared by G as an alternate gloss and by H) is more like a circumlocution than a direct rendering, but the choice of words may result from the influence of Cassiodorus: '*Cedros* enim superbiam debemus accipere, quae se in altitudinem eleuans, proceras huius arboris summitates imitatur...' (p. 251). The Regius interlinear comment, 'superbos' (fol. 35v), on *cedros* strengthens this supposition. Later in the text at Ps 103:22 *se conlocabunt* has the double gloss *hy gesomniad* † *hydaþ*. While the first gloss makes literal sense, the second (shared only by the Paris Psalter, *hydað hi*) again reflects exegetical thought. Cassiodorus explains the Latin verb with '... in suis se trepidi cubilibus abdiderunt' (p. 935). Finally, while three Roman Psalters use various spellings of *drygan* to gloss *aridam* at Ps 94:5, *eorðan* appears in the Regius, *foldæn drige* in the Canterbury Psalter and *foldan drige* in the Paris Psalter.⁵⁰ Once again, this apparently curious gloss parallels an idea in Cassiodorus: 'nunc dicit *et aridam*, quae terra merito intellegitur, quia per se semper arida est' (p. 858).

While many examples provide evidence that the Regius commentary did influence its Old English gloss for both name interpretations and other exegetical glosses, some controversy exists as to whether the same person was responsible for both the Regius Old English gloss and its Latin commentary. The Sisams state one side of the argument:

But the maker of the OE gloss was not, as has been supposed [by Roeder in his edition, p. vii], the maker of the Latin verbal commentary, for they sometimes

⁴⁸ Herbert Dean Meritt, 'Studies in Old English Vocabulary', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46 (1947) 426, item 57.

⁴⁹ Rosier, *Vitellius Psalter*, p. 117; D's interlinear comment here is *Deficit* (fol. 60v).

⁵⁰ For a study of the manuscript relation between D and P, see Sarah Larratt Keefer, *The Old English Metrical Psalter. An Annotated Set of Collation Lists with the Psalter Glosses* (New York, 1979).

disagree. Thus 67.31 'increpaferas' (one word in D Latin) is correctly glossed *ðu brea wildeor* = 'increpa feras', where the commentary has 'increpaueras'; and 71.14 'usuris', glossed *micgum*, is rightly explained by 'iniquis meritis' (i.e. wrongful gains) in the commentary.⁵¹

While these examples do illustrate discrepancy between the gloss and the commentary, the source of the errors might be more aptly explained by the Latin commentary and Old English gloss being written by the same maker but at different times. The Old English gloss in the Regius Psalter was almost certainly written after the marginal Latin commentary as several of the Old English glosses are divided by identifying marks which associate the text and the commentary. For example, on fol. 142v the *e* of *stowe* and the *ht* of *niht* (Ps 118:54-55) are separated from the rest of the word by a series of dots. Since the Old English glosses, here and elsewhere,⁵² are interrupted by the signals for the commentary, it can be safely assumed that the marginal commentary was made prior to the Old English gloss.

In the first example cited by the Sisams, the maker probably made a slip writing the commentary's 'increpaueras' at Ps 67:31 instead of *Increpa feras*, but later, when the Old English gloss was being copied, he wrote the gloss correctly, perhaps because he realized the text's *Increpa feras* should be two words, or perhaps because the manuscript from which he was copying had the correct gloss.⁵³ A similar explanation probably accounts for the second error; when the maker correctly wrote the comment 'iniquis meritis', his copy was correct, but later, when he copied the Old English gloss, either the text he was copying was in error, or,

⁵¹ Sisam and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 55.

⁵² The following glosses are obstructed or divided by the identifying marks used to associate the Latin text and the commentary:

Pss	34:8	<i>gegripennis</i>	Pss	34:10	<i>reaftendum</i>
	37:20	<i>gemenigfylde</i>		41:7	<i>munte</i>
	43:4	<i>onlyhting</i>		43:17	<i>ongeanस्पेन्दes</i>
	50:21	<i>bringas</i>		51:8	<i>adrædaþ</i>
	56:9	<i>dægred</i>		58:15	<i>æfenne</i>
	62:6	<i>gefyllednisse</i>		68:15	<i>fenne</i>
	68:29	<i>adilgode</i>		75:12	<i>ymbhwyrftē</i>
	87:11	<i>deadum</i>		106:12	<i>fultumode</i>
	113B:11	<i>andrædaþ</i>		118:54	<i>stowe</i>
	118:55	<i>niht</i>		130:1	<i>gebrydfullud.</i>

While the marginal commentary was written prior to the Old English gloss, some of the interlinear Latin comments appear to be squeezed above the Old English gloss. This clearly implies that these comments, unlike the marginal comments, were written after the Old English gloss and suggests that there may have been a gradual accretion of material, but added by the same hand and maker.

⁵³ Since the comment is associated with the text's *ut non excludantur* rather than *increpa feras*, the maker could have easily overlooked the comment when glossing *increpa feras*. A possible but less probable explanation is that the commentator may have intended the pluperfect tense, 'increpaueras', instead of repeating the previous imperative, *increpa*.

more probably, he made a scribal error. Although the Regius maker is generally learned and accurate, he is capable of such scribal slips, as for example in Ps 106, where *exitus* is glossed correctly with *utrynas* at verse 33, but two verses below it is rendered incorrectly with *unrynas*. Admittedly, other discrepancies between the commentary and the gloss do exist, but these too seem to be more aptly explained by two or more periods of copying rather than the 'two-maker' theory of the Sisams. In addition, the many similarities between the gloss and the commentary discussed in this article far outweigh the few discrepancies.

The Regius Psalter, then, continues to deserve scholarly interest and further study. The Regius marginal and interlinear commentary, along with its main source, Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum*, has influenced many of its Old English interpretive glosses. Renderings found in the Regius, like *gatum deofles* for *portis mortis* at Ps 9:15 and *eorðan* for *aridam* at Ps 94:5, become more readily understandable when these commentaries are considered. Besides the direct influence on its own gloss, traditional exegesis has also influenced the Old English word choice for well-known passages and names, so that, for instance, *cyning* is common for *Christus* and *ða eorðlican þing* is found for *Idumeam* at Ps 59:11 and elsewhere. In addition to the Regius Psalter, many of these interpretive glosses are found in other and usually later glossed psalters. This fact demonstrates the value of the interpretive glosses and reaffirms the wide influence of the D-type gloss on later psalters. More study is needed on the relationship of the Regius commentary with other Psalters (especially EHKM) that contain interpretive Old English glosses and Latin comments.

University College of Cape Breton.

MEDIEVAL LATIN POETIC ANTHOLOGIES (V):
MATTHEW PARIS' ANTHOLOGY OF HENRY OF AVRANCHES
(CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS. Dd.11.78)*

David Townsend and A. G. Rigg

HENRY of Avranches ranks as one of the foremost Latin writers active in England in the thirteenth century. He is called 'regius vates' by John of Garland¹ and (perhaps ironically) 'archipoeta', 'vatum decus', and 'primatum primas' by his rival Michael of Cornwall;² in one manuscript he is named 'magnus versificator'.³ He is one of the first truly professional Latin poets of the Middle Ages: he turned his versifying skills to the most diverse and sometimes to the apparently most unpoetic materials. Poetry was his profession also in a more precise sense: he is one of the first poets known to have received direct payment and preferment for his poems. Items from the English Public Record Office attest that from 1243 to 1260 he was paid, in money or wine, from the Exchequer of Henry III (once specifically for two poems, neither of which is extant), and in the records he is usually referred to as 'versificator'.⁴ Interestingly, none of the extant poems is dedicated to Henry III and most of them were written before the poet became attached to the court in 1243; it seems likely that his early years, from around 1220 to 1243, were spent in establishing his reputation as a poet and in seeking patrons.

Our knowledge of Henry's career depends on the firm establishment of the canon of his writings, and this still remains in some doubt, despite the efforts of

* We are grateful to the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for their permission to publish a description of the manuscript. The article emerges from an ongoing interest in Henry of Avranches. David Townsend edited Nos. 1, 2, 23, and 48 in *An Edition of Saints' Lives Attributed to Henry of Avranches* (Diss. Toronto, 1985) and plans an expanded edition of Henry's hagiography, as well as an edition of No. 14. A. G. Rigg has spent substantial time with the manuscript and has written on Henry for his forthcoming *History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422*.

¹ 'Regius est vates Henricus carmen inaurans'; see E. Habel 'Die *Exempla honestae vitae* des Johannes de Garlandia', *Romanische Forschungen* 29 (1911) 131-54, especially 153 (l. 293); this allusion has not been noticed before.

² A. Hilka, ed., 'Eine mittellateinische Dichterfehde: *Versus Michaelis Cornubiensis contra Henricum Abrincensem*' in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften...: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage von Hermann Degering* (Leipzig, 1926), ll. 1, 10, 59 (pp. 125, 126, 127).

³ Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 172, fol. 123r (but see n. 15 below).

⁴ The Public Record Office items are printed by J. C. Russell on pp. 55-58 of 'Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet', *Speculum* 3 (1928) 34-63.

Josiah Cox Russell, whose work must be the starting point for subsequent research, and to whom we owe a considerable debt. Russell's 1926 Harvard doctoral dissertation, *Master Henry of Avranches*, and the articles and book which he subsequently based on it, present a considerable mass of material from which we have begun.⁵ The difficulty with Russell's work is that on firm codicological data he builds a somewhat capricious and unsteadily supported superstructure. His checklist of attributions, which appears at first definitive, turns out to rest upon often confusingly presented evidence of widely disparate value. These difficulties arise ultimately because Russell posits the uniform authorship of the principal manuscript's contents—an assumption reflecting an insufficient wariness in dealing with the vagaries of compilation so characteristic of medieval Latin poetic anthologies.

In the present article we attempt to clarify the evidence for the canon, or at least for the portion of it depending upon the most important manuscript. The codex in question, Cambridge, University Library Dd.11.78 (henceforth A), was compiled and owned, as well as partly written out, by the chronicler Matthew Paris. Richard Vaughan touches upon the manuscript at several points in his studies of Matthew but does not provide the sort of thorough description he gives for some other books in whose production Matthew had a controlling hand, notably the *Liber additamentorum* (London, British Library Cotton Nero D.i) and the *Chronica maiora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16).⁶ A description of A is thus also of interest for Matthew's practice of book production.

Secondary knowledge of Henry of Avranches comes from several sources. Aside from the Public Record Office items, the verse invective by Michael of Cornwall, and the reference by John of Garland, several entries in the fourteenth-century *Matricularium* of the Peterborough Abbey library provide bibliographical information.⁷ But all substantial literary studies of Henry have relied, as they must, upon A, whose connexion with Henry rests on a notation made in the principal copy of Matthew's *Chronica maiora*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, compris-

⁵ Russell's treatment of the attributions is scattered, rather unsystematically and with no regard for the integrity of the codices, throughout his *Master Henry of Avranches* and J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935). The latter incorporates, in addition to much of the dissertation, a good deal from the intervening articles: 'Literature at Croyland Abbey under Henry Longchamp (1191-1237)', *Colorado College Publication* (December 1927) 49-59; 'Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet' (see n. 4); Heironimus and Russell, 'The Grammatical Works of Master Henry of Avranches', *Philological Quarterly* 8 (1929) 21-38; and Heironimus and Russell, 'Two Types of Thirteenth-Century Grammatical Poems', *Colorado College Publication* (February 1929) 3-27.

⁶ R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), chaps. 4 (*Chronica*) and 5 (*Liber additamentorum*).

⁷ M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library* (Oxford, 1926). The entries in the *Matricularium* are nos. 102, 239, 240, 243, and 245.

ing the first part of the *Chronica maiora*, was certainly produced under the author's supervision: most of it is written in his hand, and he has made numerous corrections and marginal annotations.⁸ In the margin, against a notice of the death of William Marshall (1219), Matthew has written an epitaph and the sentence 'Plura habentur epitaphia scripta de eo in libro fratris M. Parisiensis quem habet de versibus Henrici de Abrincis.'⁹ The identification of A as the manuscript to which the gloss refers was made by the first half of the nineteenth-century.¹⁰ Both handwriting and the epigraph of the front fly-leaf (below, p. 355) make it clear that Matthew owned A; four substantial items in the codex (Nos. 14, 35, 41, and 89) are explicitly attributed to Henry by contemporary rubrics, in three cases in Matthew's hand; the Contents List includes a reference to an epitaph on William Marshall, though the item is not to be found in the book at present—it may have been lost from the end of one of the booklets from which the codex was compiled, or even contained in a booklet which has disappeared entirely (see the account of the Contents List, pp. 356-57 below). The establishment of the manuscript's identity, however, does not settle definitively the question of the authorship of the contents, as Russell seemed to assume, but rather provides only a point of departure for such considerations. How early in the process of compilation did Matthew conceive of the book as an anthology of poems by one author? Were the *libelli* at the core of the codex written before authorship figured as a principle of organisation? Does the phrase 'liber de versibus Henrici' refer to a prescriptive principle of the book's organisation at all, or is it merely a convenient way of identifying a book which might be described equally well by some other generalisation? Only a description of the codex itself can provide evidence of Matthew's intentions, and even then only partial answers may be available.

⁸ On all questions of Matthew's hand, the definitive study is by R. Vaughan, 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1953) 376-94, coupled with the additional information to be gleaned from his *Matthew Paris* (n. 6 above).

⁹ *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 3 (RS 57; London, 1876), pp. 43-44; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 260. We have not been able to see the manuscript, but Dr. R. I. Page of Corpus Christi College observes (private communication) that this marginal note may have been added later than the others.

¹⁰ It seems to date from before a letter contained in an envelope attached to A's front pastedown, addressed by the Baron de Perche to J. Power and dated 21 May 1846 from Bedford Square, London, in which de Perche refers to information provided by the addressee that the life of Thomas Becket which opens the volume is by Henry. The awareness of A as a source of Henry's poems clearly antedates the letter, but the grounds for attribution are not given. Luard identifies A with the book mentioned in the *Chronica maiora* gloss, as do Liebermann, in his excerpts from Matthew, and Winkelmann, in an edition from the manuscript of three poems to Emperor Frederick II. See Felix Liebermann, ed., *Ex rerum anglicarum scriptoribus saeculi xiii* (MGH Script. 28; Hanover, 1888), p. 119 and n. 10; Liebermann's conclusion is repeated from his earlier article 'Bericht über Arbeiten in England während des Sommers 1877', *Neues Archiv* 4 (1879) 23. Eduard Winkelmann's notice, 'Drei Gedichte Heinrichs von Avranches an Kaiser Friedrich II', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 18 (1878) 482, is certainly dependent upon Luard's; Liebermann's later statements depend upon Winkelmann.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The original Contents List on fol. ii^{r-v} shows that the codex was in more or less its present form (though probably lacking Part II) when it was presented to St. Albans by Matthew Paris:

Hunc librum dedit fr Ma/theus deo et ecclesie S. Albani. Quem qui / ei abstulerit, anathema sit. Amen. (fol. ii^v)¹¹

Nevertheless, separate series of quire numbers, gaps in catchwords, blank leaves, differing page sizes, stages of decoration, changes of hand, and similar indications show that the 'volume' (as it is called in the Contents List) originally consisted of five booklets or *libelli* (as Matthew calls Part IV on fol. 153r). These are designated Parts I-V in the following analysis; of these, Part I includes an originally separate quire (I[b]), and Part IV is made up of two originally separate booklets (IV[a] and IV[b]) and an additional quire (IV[c]). The following analysis of the manuscript deals first with features of the codex as a whole (see Fig. 1); then we

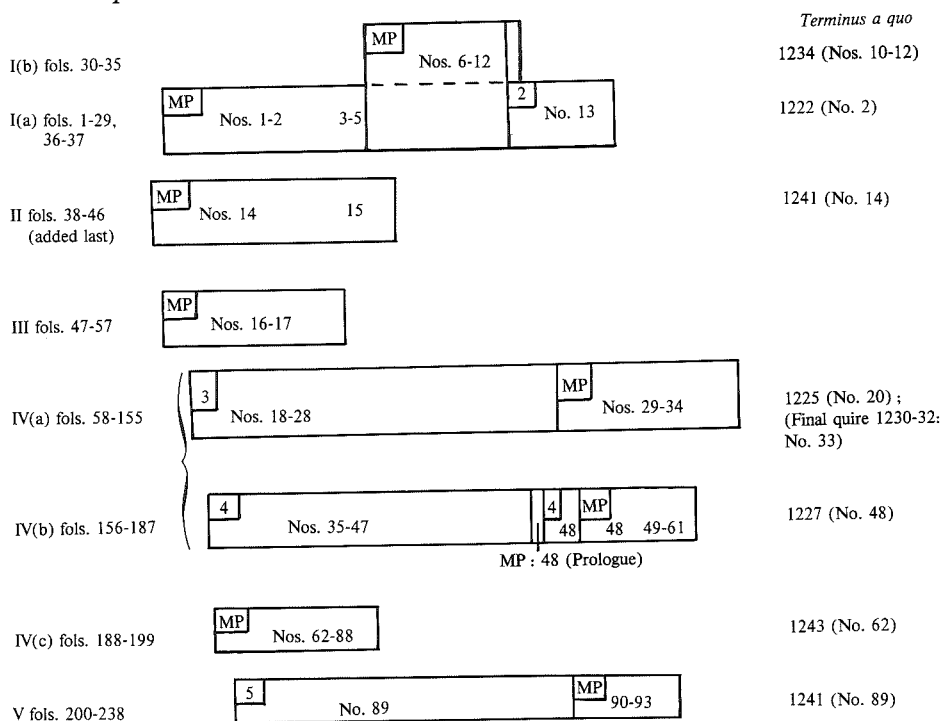


Fig. 1: Constituent parts of Cambridge, University Library ms. Dd.11.78, with contents. Changes of hand are denoted by verticals; the scribe is noted at the upper left of the section.

¹¹ Enough of the crucial top line has been trimmed away to introduce some small element of uncertainty, but P. Grosjean's reconstruction is convincing: 'Henri Abrincensis carmina hagiographica', *Analecta bollandiana* 43 (1925) 97-98, especially n. 1.

describe each of the five constituent booklets in turn, treating first its physical makeup (with diagrams where necessary) and then its contents. We treat Part IV as a single unit, even though (as is shown below) it originally consisted of two independent parts and an additional quire.

Binding

There is a modern leather binding supported at each end by two stiff inner leaves of marbled paper; between the first of these and the outer cover is a pocket containing the letter from Baron de Perche to J. Power (21 May 1846) mentioned in n. 10 above. There are modern paper fly-leaves (fol. i at the front, fols. iii-iv at the end). Pasted to the inner marbled paper of the front cover is a small sheet of parchment (50×73 mm.) containing, in a medieval script, a genealogical chart of the relationship between the Scottish and English royal families in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries; this has no connexion with the present manuscript, and presumably fell from one of Matthew's notebooks.

*Contents List*¹²

Fol. ii consists of a thin sheet of parchment pasted to a strip from an old service book; the original writing has come through, forcing Matthew to indent his entries for the first eight lines. The list begins: 'In hoc volumine continentur Hec' (in red); '(I)nterpretaciones nominum quorundam amicorum, cum quibus aliis interpositis' (Matthew writes *quibus* for *quibusdam* elsewhere in the list), which could perhaps refer to the whole codex. After this he gives the titles (sometimes with incipits and other information) of Nos. 1-2, 4, 6-10 (11-12 subsumed under 10), 13, 16-29, 31-32, (fol. ii^v) 33-45 (46 subsumed under 45), 47-49, (50-61 subsumed under one heading), 62, 64, 25-26 (repeated), 76-79, and, after a gap, Nos. 23-24 *bis* (not repeated in the text) and No. 89. The initials of the titles (and sometimes of the incipits) are alternately red and blue. In the top lefthand corner of fol. ii^v is the anathema (cited above) in red.

For Parts I, III, IV(a) and IV(b) the Contents List is usually very thorough, the only exceptions being minor fillers. No. 39 to Radulphus Neville is called 'De Rob' de Nouilla', presumably by dittography from the previous entry 'De hoc nomine Rob'. The omission of Nos. 14-15 suggests that Part II had not yet been included. The presentation of items from the scrappy Part IV(c) is (not surprisingly) uneven: the entries for Nos. 78-79 were added later (as is 'de Marisco' for No. 34). The repetition, at the end of the list, of 'Vita Sancti Birini' and 'Vita Sancti Aedmundi regis et Martyris' before the entry 'Vita Sancti Francisci' for No. 89 (Part V) may suggest another booklet, now missing, containing duplicate texts of Nos. 23-24.

¹² For convenience we have used the enumeration of *Shorter Latin Poems*.

Evidence for further lost contents (in booklets or on loose sheets) is seen in the several entries added at the top of both pages, mostly without coloured initials: fol. ii^r (top left) 'Quedam rithmice composita de Sancto Georgio per paulinum piper'; (top right, with red initial) 'Quedam altercacio et Prose de beata virgine'; fol. ii^v (top right) 'Quedam sequencia de beata virgine'; 'De quodam loco vbi proposuit studere'; 'De epitaphio comitis Marescalli'. Of these, the first and the last two are certainly not in the manuscript; probably these entries too refer to the contents of a lost booklet. The second may refer to Nos. 68 or 90-93 ('Quedam altercacio') and 70 ('Prose'). That the lost epitaph for William Marshall is the link between MS. Dd.11.78 and Matthew's Chronicle entry for 1219 is the greatest irony of the book's fortunes.

The only ascriptions in the Contents List are to 'Mich.' (No. 62, conjectured to be Michael of Cornwall) and to Paulinus Piper (lost poem on St. George). This might imply that the whole book was thought to consist of Henry's poems and so to need no specific ascriptions: No. 89 is specifically ascribed to Henry by Hand 5, but is not ascribed in the Contents List. On the other hand, No. 13 (by Alexander of Ville-Dieu) is in the Contents List, and No. 34 is firmly classed as anonymous ('Quidam Ricardo...'). (No. 44, to Stephen Langton, is described as 'Ad quendam Stephanum'.) Thus, the Contents List proves nothing of the authorship of specific pieces.

Codex as a whole

The leaves have been trimmed to 185×130/140 mm. (they are slightly wider in the middle of the book); the trimming took place after Matthew's compilation of the manuscript, as it cuts the top off the Contents List. For the significance of the trimming for former leaf size, see below on Part IV(a). A modern librarian has supplied the foliation (inadvertently writing 125 twice) and, on the bottom right-hand corner of each first page, the quire numbers; another modern hand has marked quires 2 and 3 of Part I 'b' and 'c' in a similar position.

The usual format is for long lines, except in Part I(b), the hymns of fol. 137r-v, and the later additions at the end. The measurement and layout of the writing frame (e.g., double or triple vertical rulings on left or right) vary from booklet to booklet. Apart from the section by Hand 3 (Part IV[a]), fols. 58r-148v), who regularly writes 27 lines per page, the number of lines per page varies constantly, with no correspondence between recto and verso or between facing pages. Except in Part V, writing is above the top line of the writing frame, a practice which ceased around the middle of the thirteenth century.¹³

¹³ See N. R. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica* 5 (1960) 13-16 (reprinted in *Books, Collectors and Libraries. Studies in the Medieval Heritage*. N. R. Ker, ed. A. G. Watson [London-Ronceverte, West Va.], pp. 71-74).

The decoration, in addition to rubric headings, consists of red initials with blue filigree fill and trailers (or blue with red), or simple red and blue initials alternating; the main exceptions (apart from later additions) are in Part I(b), which lacks colour, and in IV(a) (Hand 3), where every initial on the page is touched in red up to fol. 137v. The decoration was executed separately in each booklet. The initials in Part V are in a quite different style from those of Parts I-IV.

Part I: fols. 1-37 (I[b]: fols. 30-35)

Scribes: Matthew Paris and Hand 2 (No. 13).

Contents: Nos. 1-5, (6-12 in I[b]), 13.

Collation: i^{12} ii^{13} (1+12; fol. 13 singleton) iii^{12} (fols. 26-27 conjugate with 36-37; 28 and 29 singletons; 30-35 conjugate = Part I[b]: see Fig. 2). Catchwords on fols. 12v and 25v.

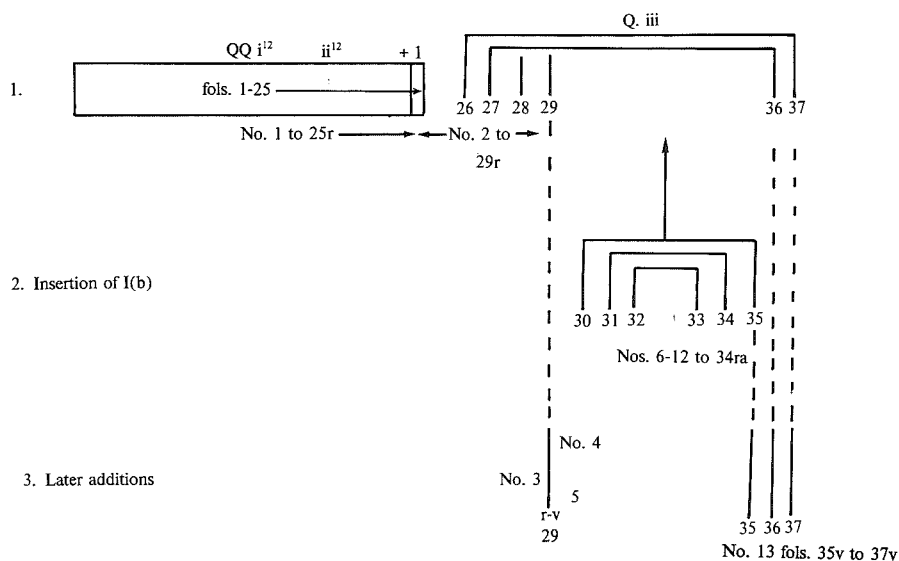


Fig. 2: Makeup of Part I

Part I(a): frame 137×81 mm. (double vertical ruling on left). Major initials red with blue work (or vice versa) up to fol. 13r; thereafter simple red alternating with blue; initials not completed (twice) on fol. 13r. 31-36 lines per pages; writing above top line.

Part I(b): two writing columns; outer frame 150×98 mm., triple vertical ruling on left of each column, with 4 mm. gap in middle. The only colour is in the rubric

titles; major initials (2 lines high) have some filigree work in the brown ink of the text. 37-49 lines per column; writing above top line. No. 13 (fols. 35v-37v) by Hand 2; frame 149×95 mm. Triple vertical ruling. Initial Q on fol. 35v blue with red fill, descends for 14 lines. 27-41 lines per pages, and 8 extra lines squeezed in at foot of fol. 37v.



Layout and decoration make it clear that Matthew compiled and wrote the conjugate fols. 30-35 (Part I[b]) separately, and had probably already done so before writing Nos. 1-2—otherwise, he could simply have continued writing on fol. 29r, copying Nos. 6-12 after the end of No. 2. The sequence of writing seems to have been: Nos. 1-2 (fols. 1r-25r, 25r-29r); insertion of Part I(b) (Nos. 6-12, fols. 30r-34ra); addition of Nos. 3-5 (fols. 29r-v); No. 13 by Hand 2 (fols. 35v-37v). There are some puzzles in the compilation procedure:

(a) why did Hand 2 begin writing on fol. 35v (leaving most of fols. 34r, 34v and 35r blank), and thus have to squeeze his text in by constantly increasing the number of lines per page (up to 41 on fol. 37v) and by adding eight lines at the bottom of fol. 37v?

(b) why (apart from simple negligent omission) did Matthew add three extra lines at the foot of fol. 31rb?

(c) why did Matthew begin the second quire with a singleton (fol. 13)?

(d) why did he add singleton leaves 28 and 29, instead of continuing to write on what were presumably then blank fols. 36-37?

(e) a note on fol. 13v instructs the reader: 'Verte xi folia sequencia ad tale signum  et inuenies de quibusdam apparicionibus post mortem sancti thome, scilicet ad duplicem columpnam.' As No. 6 (in double columns, at the symbol ) occurs on fol. 30r, a modern librarian has altered 'xi' to 'xvi'. It is interesting to speculate that Matthew may originally have intended to insert the 'Visions' (i.e., the first item in I[b]) immediately after the 'Vita', but even this would have involved a miscalculation, as No. 1 ends not on fol. 24 but fol. 25.

Titles are written as follows: Nos. 1 and 2 at the head of the text in the frame; No. 4 in the margin; No. 6 at the top of the page; Nos. 7-12 in the body of the text. Presumably Matthew intended the note 'Versus Magistri H.' at the top of fol. 1r to refer to more than just No. 1. Perhaps he meant it as a generalised designation of the bulk of the contents of the manuscript at the time.

All items are in the Contents List except Nos. 3 and 5 (probably too insignificant to mention) and Nos. 11-12, which are probably subsumed under the general title of No. 10 'Ad Imperatorem frethericum' (though a three-line gap may suggest that Matthew had intended to provide more specific titles). The main booklet could have been written any time after 1222, the date of No. 2, but Part I(b) has poems of 1234.

Contents

1. Life of Becket

fol. 1r DE VITA ET PASSIONE BEATI THOME CANTUARIE ARCHIEPISCOPI (*so also Contents List, which adds* QUE SIC INCIPIT: VIRTUTIS SERMO).
Virtutis sermo sanctorum magnificentum...

fol. 25r ... Hic semel hec semper eruatur mentis agone.

Ed. Townsend, pp. 216-95; prologue and last 20 lines ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 69-71. The hypothesis of common authorship of Nos. 1 and 27 raises certain questions: for these see No. 27 below.

2. Translation of Becket

fol. 25r DE TRANSLACIONE BEATI THOME MARTIRIS (*Contents List: DE TRANSLACIONE EIUSDEM*)

Sub medio lumen census sub clauē sepultus...

fol. 29r ... Et circumcisa fructum faciente loquela

Ed. Townsend, pp. 295-309; *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 71-78. Nos. 1-2 are probably to be regarded as one poem, at least in Matthew Paris' mind. Taken together they are a convoluted and obscurantist composition joining a paraphrase of John of Salisbury's life of Becket with a biography of Langton and an account of the 1220 Translation; the contrast with the flowing, agreeably rhetorical style of Nos. 23, 48, and 89, which are certainly Henry's, is marked. No internal evidence connects 1-2 with Henry's known work, nor is there any external attestation that Henry wrote such a poem. Matthew's rubric notation on fol. 1r, 'Versus Magistri H.', could refer to No. 1 but is positioned at the top of the folio in such a way as to suggest that it refers to the libellus generally, or even to the codex as a whole. An historical reference in ll. 279-280 (Russell's lineation; Townsend, ll. 1865-66 of Nos. 1-2) probably establishes early 1222 as a *terminus a quo* (Townsend, p. 205).

3. Nouns ending in -o (*addition by Matthew*)

fol. 29r REGULA. Nominis omnis in o sexum signantis utrumque...
... Strabo facit caupa caupona dracoque dracena

Unedited; 4 lines. Some exceptions to the rule in the margin. There is no particular reason to believe that Matthew added this filler with any concern for its authorship.

4. To Robert (Passelewe?)

fol. 29v ITEM DE QUODAM QUI ROBERTUS NOMINABATUR (*Contents List: ET DE QUODAM ROBERTO*)

Tu bene Robertus quasi Robur thus Bene robur...

... Temperies veris gracia thuris et odor

Unedited; 16 lines. Cf. Nos. 36 and 77 below. The central conceit (*ros-ver-thus*) is shared with No. 36, which is certainly addressed to Robert Passelewe. Both poems appear to be by a single author, but nothing clearly connects them specifically with Henry. The duplicated use of the etymological conceit would be peculiar in two poems addressed to

one patron by one author; it is thus more likely that the Robert of the present poem is another person. The *ver-thus* device is employed as well in No. 46, where a marginal notation refers to the similarity. The cohesion of a group of short pieces *ad hominem* makes the hypothesis of Henry's authorship of them all tempting, but no hard evidence supports the conjecture.

5. Prose note on *cio*, *cio* and derivatives

fol. 29v *Ista duo uerba Cio cis et cio es ... antiqua gramatica est.*
Unedited; 18 lines.

Part I(b): fols. 30-35 (scribe: Matthew Paris [=MP])

6. Visions after the death of Becket

fol. 30r *DE QUIBUSDAM REUELACIONIBUS POST MARTIRIUM BEATI THOME MARTIRIS (so also Contents List)*

fol. 30ra *Ecclesie matris in planctum uertitur omnis...*

fol. 31rb *... Ille statum secli non rediturus ait*

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 44-48. There is no positive evidence of authorship. No. 6 could be the verses referred to in No. 9, ll. 28-29 ('*Quid michi profecit vestro donasse priori / Sancti scripta Thome miracula?*'), which would establish the common authorship of both.

7. Epitaph on Dean Hamo

fol. 31rb *DE QUODAM HAMONE (Contents List: DE QUODAM DICTO HAMONE)*
Olim piscator hominum quasi piscis ab hamo...

fol. 31va *... Interea solis ausa uidere dies*

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 62-63. No positive evidence of authorship.

8. A Disputed Election (probably of Eustace Falconberg)

fol. 31va *DE ELECCIONE CUIUSDAM DE QUA IN FINE DEFUIT CONSENSUS (Contents List: DE QUADAM ELECCIONE REPROBATA)*

Labitur ex facili quicquid natura sophia...

fol. 31vb *... Fons inter latices sapidum far inter auenas*

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 83-84; see also below Nos. 38, 47. No positive evidence of authorship, but ll. 46-51 employ the same topos of favourable comparison found in No. 11; this appears as well in the securely attributable Nos. 48 and 89. Lines 20-21 ('*sed spere cuius centrum consistit ubique, / extremum nusquam*') closely reflect No. 16, fol. 49v3-4, duplicating the other passage in part *verbatim*.

9. Complaint addressed to Stephen Langton

fol. 31vb *QUERIMONIA DE PRIORE CANTUARIE EO QUOD NON FAUORABILEM SE PREBUIT CARMINI SUO (Contents List: DE PRIORE CANTUARIE. QUERIMONIA)*

Sepe quiescentem iuuat meminisse laborum...

fol. 32ra *... Stephane tocius iubar admirabile secli*

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 92-93; E. Winkelmann, 'Vier Gedichte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts', *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte Westdeutschlands* 4 (1878) 339-40. No positive evidence of authorship. Line 28 possibly refers to No. 6 as by the same author; l. 25, 'inangular apud Anglos', reoccurs in No. 34 below; ll. 15-20 reoccur in No. 47, ll. 61-66.

10. To the Emperor Frederick II

fol. 32ra AD IMPERATOREM FRETHERICUM CUIUS COMMENDAT PRUDENCIAM (*Contents List*: AD IMPERATOREM FRETHERICUM)

Coram principibus nisi multis ceca fauorem...

fol. 32vb ... Fluminis et lucem solis iuuo luce lucerne

Ed. E. Winkelmann, 'Drei Gedichte Heinrichs von Avranches an Kaiser Friedrich II', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 18 (1878) 484-87. No. 10 does not contain clear evidence for authorship comparable to that found in No. 11; on the other hand its juxtaposition to No. 11 renders common authorship at least reasonably likely. K. Bund (*Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 53 [1982] 12) dates Nos. 10-12 to 1234.

11. To the Emperor Frederick II

fol. 32vb CAPTAT ET PROBAT DOMINUM FRETHERICUM FORE SIBI PLACABILEM

Principis ut summi sinat excellencia dicam...

fol. 33va ... Aut tua me tanquam socium decorabit honestas

Ed. Winkelmann, 'Drei Gedichte', 487-90. Lines 94-101 bear very close resemblance to ll. 43-56 of No. 48 below, whose attribution to Henry is quite secure; they are also similar to No. 89, xiv.70 ff. The author of the present poem calls himself 'Henris' (l. 70). The clear attribution of this poem is the strongest evidence available for the authorship of Nos. 10 and 12; Matthew's association of the three pieces, on the other hand, could merely reflect their common topic.

12. To the Emperor Frederick II

fol. 33va ITEM AD FRETHERICUM IMPERATOREM QUEDAM PERSUASIO

Ne quando tua gesta vacent o maxime rerum...

fol. 34ra ... Et per secla tibi dabit indelebile nomen

Ed. Winkelmann, 'Drei Gedichte', 490-92. Lines 50-58 bear a certain resemblance to the favourable comparison topos of the prologues of Nos. 23 and 48 below, in which the subject is held to surpass important martial figures of the past. The internal stylistic evidence for authorship is not as firm as that for No. 11. The poem ends on l. 15 of fol. 34ra; the remainder of fols. 34r, 34v and 35r are blank.

(*Hand 2*)

13. Extract from the *Doctrinale*

(*Contents List*: DE COGNICIONE QUANTITATUM IN DITIONIBUS: QUINQUE VOCALES)

fol. 35v Quinque uocales sunt a prior eque secunda...

fol. 37v ... Inuenies aliqua grecorum nomina longa

Alexander of Ville-Dieu, *Doctrinale*, ed. D. Reichling (Berlin, 1893), ll. 1584-1667, 2193-2281.

Part II: fols. 38-46

Scribe: Matthew Paris.

Contents: Nos. 14-15.

Collation: i⁹ (8+1).

Frame 148×86 mm. (one vertical ruling on left, one on right; on fol. 39r there is also a 20 mm. column on the right [bounded by two more vertical rulings] to take marginal headings). 29-32 lines per page; writing above top line. In No. 14 major initials are alternately red and blue, without filigree work; in No. 15 (probably added later, with the extra leaf added to take the end of the poem) the only decoration is red touches to the major initials. In Part II there is a higher proportion of cued but uncompleted initials, as on fols. 40r, 41v, 42v, 43r (twice), 44r and 44v.

The title of No. 14, with the ascription to Henry of Avranches, is written within the writing frame. No. 14 was composed no earlier than 1241.

Nos. 14 and 15 are not in the Contents List; this suggests that this booklet was added later, and was perhaps Matthew's last contribution to the manuscript.

Contents

14. Louis IX acquires the relics of the Crucifixion (1241)

fol. 38r (*Within writing frame*) VERSUS MAGISTRI H. ABRINCENSIS DE CORONA SPINEA DE CRUCE ET FERRO LANCEE QUIBUS REX LODOWICUS FRANCIAM INSIGNIUIT.

Creuit in immensum crucis exaltacio fines...

fol. 44v ... Sancto Maiestas et gloria nunc et in euum. Amen.

(*Within writing frame*) EXPLICIUNT UERSUS MAGISTRI H. ABRINCENSIS DE NOBILIBUS RELIQUIIS A DEO DATIS FRANCIE.

Unedited. Edition forthcoming by D. Townsend.

15. The Nine Joys of the Virgin (French)

fol. 45r Reine de piete marie En ki deitez pure e clere...

fol. 46v ... Of les nefz ordres mansiun doint il en cele haute iglise

Attributed to Rutebeuf. Ed. E. Faral and J. Bastin, *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* 1 (Paris, 1960), pp. 247-52, where the printed text varies somewhat from the present version.

Part III: fols. 47-57

Scribe: Matthew Paris.

Contents: Nos. 16-17.

Collation: i¹¹ (10 + small fragment glued to fol. 56v). Textual evidence shows that fol. 48 should follow fol. 54; as fols. 48 and 55 are conjugate, the original arrangement was like this:

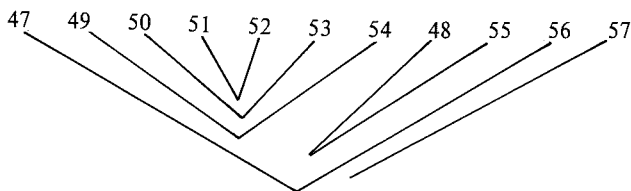


Fig. 3

Frame 149×75 mm. (2 vertical rulings on left of frame). 30-34 lines per page; writing above top line. Red and blue initials alternate for major initials; there is no filigree work until fol. 55v.

Title to No. 16 in the margin; to No. 17 above the text on the top line. Both items are in the Contents List; neither can be dated.

Contents

16. Sermon of St. Andrew

fol. 47r **PREDICACIO BEATI ANDREE APOSTOLI PENDENTIS IN CRUCE AD PHILOSOPHOS ACHAE IN QUA PROBATUR UNUM ESSE PRINCIPIUM, ID EST, UNUM DEUM ET NON PLURES ESSE DEOS** (*Contents List*: DE PREDICACIONE S. ANDREE PENDENTIS IN CRUCE: HUMANE MEN<TI>)

Humane menti cum naturaliter insit...

fol. 50v ... Fecit et architipo tribuit quod sensilis esset

Unedited; about 200 lines. No known source, but the idea for such a sermon is to be found in the apocryphal acts of Andrew. The lack of a third-person narrative frame for the sermon suggests dependence upon a fuller text, but the highly technical language in some passages argues for a work of natural philosophy rather than a hagiographical text as a direct source. See No. 8 above for similar passages in the two pieces. No positive evidence of authorship.

17. Prophecy of St. Hildegard

fol. 51r **PROPHECIA SANCTE HILDEGARDIS DE NOUIS FRATRIBUS** (*Contents List*: DE PROPHECIA SANCTE HILDEGARDIS DE ALEMANNIA DE NOUIS FRATRIBUS)

Ecclesie dicit pastoribus is qui erat et qui est...

fol. 57v ... Cismatis hanc medio subtraxi tempore (*sic*)

EXPLICIT PROPHECIA SANCTE HILDEGARDIS DE NOUIS FRATRIBUS

Unedited; about 500 lines. It is a close rendering into verse, with two major omissions (cols. 247C-249A and 252B-253A), of Hildegard of Bingen's Epistle 48 (PL 197.243-53); despite Matthew's heading 'de nouis fratribus', there is nothing in the poem, any more than

in the original, to suggest that the pale-faced and chaste emissaries of Satan (col. 250) are friars; no doubt Hildegard was referring to the Cathars. On Matthew's antifraternalism and use of Hildegard, see Penn R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 104-105, 221. A paper on this subject entitled 'An Odd Thing to be Remembered for: Hildegard of Bingen and Anti-Mendicant Propaganda' (forthcoming) was given by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton on 11 May 1985 at the 20th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. The close rendering obscures the traces of a distinctive personal style. A comparison of the poem's paraphrasing techniques with those of Nos. 23, 35, and 89, for which the prose sources are available, might suggest analogies to Henry's known work (the present poem's prosaic literalness places it closer stylistically to No. 35 than to 23 and 89); but a positive attribution on the basis of internal evidence is almost certainly out of reach.

Part IV: fols. 58-199

Part IV(c) (fols. 188-199) can easily be separated from the rest: it is not linked by catchword or quire number and is distinctly scrappy. Parts IV(a) (fols. 58-155) and IV(b) (fols. 156-187), however, appear to be a unit because of continuous quire numbers (from I to XI on the verso of each gathering up to fol. 178v) and catchwords, especially since a quire number (IX) and catchword are found on fol. 156v (which we have proposed as the first leaf of Part IV[b]). Nevertheless, the evidence of page size, change of hands, and blank leaves makes it likely that Parts IV(a) and IV(b) were originally separate and were united only by Matthew's editorship. The decoration may, like the quire numbers, have been executed through IV(a) and IV(b) at the same time. (See Fig. 4.)

Part IV(a): fols. 58-155

Scribes: Hand 3 (to fol. 148v) and Matthew Paris (fols. 148v-155, with blanks).
Contents: Nos. 18-28 (Hand 3) and 29-34 (Matthew Paris).

Collation: i¹², ii¹², iii¹⁰, iv¹⁰ (fols. 58-101), v⁸ (fols. 102-109; fols. 103, 104, 107, 108 are singletons; the text shows that fol. 103 should follow 108: see p. 371 below), vi¹¹ (10 + fragment pasted to fol. 120; fols. 110-120), vii¹⁰ (fols. 121-129, numbering 125*bis*), viii¹⁰ (fols. 130-139), ix¹¹ (1+10, fols. 140-150; fols. 140, 142, 144, 147 and 149 are singletons), *ix⁵ (fols. 151-155; fol. 152 singleton). There are catchwords and quire numbers I-VIII at the foot of the verso of the last leaf of each gathering, except that the catchword on fol. 91v has been lost in the trimming; at the end of quire 6, catchword and quire number are on fol. 119v rather than the fragmentary 120. There is also a catchword on fol. 150v, keeping quires 9 and *9 together: on this composite quire, see Fig. 5 and p. 368 below.

Frame 134×80 mm.; triple vertical ruling on left; on the right there is triple vertical ruling up to fol. 65, but none after that until fol. 151v (by Matthew Paris)

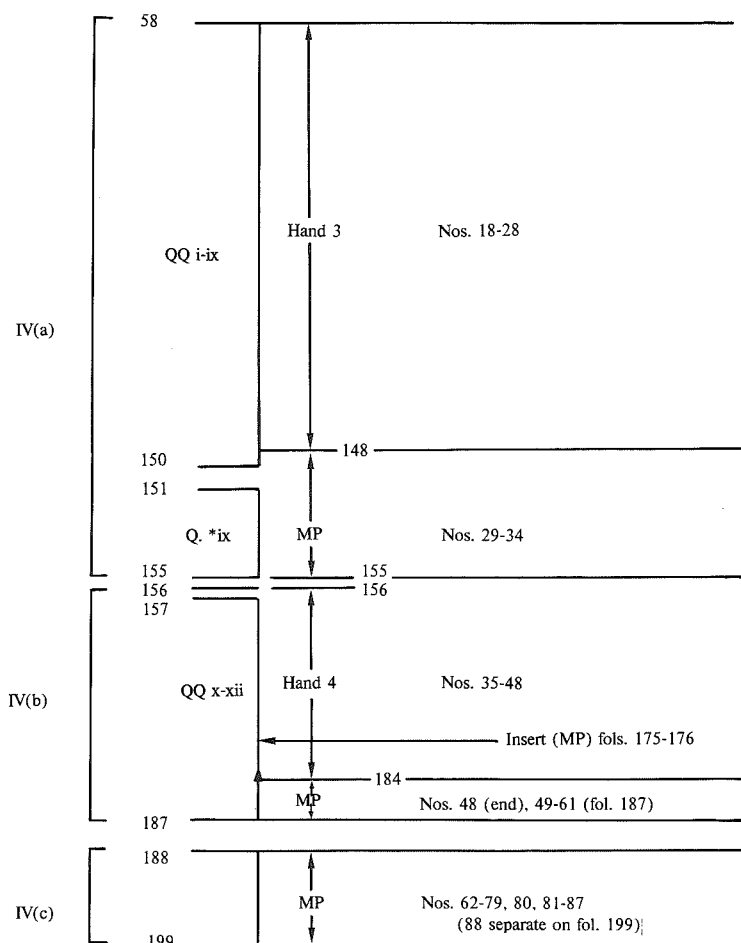


Fig. 4: Contents and hands of Part IV

where there is double ruling. Hand 3 writes a consistent 27 lines per page; Matthew writes 26-31; writing above top line throughout. Two cols. for hymns on 137r-137v. Major initials are in red with blue work or vice versa alternately; up to fol. 137v initial letters of all lines have red touches, making this the most elaborately coloured part of the manuscript.

The gap between the top line of the frame and the upper edge of the trimmed leaf is, in this section, only 6 mm. (contrasting with a normal 9-10 mm.); as writing is above the top line, the upper margin is very narrow. From this it appears that the original page size was significantly larger in Part IV(a) than in other parts of the manuscript.

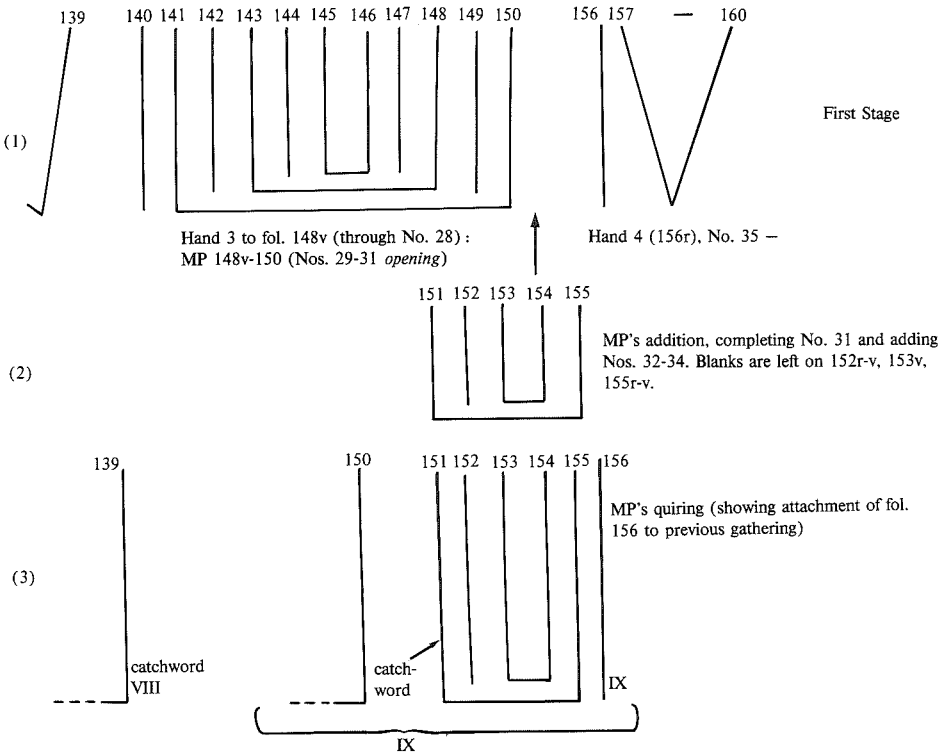


Fig. 5: Junction of Parts IV(a) and IV(b)

Titles by Hand 3 are written within the writing frame; those by Matthew Paris for Nos. 31 and 34 are in the margin, but that for No. 32 is above the top line of the frame.

Matthew left the following leaves blank: fols. 152r (end)-152v (perhaps hoping to find more 'Antavianus' fables), fol. 153v (end), and fols. 155r (l. 7 to end)-155v.

Part IV(b): fols. 156-187

Scribes: Hand 4 (to fol. 184v7) and Matthew Paris (fols. 184v8-187; Matthew also wrote the inserted bifolium fols. 175-176).

Contents: Nos. 35-48 (Hand 4; prologue and end of 48, Matthew Paris), 49-61 (Matthew Paris). Thus, Matthew's contribution is simply the insertion of a prologue and the completion of one text, and fillers on the last page and a half. The completion of No. 48, however, shows that he was probably working in collaboration with Hand 4.

Collation: x¹¹ (1+10, fol. 156-166: cf. quire viii above and quire ii in Part I) xi¹² (fols. 167-178; fols. 175-176 a bifolium) xii⁹ (8+1, fols. 179-187).

Quire numbers x-xi on fols. 166v and 178v; catchword on fol. 178v (the one on fol. 166v presumably lost in trimming). The quire number ix and catchword on fol. 156v must have been entered when Matthew prepared the cobbled quire ix for assembly; he detached the first, loose leaf from quire x and attached it to the sixteen preceding leaves (see Fig. 5 on p. 367 above).

Frame 132×78 mm., triple vertical ruling on left. Hand 4 writes 25-38 lines per page, Matthew writes 30-32; writing above top line throughout.

Major initials are in red with blue work (or vice versa) up to fol. 177r; after that there is no decoration at all until fol. 187r, and from fol. 180v cued initials are not completed. In the fillers on fols. 187r-187v titles and marginalia are in red, and there are some blue paragraph marks.

Hand 4 gives no titles; they have been supplied in the margin by Matthew, except on fol. 177r where Hand 4 left a two-line gap for the title to No. 48, supplied by Matthew.

All items in Parts IV(a)-IV(b) are listed consecutively in the Contents List, except the small item No. 30, the repeated text of No. 32 on fol. 171v, and the second poem to Engelbert, No. 46; the short fillers Nos. 50-61 are subsumed under the heading 'et quidam alii uersiculi insiti in cedulais'. The last datable entry in the original Part IV(a) is No. 20 (1225); the topical poems in Part IV(b) seem to date from the early 1220s but No. 48 establishes 1227 as *terminus a quo*. No. 33 in the transitional quire joining IV(a) and IV(b) probably dates from 1230 to 1232 or after but may have been a subsequent addition to the otherwise completed gathering.

Part IV(c): fols. 188-199

Scribe: Matthew Paris.

Contents: Nos. 62-88.

Collation: i¹²; fol. 188 is a singleton (made from two half-sheets), as is fol. 199; fol. 189 is a fragment pasted to the edge of fol. 198 (whose conjugate must originally have contained writing, as a cue-letter *v* is still visible); fols. 190-197 are conjugate.

Frame 144×67 mm., triple vertical ruling on left only (except on fol. 188r, where there is double ruling on right and left); writing above top line, but the lineation is often ignored in this scrappy booklet. Fol. 199r is written in two columns.

The decoration in this section (apart from fol. 199v) and the fillers on fol. 187r-v consists mainly in red titles and marginalia, simple red initials or red touches; there are a few blue paragraph marks, but generally the decoration is very

slight. No. 88 on fol. 199v is written in a formal bookhand (unlike the other items, which are hastily written) and has an elaborate blue initial with red filigree work. Possibly this leaf, which is a singleton, was originally from elsewhere, i.e., not the last leaf of a scrappy booklet of fillers.

In the Contents List only Nos. 62, 64, 25-26 (the repeated texts of the St. Edmund hymns), and 76-79 are listed; the additional entry at the top of fol. ii' ('Quedam altercacio et Prose de beata virgine') may refer to Nos. 68 (or 90-93) and 70.

No. 62 (on John Mansel's broken leg) refers to an event of 1243, much later than any datable entry in Parts IV(a) and IV(b).

To summarize: Part IV (or certainly Parts IV[a] and IV[b]) was the original core of the manuscript, as is shown by the quire numbers i-xi. That Part IV(b) was originally distinct (despite the catchword and quire number on fol. 156v) is suggested (a) by the improbability that Hand 4 would begin writing on the last loose leaf of a quire, ignoring the preceding blank pages, and (b) by the originally larger leaf size of Part IV(a).

Matthew's procedure may have been as follows (see Fig. 6): he took Parts IV(a) (by Hand 3) and IV(b) (by Hand 4); completed the text of No. 48 at the end of IV(b) and added the Prologue (by inserting the bifolium fols. 175-176); filled blank leaves at the end of IV(a) with Nos. 29-34; and quired and decorated the combined booklet (stopping at fol. 177r). Later, he added IV(c) and at about the same time filled in blank space on fol. 187r-v. He probably made the additions before his close examination of the manuscript, as on fol. 153r-v he entered No. 32 (which was already in the section copied by Hand 4) and on fols. 193v-194r he wrote Nos. 25-26 (which had already been copied with the Life of St. Edmund by Hand 3). (This hypothesis assumes that Hands 3 and 4 had completed their work before Matthew began compiling and adding.)

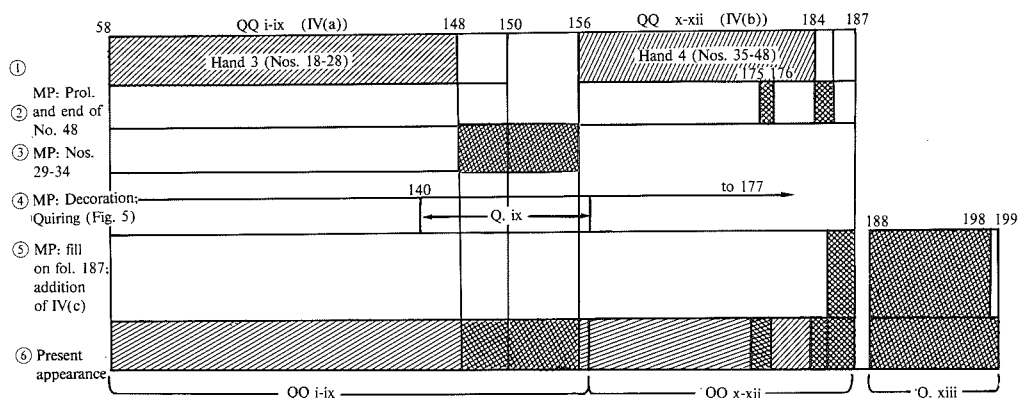


Fig. 6: Compilation stages of Part IV

Contents, Part IV(a): fols. 58-155 (scribes: Hand 3 and Matthew Paris)

18. Versification of Donatus

fol. 58r LIBELLUS DONATI METRICE COMPOSITUS (*so Contents List: INTEGRA CONFICITUR*)
Integra conficitur oracio partibus octo...

fol. 60v ... Vt pape tristis ut heu seu quod conforme sit istis

Ed. Heironimus-Russell, 'Two Types', 10-15. There is no indication of authorship, and the close paraphrase of a technical source admits very little chance of attribution on internal evidence.

19. Life of St. Guthlac

fol. 61r INCIPIT PROEMIUM IN VITAM SANCTI GUTHLACI CONFESSORIS (*Contents List: VITA SANCTI GUTHLACI. PROEMIUM OMNIMODOS. LIBER REGIS ETHELDRE<DI>*)
Omnimodos quanta uirtute subegerit hostes

fol. 92r ... Et uirtus et nunc et semper et omne per eum

fol. 92v EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI GUTHLACI CONFESSORIS ATQUE SACERDOTIS. HABET VERSUS NUMERO M DC LXVI.

Ed. W. F. Bolton, *The Middle English and Latin Poems of St. Guthlac* (Diss. Princeton, 1954); prologue ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 108; new edition in preparation by D. Townsend. A Latin chronicle records that a life of Guthlac 'metrico stylo' was commissioned of one 'magister Henricus' by Abbot Henry de Longchamp of Croyland (*Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 6). The identification of No. 19 with the poem referred to in the entry and the identification of its 'magister Henricus' with Henry of Avranches are both conjectural. But internal evidence includes compositional affinities between the prologue of No. 19 and those of Nos. 23, 48, and 89, as well as passages in which analogous situations are treated similarly: ll. 106-111 are virtually identical to No. 89, III.140-145 (these passages, however, are scriptural paraphrase); ll. 769-770 compare with No. 89, III.106-107, and l. 903 reappears as No. 89, III.108. See Townsend, pp. 19-20.

20. Translation of Salisbury Cathedral (1225)

fol. 92v DE TRANSLACIONE UETERIS ECCLESIE SARESBERIE ET CONSTRUCTIONE NOUE (*Contents List: DE TRANSLACIONE VETERIS ECCLESIE SAR'*)

Ecclesiam cur transtulerit salisberiensem...

fol. 96r ... Presulis affectus artificumque fides

EXPLICIT DE ECCLESIA SARESB<ERIENSI>

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 110-16. Also in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.v, in a booklet of which fols. 151-184 are attributed by an early modern hand to Michael of Cornwall, an attribution which, however, is suspect. On fol. 96v of A in the margin are given two lines in a variant version matched by Matthew Paris in the *Chronica maiora*, where he cites the verses anonymously with the tag 'ut quidam'; if Matthew was aware of Henry's authorship, he learned of it after his use of the poem in the *Chronica*. Although the poem presents no marked discrepancy from the rhetorically ornamented style of Henry's longer poems, neither are there clear textual affinities to secure attributions.

21. Debate between Rome and Innocent III (1215)

fol. 96r INCIPIUNT UERSUS DE ALLEGACIONIBUS ET RESPONSIONIBUS HABITIS INTER INNOCENCIUM PAPAM ET ROMANOS PRO IMPERIO VNDE OTO IMPERATOR ET FRETHERICUS ADINUICEM LITIGABANT (*Contents List*: DE QUIBUS'DAM' ALLEGACIONIBUS ET RESPONSIONIBUS INTER INNOCENCIUM PAPAM ET ROMANOS)

fol. 96v Sancte pater tua Roma tibi depono querelam...

fol. 104v ... Vt deponamus et restituamus otonem

Fol. 103 is misplaced and is actually a part of No. 22, belonging after fol. 108.

Ed. G. Leibnitz, *Scriptores rerum brunsvicensium*... 2 (Hanover, 1710), pp. 525-32. At the end of the poem the Council recommends Otto's restoration; as, in fact, the Lateran Council of 1215 accepted Frederick as Emperor, the poem must be dated before the Council's final decision was announced. If the poem is by Henry (there is no positive evidence for the attribution), it would be the earliest datable piece in the literary career of a man who we know lived at least until 1260; it would predate by twenty years No. 11, which Henry addresses to Otto's imperial rival.

22. Life of St. Fremund

fol. 104v INCIPIIT VITA S. FREDEMUNDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS (*Contents List*: VITA SANCTI FRETHEMUNDI REGIS ET MARTIRIS: ANGLORUM REX O. F.)

fol. 105r Anglorum rex ofa fuit Regina botilla...

fol. 113v ... Sit laus et uirtus et honor per secula cuncta. Amen

EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI FREDEMUNDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS

Ed. F. Hervey, *The Pinchbeck Register* 2 (London, 1925), pp. 365-78; new edition in preparation by D. Townsend. Hervey failed to notice that a leaf (now fol. 103, embedded in No. 21) was missing after fol. 108, i.e., after l. 3 on his p. 371; it records Offa's and Botilla's request to Fremund for assistance, his decision to return, and the offer by Hinguar and Ubba of peace in return for English subjection to their rule. In the manuscript the Life of Fremund precedes that of Edmund, which, chronologically, it follows in subject matter; this may be explained by the fact that in the ecclesiastical calendar Fremund precedes Edmund. The evidence of authorship is inconclusive, but a distinctive topos of the mutually witnessed cure of various ailments appears on fol. 111r: 'muta surda loquentem / audit et extensas tendens ad sidera palmas / glorificat contracta deum.' This also occurs in No. 24 and in the securely attributable No. 89 (xiv.37-39).

23. Life of St. Birinus

fol. 113v PROLOGUS IN VITAM SANCTI BIRINI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS (*Contents List*: VITA SANCTI BIRINI: ET PUDET ET FATEOR)

Et pudet et fateor quia turgeo magna professus...

fol. *125v ... Sancto maiestas et gloria nunc et in eum. Amen.

EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI BIRINI

Ed. Townsend, pp. 163-95; prologue ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 124-25. Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 40. The security of the attribution to Henry rests mainly on the reappearance of ll. 485-490 of the present poem (probably written by 1225 and

certainly by 1238) in No. 14, fol. 39v, ll. 22-27 (written after 1241). Lines 253-256 (on beer) also appear as a sixteenth-century *probatio pennae* in Cambridge, University Library Ll.1.15, with the heading 'Henricus Abrincensis Normannus tempore Henrici 3'.

24. Life of St. Edmund

fol. *125v INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN UITAM SANCTI EDMUNDI (*Contents List*: VITA SANCTI AEDMUNDI REGIS ET MARTIRIS: BELLORUM VARIOS; ET PROSE)

Plus uolo quam ualeo regis memorando triumphos...

fol. 126r Bellorum varios experta Britannia motus...

fol. 136v ... Sancto nunc et per secula laus et honor. Amen.

EXPLICIT UITA SANCTI EDMUNDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS

Ed. F. Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* (London, 1907), pp. 200-22; prologue ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 99; new edition in preparation by D. Townsend. The topos of mutually witnessed cures mentioned in connection with No. 22 above and more importantly with No. 89 below occurs here as well on fol. 136r. The opening line's 'plus uolo quam ualeo' occurs also in the verse life of St. Hugh (ll. 10-11) attributed to Henry (J. F. Dimock, ed., *Metrical Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln* [Lincoln, 1860]), probably correctly, by Russell. None of this is conclusive, but the sum of the textual evidence increases the likelihood of Henry's authorship.

25. Hymn to St. Edmund

fol. 136v INCIPIT PROSA IN UITA EIUSDEM RIMICE COMPOSITA (*Contents List*: see No. 24)

fol. 137ra Stupet caro stupet mundus...

fol. 137rb ... Assequamur premia. Amen.

Ed. with No. 24. Repeated below, fol. 193v, by Matthew Paris. No positive evidence of authorship.

26. Hymn to St. Edmund

fol. 137rb ALIA PROSA DE SANCTO EDMUNDO RIMICE COMPOSITA

Profitendo fidem solam...

fol. 137vb ...Ad eterna gaudia. Amen.

EXPLICIT PROSA DE SANCTO EDMUNDO REGE ET MARTYRE

Ed. with No. 24. Repeated below, fol. 194r by Matthew Paris. No positive evidence of authorship.

27. Short Life of Becket

fol. 137v INCIPIUNT UERSUS DE SANCTO THOMA ARCHIEPISCOPO (*Contents List*: DE VITA ET PASSIONE SANCTI THOME ARCHIEPISCOPI ET MARTIRIS: ARCHILEUITA THOMAS. *Mentioned in Contents List under No. 1 also*)

Archileuita thomas et cancellarius anglis...

fol. 142v ... Est laus est uirtus est sine fine decus. Amen.

Also in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 459, fols. 136 ff.

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 37-43. Lines 267-268 employ the mutually witnessed cure topos once again (see No. 22). Russell does not address the problem of the duplication

of topic which arises if one assumes Henry's authorship of both this and No. 1. The present poem is much more in consonance with the secure witnesses to Henry's hagiographical style than is No. 1. Like No. 6, it is in elegiacs; the two pieces could function quite adequately as companion pieces to one another.

28. Martyrdom of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian

fol. 142v DE SANCTIS MARTYRIBUS CRISPINO ET CRISPINIANO (*so Contents List: IMPERII SCEPTRUM*)

Imperii sceptrum consorte diocliciano...

fol. 148v ... Ascendunt anime corpore (*sic*) trunca iacent

Unedited; about 330 lines, based on the standard martyrology. There is no positive evidence of authorship, but the style resembles much of Henry's writing, and the thought and vocabulary of at least two passages (fols. 143v12-13, 146r16-19) are reminiscent of No. 23 (ll. 461-462 and 513-518, respectively).

(*Hand of Matthew Paris*)

29. Hymn to the Virgin

(*Contents List: QUEDAM SEQUENCIA DE SANCTA ANNA*)

fol. 148v Anna partu soluitur...

fol. 149r ... Amen dicant omnia

Ed. *Analecta hymnica* 40 (Leipzig, 1902), p. 114, from A, Rawlinson C. 510, and 'Collect. S. Albani'. Written as prose but with internal punctuation. No positive evidence of authorship.

30. Canon law mnemonics (extract)

fol. 149r Tutus erit quicumque negat nisi fama labore...

... Vsurpans ideo non perdit ius quod habebat.

Unedited; 10 lines, not in Contents List. Note that Henry of Avranches is credited in a fourteenth-century library catalogue from Peterborough with verses on the Decretum and the Decretals (*Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 6). The lines correspond to C. 15 q.5-C. 16 q.6 of the poem in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 40 and other manuscripts. According to P. Binkley (who is editing the poem) these lines are close to the best version of the textual tradition.

31. Antavianus (Beast-fables)

fol. 149v INCIPIT ANTAVANUS (*sic*) (*Contents List: DE APOLOGIS AUIANI*)

Iurat anus flenti puero ni supprimat iram...

fol. 152r ... Uite presentis forma sequentis hiems

Ed. L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge* 3 (Paris, 1894), pp. 468-74. They are versions of Avianus, *Fables* 1-5, 15, 19, 37, 34. The remaining ten lines of fol. 152r and all of 152v are blank, perhaps in the hope of acquiring more fables.

32. Poem on the Epiphany

fol. 153r TRACTATUS DE EPIPHANIA DOMINI (*Contents List*: DE EPIPHANIA DOMINI QUE DUOBUS LOCIS SCRIBITUR)

<S>idereus splendor illuminat aera cuius...

fol. 153v ... Rex populi rector nardus odore uigens

Unedited; 42 lines. As the Contents List and a marginal note by Matthew on this page ('hoc alibi in hoc libello scribitur') indicate, the poem is written again below (fols. 171v-172r) by Hand 4. Rest of fol. 153v blank.

33. Verse debate (conclusion)

(*Contents List*: QUEDAM ALTERCACIO: IN MOTA LITE)

fol. 154r In mota lite michi det procedere rite...

... Sufficiat petro secum contendere metro

Unedited; 31 lines. The conclusion to a debate on a legal topic between a Henry and a Peter; a decision is made in favour of Henry, who is called 'Normannus'. The circumstances seem to correspond to an unpublished poem in London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D.v, fols. 166r-168r, in which the poet engages in a contest, in the form of a mock trial, concerning the claims of the archbishop of Bourges to the primacy of Aquitaine. The metres are identical. See on No. 68 below.

34. To Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham

fol. 154v DOMINO DUNELM<IE> RICARDO DE MARISCO (*Contents List*: QUIDAM RICARDO 'DE MARISCO' SCILICET EPISCOPO DUNELM<IE>)

Omnis adulator michi displicet at tamen ipse...

fol. 155r ... Res me parua iuuat. Spes michi magna nocet

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 93-94. Lines 1-26 are in hexameters; ll. 27-36, set off by a paragraph, in elegiacs. The first line of the elegiacs repeats the 'inangulor apud Anglos' of No. 9, l. 25. No positive evidence for authorship.

Remaining twenty-four lines of fol. 155r and fol. 155v blank.

Part IV(b): fols. 156-187 (Scribes: Hand 4 and Matthew Paris)

35. Versification of Aristotle's *Generation and Corruption*

(*Contents List*: DE GENERACIONE ET CORRUPCIONE. PROLOGUS: O CLARA CL' *On fol. 156v marginal heading by Matthew Paris at end of prologue*: INCIPIT LIBER DE GENERACIONE ET CORRUPCIONE METRICE COMPOSITUS A MAGISTRO H. ABRINCENSI POETA)

fol. 156r O clara cleri concio...

fol. 165r In cura quod erit sed differet et modus ipse

EXPLICIT LIBELLUS DE GENERACIONE ET CORRUPCIONE

Unedited; about 600 lines. Prologue ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 102-104. Ed. in preparation by A. D. Kirkwood.

36. To Robert Passelewe

- fol. 165r (MP) DE HOC NOMINE ROB' PASSELEWE (*Contents List*: DE HOC NOMINE ROB')
 Unica tres titulos ne tollat littera sicut...
 fol. 165v ... Est magis intensum procul in te quam fit in ipsa
 Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 95; cf. above No. 4, below No. 77.

37. To John

- fol. 165v (MP) DE HOC NOMINE JOHANNES (*so also Contents List*)
 Nomen habes non inmerito diuina Johannes...
 ... Enfátice gratis munus habebo tuum
 Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 33. A marginal note in the manuscript observes: 'in sigillo Iohannis: Summe deus da ne tua gracia dicar inane', but there is no need to infer (with Russell) that the poem refers to King John (d. 1216): the name John was commonly interpreted as meaning 'gracia', and John Blund the philosopher or John Mansel the courtier (a likely benefactor of Henry) are at least equally possible.

38. To Eustace

- fol. 165v (MP) DE HOC NOMINE EUSTACH' (*Contents List*: DE HOC NOMINE EUTH')
 Eustachi nuper bene stabas nunc bene stabis...
 fol. 166r ... Ebraicum didicit ebraicumque libri
 Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 84-85. Cf. Nos. 8, 47.

39. To Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester

- fol. 166r (MP) RAD' DE NOUILLA UEL NOUA UILLA EPISCOPO CYCENSTRENSI (*Contents List*: DE ROB' DE NOUILLA [*sic*])
 Successu noua uilla sui iuuenescit alumni...
 ... Gratia quod minor est laus mea dote tua
 Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 94; cf. No. 40.

40. To Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester

- fol. 166r (MP) DE EODEM
 Iam tu flos es anglicorum...
 fol. 166v ... quin iuues ante peream
 Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 94-95; cf. No. 39; written as prose, with punctuation.

41. Debates between Knight and Clerk

(a) First debate (Hexameters, rhyming finally)

- fol. 166v (MP, in red) COMMENDACIO MILITIS ET MILITIE (*Contents List*: ALTERCACIO DE MILITE ET CLERICO CUI HORUM CEDAT AMOR. DUO AUCTORES)
 Ut tenebris lux prefertur preuisa dierum...
 fol. 167v ... Sic genus armorum distinguitur et uia morum

(b) **Second debate** (non-rhyming elegiac couplets)

fol. 167v (*MP in brown*) 'MAGISTER H. DE ABRINCIS' (*added later by MP*) ALTERCATIO
MILITIS ET CLERICI. MILES INCIPIT PRO SE LOQUI
Clericus et miles domina sub iudice certant...

fol. 169r ... Equior an clarus clericus an equus eques

Both debates ed. H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920), 2nd edition by P. G. Schmidt (Hildesheim, 1984), pp. 248-53. Matthew's note in the Contents List ('duo auctores') and his second title on fol. 167v, with the ascription to Henry of Avranches, show that for him at least there are two poems here—a division corroborated by discrepancies between the two texts: certainly, the poem as published seems to be in two parts, the first in hexameters, the second in elegiacs; the second (but not the first) incorporates the debate into a third-person frame; and the hexameters refer to *domine* as judges, whereas the elegiacs appeal to a single *domina*. There is no reason to believe that Matthew intends to ascribe both poems to Henry; indeed, the position of his ascription suggests the contrary.

(*Rubricated titles for Nos. 42-48 are supplied by Matthew Paris*)

42. To Geoffrey of Bocland

fol. 169r AD GALFRIDUM DE BOCLANDIA (*Contents List: DE GALFR' DE BOCLANDE*)
Liberat a uiciis liber omnes liber es ergo...

fol. 169r ... Et merear preco nominis esse tui

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 54-55. No positive evidence of authorship.

43. Feast of All Saints

fol. 169v DE FESTO OMNIUM SANCTORUM (*Contents List: DE FESTO OMNIUM SANCTORUM
ET ORDINE*)
Ecce dies toti mundo celeberrimus. Ecce...

fol. 171r ... Sit laus et uirtus et honor per secula cuncta amen

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 48-51. No positive evidence of authorship.

44. To Stephen Langton

fol. 171r AD STEPHANUM (*Contents List: AD QUENDAM STEPHANUM*)
Stephane te sublimat sic honor te sanctificans vt...

fol. 171v ... Vt tibi conformer exteriore precor

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 54. No positive evidence of authorship.

(32) Poem on the Epiphany

fol. 171v DE EPIPHANIA. HOC ALIBI HABETUR
Sidereus splendor illuminat aera cuius...

fol. 172r ... Rex populi rector nardus odore uigens

See on No. 32 above. No positive evidence of authorship.

45. To Engelbert

fol. 172r AD ENGELBERTUM (*so Contents List*)

Engelberte uiri gladio fungentis utroque...

fol. 173v ... Exprimo uado pedes et nudus gratia cleri

Unedited; 102 lines. Poet laments clerical meanness towards his poems. No positive evidence of authorship.

46. To Engelbert

fol. 173v ADHUC DE HOC NOMINE ENGELBERTUS

Barbarus u uariat in b nos ergo latini...

fol. 174r ... Scis dare uis debes et potes ergo dabis

Unedited; 24 lines. Begging poem. As Matthew notes in the margin ('De hoc nomine Rob' habetur alibi aliter'), the etymologizing by means of interchanging *b* and *v* has been used in the poem to Robert (No. 4).

47. To Eustace

fol. 174r AD EUSTACHIUM (*so Contents List*)

Eustachio bona scit stacio qui firma columna...

fol. 174v ... Inuidiosus enim multis non inuidus ulli. EXPLICIT

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, pp. 85-87. See No. 8. Last lines squeezed in at foot of page. Lines 61-66 are identical to No. 9, ll. 15-20.

48. Life of St. Oswald

(a) **Prologue** (hand of Matthew Paris)

fol. 175r INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN UITAM ET PASSIONEM SANCTI OSUUALDI REGIS ET MARTIRIS
(*Contents List: VITA SANCTI OSWALDI*)

In noua fert animus antiquas uertere prosas...

fol. 176v ... Antiquo vatique nouo prebete fauorem

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. INCIPIT PRINCIPALE OPUS

(b) **Life** (Hand 4, with rubrics by MP, to fol. 184v7; MP from fol. 184v8)

fol. 177r DE SANCTO OSUUALDO REGE ET MARTIRE CUIUS CAPUT APUD DUNELM' HABETUR
BRACHIUM APUD BURGUM

Tempore quo nuper uici saxones et angli...

fol. 187r ... Et uirtus et nunc et semper et omne per eum. Amen.

Ed. Townsend, pp. 74-131. In the copy in ms. Bodley 40 the prologue is placed at the end of the poem: thus in both manuscripts the prologue has not been included from the exemplar as originally copied: on this point see Townsend, pp. 66-68. The Bodley text also includes substantial passages omitted from the Cambridge version. The conclusive evidence for Henry's authorship is the reappearance of ll. 380-388 as No. 14, fol. 41v21-28, of ll. 394-398 as fol. 42r26 ff., and of ll. 409-419 as fol. 42v11-20: cf. the passage from No. 23 above also repeated in No. 14. The abbacy of the poem's patron fixes 1227 as *terminus a quo* (Townsend, p. 51).

Nos. 49-61 are subsumed in the Contents List as follows: DE HOC NOMINE PANDULPHUS ET QUIDAM ALII UERSICULI INSITI IN CEDULIS. One can hardly defend dogmatically the uniform authorship of a group of fillers on the last leaf of a gathering.

49. fol. 187r ALLUDITUR HUIC NOMINI PANDULPHUS
Te totum dulcor perfundit et Inde notaris
Pandulphus. Quid pan nisi totum? dul nisi dulcor?
Phus nisi fusus? Id est, totus dulcedine fusus.

Ed. Shorter Latin Poems, p. 97.

50. fol. 187r DE TUNICA BIBULA SUDORIS APTA IN ESTATE ET DATA
Felix sit dator is per quem datur interioris
Spongia sudoris nec minus apta foris

51. fol. 187r DE RUBEA VESTE ET ALBA DATA
Martir eram sine martirio, sine uirginitate
Sum uirgo. Vestis fraus in utroque fuit

52. fol. 187r DE PARTUS VIRGINEI NOUITATE
Ultimus effectus prime primordi<a> cause
Prebet et est riuus fontis origo sui

Repeated on fol. 188r

*(In margin: Virgo deum genuit rerumque nouissima primam,
Virgo creatorem peperit quasi uirgula florem)*

53. fol. 187r IN SIGILLO THOME KAUAL
Thome credite cum cernitis eius equum

54. fol. 187r IN SIGILLO ABBATIS DE RAMMEH' IN CUIUS MEDIO FIT ARIES
Cuius scripta tego dux gregis est et ego

Shorter Latin Poems, p. 99; added at foot: IUO TUI MEMORIS OPERI SECRETA PRIORIS (sic)

55. fol. 187v Abel. Sacrum pingue dabo non macrum sacrific<ab>o
Caim. Sacrificabo macrum non dabo pingue sacrum

Margin: LEGE HUNC UERSUM RETROGRADE ET INUENIES CONTRARIUM SENSUM

56. fol. 187v ADULACIO CUIUSDAM AD QUENDAM SENATUM SED REVERSA PERUERTITUR.
VERSUS RETROGRADI
Gens tua non tua res, populus non copia rerum
Scandere te fecit hoc decus eximium
Conditio tua sit stabilis nec tempore paruo
Viure te faciat hic deus omnipotens

Margin: LEGE HOS UERSUS RETROGRADE ET INUENIES CONTRARIUM

57. fol. 187v Glorior Inuideo fremo tristor Hio voro Labor
Glossed: superbia, Inuidia, ira, tristitia, auaricia, Gula, Luxuria.

Margin: VII VI<CIA>

58. fol. 187v Visito poto cibo redimo tego Colligo Condo

Margin: VII OPERA

59. fol. 187v Cui deest es mittat pignora Soluet Amor

60. fol. 187v Inconstans animus, oculus uagus, Instabilis pes,
Hec sunt signa viri de quo michi nulla boni Spes

61. fol. 187v Intellectus dicitur esse, id est vigere, in fronte. Memoria in cerebro. Auaricia et libidinis fons ex corde et Iecore. Delectacio in renibus et umbilico. Anhelitus in pulmone. Timor autem spes in corde. Sanguis in corpore. Anima in sanguine et principalis sedes anime in illo generoso purpureo sanguine qui est in corde. Spiritus in anima, fides in corde, Christus in fide.

Part IV(c): fols. 188-199 (Scribe: Matthew Paris)

As with the fillers of fol. 187, the haphazard arrangement of this final quire undermines any certainty that Matthew intended a careful restriction to items of uniform authorship. Ironically, much of Russell's reconstruction of Henry's literary biography relies precisely upon these short poems of doubtful attribution and upon similarly doubtful items earlier in the book.

62. John Mansel's broken leg (1243)

fol. 188r SERMO REGIS DUOBUS CYRURGICIS TEMERARIIS PRESUMENTIBUS CURARE CRUS
CONFRACTUM JOHANNIS MANSEL (*Contents List: DE CRURE J. MANSEL CU-
RANDO. MICH.*)

Cum sis Romanus Cincy tuus est michi vanus...

... Ni facias recte per regem lex ligat hec te

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 157, where Russell attributes it to Michael of Cornwall.

63. fol. 188r Carbones charbuns. Nos nus. comburimus arduns

The significance of the phrase 'we burn coals' in French and Latin is unclear.

(52) fol. 188r DE BEATA VIRGINE

Vltimus effectus prime primordia cause

Prebet et est riuus fontis origo sui

See above, fol. 187r.

64. fol. 188v DE BEATA VIRGINE (*Contents List: SEQUENCIA DE BEATA VIRGINE: IN TE
CONCIPITUR*)

In te concipitur O uirgo regia...

... Mors non permittitur in nobis viuere

Analecta hymnica 20 (Leipzig, 1895), p. 140; see R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 55-56.

65. Prologue to a debate

fol. 189r Prudens vates et ornate
 nate verum pandere
 de re ueritatis
 satis in obscuris palliate
 a te non ambigitur
 igitur dicemus opposita
 ita ne iuris absenciam
 senciam in lite proposita
 Nil concedas flos Virduni
 vni plus quam reliquo
 i quo ius te uocat et communi
 muni rem iudicio
 dicio nil agat uel fatua
 tua sed penset quid pocius
 ocus in causa tam ardua

Unedited; the content might suggest that this is the adversary's introduction to No. 68 (see below).

66. fol. 189r Cum sumus imbuti non est equaliter uti
 Ingeniisque meris ingeniisque meris

(55) fol. 189r Sacrum pingue dabo nec macrum sacrificabo
 Capris ira datur non apris appropriatur

Cf. fol. 187v above. *Margin*: VERSUS RETROGRADI CONTRARIO SENSU

67. fol. 189r (a) Robur aro dat id es Sed<it> ad ora rubor
 (b) Odo tenet mulum madidam mappam tenet anna

Margin: RETROGRADI

68. Claims of Bourges against Bordeaux for the primacy of Aquitaine

fol. 189v Aduocatus iusticie tuendum ius aggredior...

fol. 190r ... tuis relinquens posteris honorum priuilegia

Unedited; 5 rhythmical stanzas. The poet speaks for Archbishop Simon in his claim for primacy over Archbishop Géraud of Bordeaux (settled in 1232). This appears to be the prologue to the poem in London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D.v, fols. 166r-168r, to which No. 33 (above) may be the epilogue; the Vespasian poem takes the form of a mock trial. For a full discussion, see the forthcoming edition by P. Binkley, to whom we owe many thanks for his assistance on this poem and No. 30 (above).

69. To Milo

fol. 190r AD MILONEM PROCURATOREM VALLIUM SPOLETI ET ANCONIE REMOUENDUM
PROPTER ACUSSACIONEM

Vatum et ducum gloria / Milo cuius in pectore...

fol. 190v ... de tanti sede culminis successor cum ceciderit

Unedited; 9 rhythmical stanzas. 8 lines printed by William Camden, *Remains concerning Britain*, ed. R. D. Dunn (Toronto, 1985), p. 308. The poet defends Milo against charges of maladministration; cf. Nos. 72-73.

70. Joys of the Virgin

fol. 190v PROSA DE BEATA VIRGINE

(a) Gaude uirgo mater Christi que per aurem concepisti...

... tua nobis uere frui donet intercessio. Amen.

U. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892-1912; Brussels, 1920-21), no. 7017.

ITEM DE EADEM

(b) Gaude uirgo que de celis iuxta uocem gabrielis...

... fac ut tecum gaudeamus in terra uiuencium. Amen.

Chevalier 7026.

71. Defence of an accused bishop

fol. 191r DE QUODAM PRESULE DIFFAMATO ET ACUSATO SUPER INCONTINENCIA ET DILAPIDACIONE ET SCRIBITUR EIDEM

Presul Agrippine vir magne inclite qui ne...

fol. 191v ... Rerum seruator potius quam dilapidator

Ed. Winkelmann, 'Vier Gedichte', 340-41.

72. Defence of Milo

fol. 191v DE DISCORDIA DAPNOSA QUE ORTA FUIT

Symma deus natura boni cur deseris orbem...

fol. 192r ... Eneruatus honor precipitatus apex

Unedited; 30 lines (elegiacs). See No. 69 above.

73. Defence of Milo

fol. 192r ITERUM AD PREDICTUM MILONEM ACUSATUM CORAM PAPA SUPER PROCURACIONE
VALLIS SPOLETI ET ANCONIE

Hactenus inuidie te Milo luna momordit...

fol. 193r ... Obfuscabit enim par habito tui

Unedited; 74 lines (elegiacs). See No. 69 above. The allusions of fol. 193r17-20 to myth and fable reappear with much the same application in No. 78, fol. 195r3-8.

74. Principles of logical description

fol. 193r REGULA QUEDAM

Omnibus in rebus sunt tantum quinque notanda...

... Ordoque personam notificare solent

Unedited; 7 lines.

75. To Salome, sister of Mary

fol. 193v PROSA DE SALOME MATRE JOHANNIS ET JACOBI

Nil pretendat mundo triste sed diuino dies iste...

... carne te confederari mente nos confedera. Amen

Analecta hymnica 40.283 from A and 'Collectan. S. Albani'.**(25) Hymn to St. Edmund**fol. 193v PROSA DE SANCTO AEDMUNDO REGE ET MARTIRE (*Contents List: PROSA DE SANCTO AEDMUNDO QUE ANTE SCRIBITUR*)

Stupet caro stupet mundus...

fol. 194r ... assequamur premia Amen

See No. 25 (fol. 136v) above.

(26) Hymn to St. Edmund

fol. 194r Profitendo fidem solam Rex Aedmundus suam stolam...

... ad eterna gaudia. Amen

See No. 26 (fol. 137rb) above.

76. Dream-vision (incomplete)fol. 194r QUODDAM GENUS APOCALIPSIS. DESCENDENS EXILITER (*Contents List: DVO UERSUS DE QUADAM APOCALIPSI*)

Fratris utcunque cinthia supplente ministerium...

... monstra deseuiencia dedit in exterminium

Unedited; 2 rhythmical stanzas of a dream vision in which John ('flos et apex scolarium') puts to flight the Beast of the Apocalypse.

77. To Robert Passelewefol. 194r DE ROB' PASS' (*Contents List: DE ROB' PASSELEWE*)

Summum conscendens apicem...

fol. 194v ... noster defectus sequitur

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 96. Cf. Nos. 4, 36.**78. To Milo**fol. 194v ITEM AD DICTUM 'MILONEM' A CUSTODIA SUA AMOUENDUM (*Contents List: DE QUODAM MILONE TRANSALPINO*)

Quo quali quanto possum te carmine tanto...

fol. 195r ... Hic segetas (*sic*) letas spargis ibique metas

Unedited; 46 lines. At the spelling *Ruppis* (l. 7) Matthew has written 'sic dicit omnis neuster'. Remaining 8 lines of fol. 195r blank. See No. 73 above.

79. Satire on German inhospitality

fol. 195v PRO QUIBUS'DAM' FALSIS PREDICATORIBUS VAGIS NEBULONIBUS QUI ETIAM MALA
DOCUERUNT PROHIBITUM FUIT NE CLERICUS ALIQUIS VAGUS HOSPICIO IN ALEMAN-
NIA RECIPERETUR (*Contents List*: RICMUS QUIDAM: MIRAMUR)
Miramur de Germania de cuius solent germinare...
... recte dixit Wormaciam quasi vermium aciem

Ed. Winkelman, 'Vier Gedichte', 341-42. Line of rubric cut away at top of page.
Remaining 6 lines blank.

80. French poem (later addition, c. 1300?)

fol. 196r Tut li mund deyt mener joye e estre ben emboysez...
... la deu nacquit del auncle

Fols. 196v-198v blank, except for pen-trial on fol. 198r, '... dilectat spiritus meus vobis in hunc modum...'.
...

81-87. Short additions on fol. 199r

- 81. Consilium tibi do mus ne sit sola crepido
Ne tibi sola domus sit consilium tibi do mus
Si fuerit gaude mus, si non duo tecta time mus
- 82. Dum poteris prodesse tuis properare memento
Vita brevis fortuna levis tibi sunt documento
- 83. Dum poteris miser o miseris cur non misereris...
... Innumeris cum sceptrigeris et glorificeris

H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959), no. 4923; 18 lines.

- 84. Viribus expertus comiter flos iste robertus
In terra sancta commisit prelia tanta
quod par pugnando meruit fieri ratobando
Rex ibi sedisset et regia scepra tulisset
Sed patet expresse quod rex ibi noluit esse
Posse putans temere britannica regna tenere
 - 85. Vinum transmissum non me facit esse remissum
Conuiuis vina causis tua iura propina
Teptau (sic) temere vino te posse mouere
Non moui uere, sed forte moueberis ere
- fol. 199rb Vinum non queris sed si veniat sonus eris
Cuius spe traheris forsitan alter eris
Vt michi sis mitis tibi misi pocula vitis
Nec tamen illa sitis desinit (deperit *in marg.*), vnde sitis

86. Viribus arte minis danaum data troia ruinis...
... Staret dardanidum robur erat validum

Fragment; 14 lines only. Walther 20582. Pierre de Saintes (PL 171.1451) (cf. A. G. Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)', *Mediaeval Studies* 43 [1981] 495).

87. Sepes trima ter hanc canis homo ter equus ter equum vir

Foot: Residebit in urbe romana innocencius tercius, post illum papa nullus, post nullum, duo nulli, post duos nl...

88. Debate between Heart and Eye

- fol. 199v CONTROUERSIA INTER COR ET OCULUM
Quisquis cordis et oculi non sentit in se iurgia...
... Nam cordi causam inputat occasionem oculo

Walter 16158.

Ed. *Analecta hymnica* 21 (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 114-15. Correction (MP?) in margin.

Part V: fols. 200-238

Scribe: Hand 5, with additions on fol. 238 by Matthew Paris.

Contents: No. 89 (Hand 5) and Nos. 89a, 90-93 (by Matthew Paris).

Collation: i¹⁰-iii¹⁰ iv⁹ (8+1). Quires numbered I-III at foot of each last verso, as in Part IV except that the ink is much fainter; the last is numbered on the last leaf of the eight (fol. 237v). The first five leaves of each quire (four in the last) are numbered at the foot of each verso: a i, a ii, etc. to d iiiii. There are no catchwords.

Frame 136×86 mm., double vertical ruling on left and right. In the first quire there are 35 lines per page; in the remainder, there are 32-39. Writing is *below* the top line of the frame, unlike the other sections. Major initials are alternately in red with blue filigree work (or vice versa), but the style differs from that in Parts I, III and IV: the initials are fatter, and the fill lines bolder and thicker. Some cued initials have not been completed. The title of No. 89, with the ascription to Henry of Avranches, is written within the writing frame by Hand 5.

The additions on fol. 238r-v were probably made at the same time as those on fol. 199; fol. 238v is in two columns.

No. 89 is in the Contents List, but none of the additions are included (unless the 'altercacio' [see p. 357] refers to Nos. 90-93 as Russell thought). This version of the Life of St. Francis was written no earlier than 1241 (see No. 89 below).

Contents

89. Life of St. Francis (Hand 5)

- fol. 200r SUPER UITA BEATI FRANCISCI UERSUS MAGISTRI HENRICI ABRINCENSIS AD GREGORIUM PAPAM NONUM (*Contents List:* VITA SANCTI FRANCISCI)
Gesta sacri cantabo ducis qui monstra domandi...
fol. 238r ... Sancto maiestas et gloria nunc et in euum. Amen

Ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, *Legenda versificata s. Francisci Assisiensis* (Quaracchi, 1936). Henry wrote the first version some time after Francis' canonization and Thomas of Celano's *Vita* I of 1228, but the version in this manuscript (revised in many passages) was written after the defection of Elias to Frederick in 1239 and probably after the death of Gregory IX in 1241. (See the introduction to the Quaracchi ed., pp. viii-ix.) Lines marked off in hundreds.

Fill (Hand of fol. 199)

(89a) **Fall of Troy**

Pergama flere volo fato danaum data solo...

... Seque sue tede reddit alumpna lede

Ed. A. Hilka and D. Schumann, *Carmina burana* 1.2 (Heidelberg, 1941), no. 101, pp. 139-60.

Cf. 'Viribus arte minis' above on fol. 199rb. Omitted in Russell's account, and certainly not added by Matthew with any concern for uniform authorship.

Fill (Scribe: Matthew Paris)

90-92. **Debate between Englishman and Lambert**

fol. 238va DE LAMBEKINO THEUTONICO

Cur Lambekine longo tegis ulcera crine...

... Agnoscas fateor michi te venerande patronum

Ed. (as four separate poems, 90, 91, 91a, and 92) in *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 28, but the series seems to be a continuous debate; also Winkelmann, 'Vier Gedichte', 342-44.

93. **Debate between Conrad and an Englishman**

fol. 238va Non valet audire mala plus Conradulus ire...

fol. 238vb ... Anglis theutonice nec non francis inimice

Ed. *Shorter Latin Poems*, p. 29; Winkelmann, 'Vier Gedichte', 336-44. Headed (fol. 238vb) ALTERCACIO ... CONRADULO.

Other entries

fol. 200r two medical recipes

fol. 200v medical recipe

fol. 201r medical recipe

fol. 205v *on text (MP)*: excusa per priuilegia

at foot: Trinitas

Vnitas

licentiatus ponit auctor

Caritas

The reference is clarified in the prose prologue of a later reworking of Henry's text, preserved in Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale 8: over an objection that these words

could not be made to scan in a hexameter line, Henry replied in the pope's presence that words referring to divine realities should not be forced to obey human rules of grammar; he was granted licence to use the offending words as though they fitted the metre (*Legenda versificata*, pp. 17 and 122).

fol. 236v foot: Optima res rerum nostrorum gemma dierum
Seruis andree ne sis imitator egee

fol. 237r foot: M A R I A
Mortis amara rapis imperialis apis
Mater adoranda res incessanter amanda

Retrog.: aspidis inuidia raptos absolue maria

fol. 237v foot: dicia diuitibus iniecit vincula diues
Me quia pauper eram permisit abire solutum

THE ISSUE OF AUTHORSHIP

A description of the manuscript's contents makes it abundantly clear that Matthew did not rigorously restrict his selection by a concern for uniform authorship. No. 13 is by Alexander of Ville-Dieu; No. 15, in French, is generally attributed by modern scholars to Rutebeuf; No. 64 is elsewhere attributed to Alexander Neckam; No. 88 is not Henry's nor is No. 89a. The Contents List clearly considers No. 34 anonymous ('Quidam Ricardo...'). Thus at one extreme are a small group of items (Nos. 14, 35, 41b, 89) explicitly ascribed to Henry, while at the other several are certainly not his work. The great bulk of the contents lie between these two extremes and are attributable only with various degrees of probability. Internal evidence adequately demonstrates the authorship of Nos. 11, 23, and 48 and argues for that of Nos. 19, 22, and 24. The common subject matter of Nos. 10 and 12 and their proximity to No. 11 suggest that Henry wrote all three; other groups of short pieces (e.g., Nos. 4, 36, and 46) are probably by a single author, who might, or might not, be Henry. Many pieces, for example Nos. 6, 20, and 28, are compatible in style with Henry's known work but offer no positive evidence of authorship. Arguments against authorship on the basis of stylistic incongruity are dangerous in connection with a writer who produced both a superbly readable life of Francis (No. 89) and a contorted versification of Aristotle (No. 35), but Nos. 1-2 are vastly different in style and quality from the bulk of Henry's hagiographical work.

At very least one must say that Matthew's conception of the manuscript as an anthology of Henry's verse was descriptive (if not downright casual) rather than prescriptive. While an unattributed poem in A has some likelihood of coming from Henry's pen, there remains a burden of positive proof in any individual case. The manuscript as it now stands provides a record of Matthew's intentions and

procedures as a compiler; but the ambiguities of the evidence bear better witness to Matthew's characteristically random, associative, and accretive habits of book-making than to a consistent concern for the uniformity of contents.

THE ASSEMBLY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The earliest stages of compilation and writing certainly show signs of a rather haphazard approach, which perhaps call to mind the even more labyrinthine intricacies of the *Liber additamentorum*. In Part I the second quire begins with a singleton, and the third is constructed round an inserted gathering of 6. Part III has a bifolium inserted after the seventh leaf. In Part IV(a) the fifth quire has four singletons; the sixth has an extra fragment pasted on; the ninth has many singletons and altogether is made up of sixteen leaves. Part IV(b) begins with a singleton. The last leaf of Part IV(c) may have come from elsewhere—and so on. The writing itself presents another problem: apart from Hand 3 and the first quire of Hand 5, the scribes (including Matthew himself) show an astonishing variation in the number of lines written per page, even though this must have meant separate ruling for each page. The unevenness of Hand 2 can be explained by his failure to leave himself enough room (above, p. 359), but this cannot account for the practice of the others; possibly the scribes, for some reason, were trying to preserve the lineation of their copy-text. On fol. 153r an extra line is squeezed in at the foot of the page, although there is plenty of space on fol. 153v (which is largely blank). (The extra three lines of fol. 31ra may have been omitted in error.) For some reason (perhaps related to copying) Hand 3 has indicated the line numbers, fairly randomly (in hundreds), in the text of No. 19 and at the end has written 'Habet versus numero M DC LXVI'; Hand 5 has more systematically indicated the line count of No. 89 in hundreds.

From the physical description above it should be clear that each of the five sections I-V were written, compiled, and decorated separately. Parts I(b), IV(a), and IV(b) can also be treated as separate units, though IV(a) and IV(b) were decorated at the same time. In all, there are eight originally separate units: I(b), I itself, II, III, IV(a), IV(b), IV(c), and V, though IV(c) should perhaps be treated, as the Contents List implies, as a series of *cedule*=*schedulae*;¹⁴ also, there are the later additions, singly or in groups. Part I as it stands now, considered as an independent unit, is principally a Becket anthology, and choice of this subject matter could arguably have been the guiding principle of assembly just as easily as uniform authorship. Similarly, Part IV is basically a hagiographical collection. *Termini a quo* are as follows: I(b) 1234 (on the basis of Nos. 10-12), I after 1222

¹⁴ It is possible, however, that 'insiti in cedulis' may refer to the *sources* of the poems: i.e., Matthew has *copied* them from loose leaves.

(on the basis of No. 2), II after 1241 (on the basis of No. 14), IV(a) after 1225 (No. 20) with possible evidence at least for modification after 1230-32 (No. 33), IV(b) after 1227 (No. 48), IV(c) after 1243, at least the first leaf (No. 62), and V after 1241 (No. 89). These dates, of course, do not determine the dates of copying, but if the scribes were attempting to preserve the lineation of their copy-texts, they may also have been copying blocks of material as they found it. The separate quire numbers in Parts IV and V suggest that originally Matthew had no intention of combining them in a single 'volumen', and he never attempted to integrate Parts I and III (or II, which may have been added still later) into the sequence of quires.

After the process of writing and compiling (or sometimes simultaneously) Matthew engaged in what we might call 'copy-editing', partly for the preparation of the Contents List. He supplied titles and subheadings, especially in the sections written by Hand 3: on fol. 83r his pencilled draft can be seen below the rubric subheadings. These supplied titles were usually written in the margin or in blank spaces at the end of lines. (The significance of the added titles for his knowledge of Henry's authorship is discussed below.) In the *Antavianus*, No. 31, which he copied himself, he gave titles to individual fables, getting one wrong.

Secondly, he provided cross-references between items: next to the two occurrences of No. 32 he notes (fol. 153r) 'hoc alibi in hoc libello scribitur', (fol. 171v) 'hoc alibi habetur', and in the Contents List 'que duobus locis scribitur'. The only reference to the repetition of the St. Edmund hymns is in the Contents List ('que ante scribitur'); he failed to remark on his own repetition of Nos. 52 and 55. On fol. 13v he refers forward to No. 6 on fol. 30r (see above, p. 359), and on fol. 29r he refers to No. 27 on fol. 137v (repeating the cross-reference in the Contents List). On fol. 173v, on No. 46 (the etymologizing of Engelbert) he refers back (by the remark 'De hoc nomine Rob' habetur alibi aliter') to No. 4 on fol. 29v where there is a mark in the margin. Other notes of interest include: 28v 'Norwegia' (explaining a reference), 29r (additional nouns in -o), 165v (detail about John's seal), 169r (after noting Henry of Avranches' authorship of No. 41b, 'breues et efficaciores uersus eiusdem unde supra').

Thirdly, he corrected the text against the original or by conjecture. Apart from Part V, which has only one supplied line on fol. 223r, corrections are found throughout the manuscript; there are some (though few) to the sections copied by Matthew himself, more (about one per two folios) to the section written by Hand 3, but most to the work of Hand 4, which seems to have been very careless. In No. 35 (ten folios long) there are forty-five corrections, including spelling reforms, and the number increases in Hand 4's later entries: on fol. 166v alone there are eleven corrections. The corrections were made first in pencil in the margin; these were then incorporated by writing them in ink in the margin, by altering the offending work or letter, by supralinear insertion, or by erasure and

overwriting (as on fol. 180r); sometimes no action has been taken. Omitted lines are supplied in the margin or at the foot of the page: e.g., fols. 102v (over pencil), 105r, 109r (11 lines), 168r, 178r, 223r. (The couplets added on fol. 169r are not omissions but additional epigrams.) Some corrections are simply in favour of preferred spellings, not usually incorporated: e.g., 84v *lauacro* (corrected to *-chro*), 89v *sydus* (*sid-*), 91v *inpos* (*imp-*), 110v *offe* (*ofe*), 121v *simulacra* (*-achra*), 141v *inchola* (*-cola*), 161v *fisicis* (*phi-*). Most respond to simple miscopyings: e.g., 145v *amore* (*ab ore*), 148r *plumbum* (*pilum*). Some are textual variants, as on fol. 96r where two lines on the translation of Salisbury are given in the form in which Matthew quoted them in his Chronicle; similar cases include fols. 63r *Hoc uoto iam destituit terrena* (*uel: Sic quasi pro nichilo reputat terrena*), 145v *nec michi grauius* (*tam michi durius*), 153r *negat* (*uel: silet*).

MATTHEW'S KNOWLEDGE OF HENRY'S AUTHORSHIP

Part IV, the core of the manuscript as it stands, contains two explicit ascriptions to Henry in Matthew's hand, those for Nos. 35 and 41(b). The second of these, an informal notation in brown ink, seems to have been an afterthought. If Matthew, at the time he compiled IV(a), (b), and (c), was aware, or deeply concerned, with Henry's authorship of the booklet's contents, he has left no evidence of it: he has certainly not bothered to add marginal ascriptions like that on No. 41(b) for other poems. The likelihood is that at the time he assembled Part IV he saw it primarily as a hagiographical collection—a focus which would also adequately justify the association with it of Part I, a Becket anthology, and Part V, a life of Francis. (The addition of Part III to the collection is less clearly intelligible.) If, then, Matthew came to see A as a Henry anthology *post factum*, the addition of Part V was the most likely catalyst for the shift in his principal conception of the manuscript's contents. By far the longest piece in the codex and the poet's *magnum opus*, its authorship duly noted by a scribe, Matthew would have noticed its common authorship with No. 35; he may gradually have realized that a number of other items were also Henry's works and then may have made the notation on No. 41b in order to distinguish the poem by Henry from the preceding piece on the same topic. At this point perhaps came the rubric notation of fol. 1r, 'Versus Magistri H.' as a generalization on authorship. Last of all, after the writing of the Contents List, and furthest along in Matthew's growing awareness of the predominance of Henry's verse in the book, would have come the addition of Part II, almost completely taken up with No. 14, written in Matthew's hand and ascribed by him to Henry in rubrics integral to the writing frame. The whole codex seems to have become a Henry anthology in Matthew's mind only after he became conscious of originally inadvertent coincidences in the compilation process. Only in the late stages of the book's genesis did these suggest a consciously pursued strategy. Thus

while it is certainly possible that most of the poems in ms. Dd.11.78 are Henry's and that Matthew, at first unintentionally, was copying (or having others copy) from one or more collections of Henry's poems, the proof of this hypothesis must be based on criteria outside the physical makeup of the codex itself. In the meantime, the only safe approach to Henry's canon is one of scepticism, admitting to it only those pieces whose authorship is demonstrably identical to that of the few items ascribed to Henry by contemporary rubrics.¹⁵

University of Toronto.

¹⁵ The only contemporary ascription to Henry outside A assigns him a short piece addressed to William of Trumpington, copied by Matthew Paris on fol. 145 of the *Liber additamentorum* (London, British Library Cotton Nero D.i). (A poem in honour of the Virgin in Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 172, fol. 123r [Russell's no. 102] is ascribed to a 'M. Henricus', but the positive identification with Henry of Avranches is conjectural. See also, under No. 23 above, the sixteenth-century appearance of an excerpt with ascription.) At least some of the items in Part IV of London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D.v (in which the marginal corrections are in the hand of Matthew Paris) seem to be by Henry. An examination of this latter manuscript will follow in a subsequent article in this series.

THE PAPAL INQUISITION AND ARAGONESE JEWRY IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY*

Yom Tov Assis

THE Barcelona Disputation in 1263 was by no means an isolated attempt by the Church in the lands of the Crown of Aragon to bring the Jews to the baptismal font. It was followed by intensive missionary and polemical activities which undoubtedly contributed to a marked deterioration in Judeo-Christian relations in the Crown of Aragon. Raymund Martini's *Pugio fidei*¹ reflects the militant trend that prevailed in the Christian camp, especially among Franciscans and Dominicans who began to adopt and develop new techniques and explore new methods, including the study of Hebrew and Arabic, to achieve what proved unattainable through conventional efforts: the conversion of the infidels.²

* The appended documents came to my notice when I visited some Spanish archives in 1979 on behalf of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, and I wish to thank the directors of these archives as well as the Archivo Diocesano de Barcelona for kind assistance and permission to publish the documents. I gratefully acknowledge the generous help of Professor H. Beinart who read this study and offered valuable advice. I also thank my colleagues, J. R. Magdalena Nom de Deu, J. Riera i Sans and J. Sastre, for suggestions regarding certain difficulties in the transcription of the documents.

¹ On *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* see: Y. Baer, 'The Forged Midrashim of Raymond Martini' (in Hebrew) in *Studies in Memory of Asher Gulak and Samuel Klein* (Jerusalem, 1942), pp. 28-49; S. Lieberman, 'Raymund Martini and His Alleged Forgeries', *Historia judaica* 5 (1943) 87-102 and *Shkiin* (in Hebrew), 2nd edition (Jerusalem, 1970); A. Diez Macho, 'Acerca de los Midrašim falsificados de Raimundo Martini', *Sefarad* 9 (1949) 165-96; R. Bonfil, 'The Nature of Judaism in Raymundus Martini's *Pugio fidei*' (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 40 (1971) 360-75.

² A. Berthier, 'Les écoles de langues orientales fondées au XIII^e siècle par les Dominicains en Espagne et en Afrique', *Revue africaine* 73 (1932) 88-96; J. M.^a Coll, 'Escuelas de lenguas orientales en los siglos XIII y XIV', *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 17 (1944) 118-38, 18 (1945) 59-83, 19 (1946) 217-40. Schools of Hebrew studies existed in Murcia from 1266 (transferred to Barcelona in 1281) and in Valencia and Játiva until 1313; see J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms (1250-1516)* 1 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 165 f. Schools of Arabic were founded in Majorca and Murcia, and the first school, established in Majorca perhaps as early as 1232, is mentioned in a document of 1250 (S. García Palou, *El Miramar de Ramon Llull* [Palma, 1977], p. 274). The Dominican 'Studium hebraicum' in Barcelona was under Martini's supervision between 1270 and 1285/90. A comprehensive study on the subject can be found in J. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca-London, 1982); see also R. I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia. Societies in Symbiosis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), especially chapters 1-3.

The infidels were not only in North Africa and the newly conquered territories of the immensely expanded Crown of Aragon, the Balearic Islands and Valencia, but right in the heart of old Christian territory, in Catalonia, where we find not only Muslim remnants, but also flourishing Jewish communities enjoying royal protection and enviable prosperity.³ Even the smallest of these communities pursued extensive economic activities⁴ and its members occupied posts in the royal administration, which conspicuously contradicted basic Christian dogmas vis-à-vis the Jews.⁵ The reaction their presence provoked, which was at this stage political and religious, enfeebled Catalano-Aragonese Jewry but was not yet sufficiently strong to shake its firm foundations.⁶ In retrospect, however, we may easily discern the beginning of its decline.

This article will examine certain aspects of the anti-Jewish struggle conducted by the religious establishment at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. There is ample evidence that both ordinary people and spiritual leaders continued to debate the merits and truths of their respective beliefs,⁷ and Jews, Christians and Muslims held passionate discussions with each

³ On the Jews of Catalonia in general see: Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1966); J. L. Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350* 2 (New York, 1970), pp. 417-58.

⁴ On one of these communities see Y. Assis, 'Jewish Moneylenders in Medieval Santa Coloma de Queralt' in *Jews and Conversos. Studies in Society and the Inquisition. Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 16-21, 1981*, ed. Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 21-38 and *The Jews of Santa Coloma de Queralt at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Jerusalem, 1987).

⁵ On Jewish courtiers in medieval Spain in general see H. Beinart, 'The Character of Jewish Courtiers in Christian Spain' (in Hebrew) in *Elites and Leading Groups* (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 55-71. On Jews in the service of the Aragonese Crown see D. Romano, 'Los hermanos Abenmenassé al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragón' in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa* 2 (Barcelona, 1956), pp. 243-92 and 'Los funcionarios judíos de Pedro el Grande de Aragón', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 33 (1969-70) 5-41 and 'Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de Árabe en la Corona de Aragón (reinados de Jaime I a Jaime II)', *Sefarad* 38 (1978) 71-105 and *Judíos al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragón (1276-1285)* (Barcelona, 1983); J. Vernet, 'Un embajador judío de Jaime II, Selomo b. Menassé', *Sefarad* 12 (1952) 125-54; J. L. Shneidman, 'Jews as Royal Bailiffs in Thirteenth Century Aragon', *Historia judaica* 19 (1957) 55-66 and 'Jews in the Royal Administration of Thirteenth Century Aragon', *ibid.* 21 (1959) 37-52; Y. Assis, 'Jewish Diplomats in Muslim Lands in the Service of the Crown of Aragon' (in Hebrew), *Sefunot* N.S. 3 (1985) 11-34.

⁶ In 1283, under pressure from the nobility, Pere II (III of Aragon) dismissed his Jewish officials. This was certainly a turning point in the history of the Jews in the Crown of Aragon but should not be seen in the final and catastrophic terms of Shneidman's interpretation. On the dismissal of Jewish officials in 1283 see Shneidman's articles mentioned in n. 5 above and Romano, 'Los funcionarios', 33-34.

⁷ There are many documents after the 1263 Barcelona Disputation which show the continued debate and polemic between Jews and Christians. See, for example: F. de Bofarull y Sans, *Los judíos en el territorio de Barcelona (siglos X al XIII). Reinado de Jaime I 1213-1276* (Barcelona, 1910), p. 60, doc. 39; J. Jacobs, *An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain* (London, 1894), pp. 130-31; J. Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon. Regesta and Documents 1213-1327*, ed. Y. Assis

defending the veracity of his faith. We should not imagine, of course, that such debates, whether on an individual or communal level, were held amidst conditions of equality or fair play. Suffice it to say that, among the various elements that must be taken into consideration, there were on the Christian side the Crown, with its ramified local representatives, and the Church, with its numerous agencies, bishops, monastic orders and the Inquisition.

The missionary activities undertaken by the Church were of some consequence only when the collaboration of the secular authorities was assured. Royal consent alone enabled enthusiastic ecclesiastics to preach to the Jews, and compulsory sermons could be held in synagogues only when the king decided, for reasons which we cannot discuss here, to cooperate to a certain extent with the Church. These sermons, which date back to 1242, became more and more frequent towards the close of the thirteenth century. It is hard to imagine a more degrading occasion for the Jew than that of having to sit in his miniature temple, i.e., the synagogue, the heart of Jewish autonomous life in medieval times, and listen to a sermon attacking his law and tradition and praising the tenets of Christianity, the rival faith. Such humiliation must have been even more distressing when the Jews had to listen to a preacher who was himself a convert. (The alternative to such degradation was to be subjected to a different type of abasement, together with violent attacks, when the sermons were preached in church or elsewhere in the Christian district.) These compulsory sermons were accompanied by other humiliations and manifestations of violence which endangered the security of the Jewish audience. It was thanks to measures taken by King Jaume II who still maintained the delicate balance between the aspirations of the Church and the interests of the Crown that more serious harm was avoided.⁸

(Jerusalem, 1978), p. 49, no. 262 (this is a reedition of the *regesta* published by Régéné in *Revue des études juives* 60, 61, 63, 64, 66-70, 73, 75, 76, 78 between 1910 and 1925 and will be cited henceforth simply as 'Régéné', with document number). On the debates that must have taken place between Jews, Christians and Muslims in Catalonia see Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret, *She'elot u-teshuvot* (Responsa) 4 (Vilna, 1881), no. 187 (cited henceforth simply as 'Adret', with place and year of publication and volume and document number). This is part of an anti-Christian treatise of Adret which was published in J. Perles, *R. Salomo ben Abraham ben Adereth. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Breslau, 1863). Reference to this treatise is found in Adret's responsum (vol. 4, no. 31); Adret's responsum no. 187 has been translated into Castilian (see M. Orfali Levi, 'R. Šelomo ibn Aderet y la controversia judeo cristiana', *Sefarad* 39 [1979] 111-20). On Adret's disputation with a Christian scholar see J. Cohen, 'The Christian Adversary of Solomon ibn Adret', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 71 (1980) 48-55.

⁸ On the decree of Jaume I in 1242 and its confirmation by Innocent IV in 1245, see S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 254-57. On the compulsory sermons to the Jews (and Muslims) in the Crown of Aragon see: Régéné 386, 392, 394, 395; A. Rubió y Lluch, 'Notes sobre la ciencia oriental a Catalunya en el XIVth sigle', *Estudis universitaris catalans* 3 (1909) 389-98, 489-97 and *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* 2 (Barcelona, 1921), no. 12; L. Alanya, *Aureum opus regaliū privilegiorū civitatīs et regnī Valentīe*

The Christian side utilized means other than debates and sermons in order to attract potential or actual Jewish converts. Efforts were made to protect converts against possible retaliatory measures from their former brethren and render their lives more comfortable or endurable, for, as might be expected, Jews treated converts with contempt, referring to them in derogatory terms and sparing no opportunity to cause them harm. 'Old' Christians too showed disdain towards the converts. Thus in 1297 King Jaume II forbade anyone to call baptized Jews *renegat* or *tornadiç* or any other disparaging term.⁹ That such an attitude towards the converts on the part of the Jews was frequent and widespread may be gathered from Hebrew¹⁰ and Latin¹¹ sources of the late thirteenth century. It is no wonder, therefore, that certain steps had to be taken if more Jews were to be encouraged to forsake their Jewish affiliation and adopt a new, Christian allegiance. Indications are numerous that relations between Jews and converts were tense. According to an interesting contemporary Hebrew source, converts in Monzón persuaded the local Church authorities to bar Christians from the consumption of ritually slaughtered meat and of wine and bread prepared by Jews. The Jews of Monzón had to counteract this decision by bribing priests and judges.¹² Converts were in a position to cause irreparable harm to their former community, since they possessed information of the most intimate character.¹³ They often proved to be

(Valencia, 1515; rpt. 1972), fol. 40r-v. On the Jews' complaints about harm caused during, and in consequence of, the sermons and the king's protective measures, see Régne 2624, 2650. On Jaume II's permission in 1299 to Lull to preach in synagogues and mosques see: G. Llabrés y Quintana, 'Permiso concedido a Ramon Lull para predicar en sinagogas y mezquitas (1299)', *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 3 (1889) 104; Rubió y Lluch, *Documents* 1, no. 14; M. Kayserling, 'Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs en Espagne. I. Raymond Lulle convertisseur des Juifs', *Revue des études juives* 27 (1893) 148-49; Régne 2719. Some seven years later the same king granted similar permission to the convert Jaime Perez (Régne 2862); in 1321 such permission was given by the Infante Alfonso to another convert, Joan d'Osca (Rubio y Lluch, 'Notes', 389 f.). On the disastrous results of the sermons in the days of Pere II (III of Aragon) see n. 29 below, and on the compulsory sermons themselves see Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, pp. 82-84, 108 n. 13, 121-27.

⁹ '... prohibemus ne alicui ad fidem christianorum conuerso presumat aliquis christianus iudeus vel sarracenus vel cuiuscumque conditionis impropere conuersionem suam: vocando eum renegat vel tornadiç vel alio verbo consimili deshonestando eum...' (Alanya, *ibid.*, fol. 40r); F. A. Roca Traver, 'Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval (1238-1338)', *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 5 (1952) 151 and n. 92.

¹⁰ In a responsum of Adret (3 [Leghorn, 1778], no. 352) sent to Lérida we are told about a Jew who 'quarreled with another Jew who converted and called him *meshumad*. The latter reported him (to the authorities) since he was told that the meaning of *meshumad* is heretic, which Christians call renegade.'

¹¹ In 1294 a fine of 1000 s.j. was imposed on the *adelantados* and community of Huesca for having failed to restrain one of their members, Abraham Abingavet, from spitting in the face of Martin Pere, a recent convert to Catholicism (ACA R 88, fol. 252v = Régne 2529).

¹² Adret 1 (Bologna, 1539), no. 1091 (= 3, no. 401).

¹³ In 1324, for example, a convert called Ramon denounced the notary or scribe of the community and, having caused his arrest by the Inquisition, he extracted money from his wife (ACA R 248, fol. 244v = H. Finke, ed., *Acta aragonensia*, 3 vols. [Berlin-Leipzig, 1908-22], 2, no. 542).

the most vehement instigators of action against the Jewish community and were frequently the driving force behind anti-Jewish disturbances.¹⁴ Many of them became zealous preachers, preaching their new faith to a hostile Jewish audience.¹⁵ Jews on occasion reacted extremely violently against the unrestrained attacks of newly converted enthusiasts; verbal violence led sometimes to physical violence and, in one case at least, to manslaughter: a repentant convert, returned to Judaism, killed another convert at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁶

There is definite evidence that the legislative decision which improved the material welfare of the converts from Judaism at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries was the result of a policy adopted by the king on the initiative of the ecclesiastical circles. Furthermore, the king and members of his family bestowed various material benefits upon individual converts. Such benefits, which no doubt expressed the king's sincere desire to spread Christianity among Jews, did much to solve the economic and financial problems of converts, who were completely excluded from the Jewish community and not entirely integrated into Christian society. Among the most important decisions taken by Jaume II in favour of the new converts was that which allowed them to keep the property they had held before their conversion,¹⁷ and such property, theoretically the Crown's, thereby assumed a new status. On a personal level, the king showered generous benefits on converts who were in his service. In 1303 he offered the convert Bonanat a sum of 63 *s.b.* to buy himself a garment.¹⁸ The queen too did

¹⁴ In 1297 the Jews of Saragossa complained to the king that baptized Jews preaching in public places excited the masses, who were then driven to violent attacks against the Jews (ACA R 253, fol. 43r = Règné 2650).

¹⁵ On permission given to the converts Jaime Perez and Joan d'Osca to preach in synagogues, see n. 8 above.

¹⁶ The repentant convert, called in the Latin document 'bahall teçuva' (the Hebrew term for 'repentant'), was known as Johann Ferrand after his baptism (ACA R 210, fols. 30v-31r = Règné 2966 = F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien. I, Aragonien und Navarra* (Berlin, 1929), no. 168; Règné misread 'Bahall Teçuva' as 'Bahall Reçuna', i.e., as his name). After his return to Judaism he killed another convert and then escaped, apparently to Navarre. The wider implications and context of this incident will be discussed later. In 1319 a convert who bore the same name (Johan Ferrandez) and had returned to Judaism was burned in Navarre (Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 585).

¹⁷ Jaume I had already so decided in his decree of 1242 (Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, p. 257). This policy was followed by Jaume II: 'Quod si iudeus vel Saracenus fidem orthodoxa accipere voluerit, nihil de bonis suis perdat' (Alanya, *Aureum opus*, fol. 40r). A year later the decision was repeated: '... et ad promociorem et exaltacionem fidei christiane, imperpetuum statuimus firmiter et inviolabiliter observandum quod quicumque iudeus vel sarracenus fidem voluerit recipere orthodoxam ac bapismi lavacrum salutaris libere nichil de bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus ac se moventibus ... amittat; immo universa et singula secure et libere habeat ipse et sui, si tamen fuerint christiani...' (ACA R 104, fol. 62r = Rubió y Lluch, *Documents* 2, no. 12 = Alanya, fol. 40r); cf. Roca Traver, 'Un siglo de vida mudéjar', 148 and n. 83, and see n. 58 below. For the attempts of Alfonso X of Castile to encourage the conversion of Jews and Muslims see *Las siete partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1807), iv.6.6.

¹⁸ 'Item, done per vestir 63 *sb.* a n Bonanat, jueu qui solia esser, lo qual vestir lo SR li mana dar

not neglect converts. In 1305 she granted the convert Bertrand de Jorba a monopoly over the sale of kasher meat in Montblanch, despite the community's most vehement opposition.¹⁹ In 1307, the king took the convert Vicente Stephani, a physician, under his protection in appreciation of his devoted work for his new faith.²⁰ That same year, the king appointed Juan Ferrand, another convert, as *baile* of the Jews and Muslims of Teruel.²¹

The Church authorities made various attempts to bring the Jews under their jurisdiction, which efforts met with the immediate and violent reaction of the king who maintained that the Jews were part of the royal patrimony and therefore answerable to none but himself.²² However, during this period, we find more and more Jews falling into the hands of the Church judiciary:²³ some ecclesiastical authorities interfered with the collection of taxes from Jews who lived in their districts;²⁴ three Jewish merchants who visited Alexandria for business²⁵ found

per ço cor se tornava crestia...' (E. González Hurtebise, *Libros de tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón* 1 [Barcelona, 1911], § 719).

¹⁹ The appointment did not last long in view of the community's opposition: ACA R 203, fol. 56v (= Règné 2844 = F. de Bofarull y Sans, 'Judíos de Montblanch. Documentos para escribir una monografía de la villa de Montblanch', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 6 [1898], doc. 88); ACA R 203, fol. 62r (= de Bofarull, doc. 89 = Règné 2845); ACA CR, caja 18, no. 2392; ACA R 203, fol. 172r (= Règné 2857 = de Bofarull, doc. 90); ACA R 55, fol. 69r (= Règné 2859 = Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 160).

²⁰ ACA R 204, fol. 108r (= A. Cardoner, 'Muestra de protección real a físicos judíos españoles conversos', *Sefarad* 12 [1952] 387 f.).

²¹ ACA R 231, fol. 24v (= Règné 2879); on the fact that he was a convert, see n. 16 above.

²² The attempt of the bishop of Valencia in 1279 to exact the tithes from Jewish landowners in Murviedro failed because of the objection of Pere II (III of Aragon). The king accepted the Jews' view that these lands had not belonged to Christians in the past (ACA R 41, fol. 98r = Règné 737). Similarly, Jaume II rejected the Church's claim of jurisdiction over Jews in matters of interest and usury. The bishop of Barcelona was behind the entire movement and, upon the complaint of the Jews of the *collecta* of Barcelona, the king permitted the Jews to continue their business as before: '... quod aliqui xpiani conveniunt dictos judeos coram ecclesiasticis iudicibus super usuris quas ab eis receperunt licet dictas usuras receperint juxta utum et ordinationem nostram et predecessorum nostrorum unde cum talia fiant manifeste in diminucionem juris et jurisdictionis nostre, idcirco vobis expresse dicimus et mandamus quatenus jamdictos judeos nostros non permitatis ab aliquibus molestari seu conveniri coram quibuscumque iudicibus ecclesiasticis...' (J. Sarret y Arbós, *Jueus a Manresa* [Manresa, 1917], p. 60).

²³ In 1293 an ecclesiastical judge sat in a case in which Boniuda Lacit, a Jewish moneylender from Santa Coloma de Queralt, was involved. The trial was opened at the request of the vicar general of Barcelona (Tarragona, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocolos de Santa Coloma, caja 1, libro 3804, fol. 12v).

²⁴ On the king's objection to the interference of the archbishop of Tarragona in the collection of the taxes of the Jewish community, see ACA R 246, fol. 267v (= J. Vincke, *Documenta selecta mutuas civitatis arago-cathalaunicae et ecclesiae relationes illustrantia* [Barcelona, 1936], doc. 368).

²⁵ Jewish participation in international commerce with the Muslim East was limited because of Catalan merchants' great control of maritime commerce and because of the 1291 papal prohibition of commerce with the Muslims which applied in the Crown of Aragon in 1295 with the Treaty of Anagni. Nevertheless we have many documents on Catalan Jewish merchants in Alexandria, e.g.,

themselves arrested immediately upon their return, accused of misdemeanour and anti-Christian acts while they were on Muslim land.²⁶ It is noteworthy that from the beginning of the fourteenth century the papal Inquisition in Catalonia, under the leadership of the Inquisitor Joan de Llotger, was increasingly active in prosecuting Jews. The Inquisition based the legality of these activities on the ecclesiastical nature of the crimes attributed to the Jews. Although the three Jews accused of anti-Christian conduct in Alexandria were tried by the Inquisition, they were apparently still under the jurisdiction of the king to whom they paid the fines,²⁷ and in fact the king claimed that the case was inconclusive. The Inquisition became more and more involved in the prosecution of Jews, and it is evident that this development could not have taken place had it not been for a certain change in the king's policy, no doubt influenced by growing tension and suspicions between Jews and Christians, of which we can find ample indication.

In 1279, Pere II (III of Aragon) still held firm and ordered an immediate inquiry into a scandalous anti-Jewish procession organized in Huesca, during which Jewish rites were made the subject of public mockery and ridicule, accompanied by ludicrous representations and derisive chanting imitative of Jewish tradition and behaviour.²⁸ This was part of a general atmosphere of anti-Jewish disturbances and agitations which took place in all the territories of the Crown of Aragon, undoubtedly as a result of the widespread missionary campaign, and included heated sermons preached by Dominicans in synagogues and Jewish quarters, in Huesca itself, Zaragoza, Calatayud, Tarazona, Jaca, Borja, Egea, Barbastro, Daroca, Teruel, Monzón in Aragon, in the Catalan communities of Barcelona, Gerona, Vich, Manresa, Villafranca, Tarragona, Cervera, Tarrega, Montblanch, Lérida, Tortosa and in the southern communities of Valencia, Castellón and Játiva.²⁹ Jews were attacked everywhere and their property damaged by the multitudes that accompanied the Dominicans when the latter preached their

Barcelona, Archivo Capítular, Notaria Capítular, Bernat de Vilarubia, fols. 3r, 13r, 61r, 78v, 82v, 84v, 96r, 116r, 118r, 119v, 123r, 132r and numerous other sources (these will be treated in my forthcoming monograph *The Economic Life of the Jews of Barcelona*). On trials of Jewish merchants whose activities reached Alexandria see: ACA R 203, fols. 17v-18r (= Régné 2840); ACA R 204, fol. 88v (= Régné 2878); ACA R 210, fols. 96v-97r (= Régné 2975); ACA R 210, fols. 112v-113r (= Régné 2983); ACA R 216, fol. 119v (= Régné 3104). The subject is treated in Y. Assis, 'The Jews of Barcelona in Maritime Trade with the Levant' (in Hebrew) in *Haim Beinart Jubilee Volume* (in press).

²⁶ ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 135, no. 397; see also Finke, *Acta aragonensia* 3, no. 49 and ACA R 199, fol. 95r (= Régné 2781). Three Jews of Barcelona were accused by the Inquisition of having insulted the Virgin and Christians during their visit to the Greek Orthodox church in Alexandria.

²⁷ González Hurtebise, *Libros de tesorería*, § 25, 209.

²⁸ ACA R 41, fol. 94r (= Régné 734 = Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 117).

²⁹ F. Carreras y Candi, 'Lo Montjuich de Barcelona', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 8 (1903) 213 n. 29; ACA R 41, fols. 93v, 94r and R 42, fols. 148v, 149r, 149v (= Régné 731, 733, 735, 736, 740, 746-48).

sermons to the Jews. While the Jews were listening to such sermons in the synagogue of Calatayud, Christian mobs climbed over the walls and forced their way through the gates of the Jewish quarter. Christians were also accustomed to enter the synagogues with the object of ridiculing the Jews rather than listening to the sermons.

Moreover, Pere II (III of Aragon) sent instructions to his officials in many localities to restrict the number of Christians accompanying the Dominicans and to take precautions to prevent any violence or injury to Jews. Furthermore the king wrote to the various *aljamas* informing them that he forbade Christians to join the preaching friars. The king justified these steps by saying that the friars had been using intimidation and violence rather than arguments in order to convert the Jews. Certain Jews, he claimed, were even forced to accept baptism. While urging the Jews to listen to the friars and to refrain from pronouncing words of outrage against them or the Christian faith, he warned the friars to use only persuasion, and neither force nor threats, to convert the Jews. Similarly, Jaume II took precautionary measures to prevent attacks on Jews, especially during festivals.³⁰

Anti-Jewish feelings were also reflected in the municipal enactments of the early fourteenth century. Although these enactments were not entirely the product of religious antagonism, some of them were purely religious in character and were meant to humiliate the Jews who were forced to act as if they acknowledged the supremacy of Christianity. Such by-laws dealt with different aspects of Judaism, Jewish laws and customs and Judeo-Christian relations,³¹ imposed humiliating restrictions upon Jews and demanded absolute separation between Jews and converts.³²

³⁰ See, for example, ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 133, no. 10, where Jaume II ordered the *baile* of Villafranca del Penedès to prevent attacks on Jews, particularly on festivals and Fridays, as had happened so often in the past.

³¹ On municipal prohibition of the sale of kasher meal to Christians in Barbastro see ACA R 253, fol. 12r (= Régné 2640); for Huesca, see R. del Arco, 'Ordenanzas inéditas dictadas por el Concejo de Huesca (1284 a 1456)', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 29 (1913) 428 and 'La judería de Huesca', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 66 (1915) 321 f.; for Barcelona, see F. Carreras y Candi, 'Ordinacions urbanes de bon govern a Catalunya (ordinacions de Barcelona [any 1301])', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 11 (1924) 292-334, especially 299-314, and J. Fiter é Inglés, 'Bandos dados por el Consejo municipal de Barcelona, sobre los judíos que habitaban esta ciudad (siglo xiv)', *Revista histórica* 3 (1876) 340 and M. Kayserling, 'Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs d'Espagne. Les Juifs à Barcelone', *Revue des études juives* 28 (1894) 110; for Valls, see F. Carreras y Candi, 'Ordinacions urbanes de bon govern a Catalunya. Ordinacions de Valls (1299-1325)', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 12 (1925-26) 368-80.

³² Barcelona (and other cities after the example of Barcelona) took a decision concerning special Jewish clothing or a badge: 'Item que tot juheu deia portar per uila capa uestida de nit et de dia. ... Exceptat juheu pobre qui deia portar uestit capero groch sens capa...' (F. de Bofarull, 'Ordinaciones de los concellers de Barcelona sobre los judíos en el siglo xiv', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 6 [1911] 97-98). See also: Jacobs, *Inquiry into the Sources* (n. 7 above), p. 137; U. Robert, *Les signes d'infamie au Moyen Âge: juifs, sarrasins, hérétiques, lépreux, cagots et*

But the Jews did not remain idle. It is very likely that the response of some Jews to the overzealous missionary activities was occasionally aggressive and that they did not waste any opportunity to express their anger at, and dislike of, Christianity. We do not suggest that every accusation of misconduct towards the Church levelled against Jews was necessarily true, but certainly not all the sources containing such accusations could have been completely devoid of any historical foundation.

Three years after the trial of the three Jews recently returned from Alexandria, a Dominican friar of Huesca (where Christians had held, as we recall, the mocking anti-Jewish procession) wrote to the king and accused Jews in nearby Biel of blasphemous behaviour: a rich Jew had allegedly referred to Jesus and Mary in derogatory terms. The king's local officials saved the Jew from the hands of the clergy, the subsequent inquiry ordered by the king showed the accused to be innocent and the Inquisition had no time to interfere.³³ Increasing numbers of Jews were brought to trial on charges of blasphemies against Christianity but in many instances were found innocent. Among the accused were outstanding figures in the community such as Vidal Malet who had been one of the leaders of the Barcelona community³⁴ where he must also have served as a judge.³⁵ He was charged with blasphemy against God but King Jaume II interfered on his behalf.³⁶

The Inquisition in the lands of the Crown of Aragon received royal support in 1286 when Pere II (III of Aragon) ordered the officials to extend every assistance to the inquisitors, who were given permission to move freely and act throughout the country. In 1292, Jaume II issued an order for the expulsion of heretics, and the king's judges and officials were ordered to help the Dominicans who headed the papal Inquisition.³⁷ The Jews, however, did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The king was quite aware of the disastrous results which the Inquisition's attempts to establish its jurisdiction over Jews might have had. When, in 1292, the Inquisition, which had been charged to proceed against heretics, took steps against the Jews of the *collecta* of Gerona-Besalú, the king informed the Dominicans in charge of the Inquisition that, as the Jews did not belong to the

filles publiques (Paris, 1891), pp. 62-63; F. Carreras y Candi, 'L'aljama de juhéus de Tortosa', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 9 (1928) 29; Régéné 2976. On restrictions during religious processions see Bofarull, *ibid.*; for the respect Jews and Muslims had to show towards Christians, see Carreras y Candi, *ibid.*, 19, and also de Bofarull, *ibid.*, 98 ('Item que negu batiat qui sia estat juheu no gos entrar en lo Call juych ne en casa de Juheu e de juya').

³³ ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 135, no. 396 (= Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 157 [caja 87 according to Baer]); Baer, *History* (n. 3 above), 2.7-8.

³⁴ ACA R 57, fol. 139v (= Régéné 1391).

³⁵ ACA R 66, fol. 162v (= Régéné 1615).

³⁶ ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 133, no. 30.

³⁷ J. A. Llorente, *Historia crítica de la Inquisición en España*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1870-80), 1.56 and 2.462. On the Inquisition in Catalonia see E. Fort y Cogul, *Catalunya i la Inquisició* (Barcelona, 1973).

Catholic faith, they were not under Inquisitorial control; the king alone, who had jurisdiction over them, could judge them if these Jews acted against Christianity.³⁸ This was in keeping with his predecessors' policy, for Pere II (III of Aragon) had gone so far as to claim that Jews who gave shelter to converts were not to be tried by the Inquisition but by him.³⁹

A change in the status quo occurred at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the Inquisition succeeded at last in summoning Jews before it. There are two possible explanations for this change. Following the growing tension between Jews and Christians and the increase in the number of converts, either by force or for convenience, the Jews adopted an openly aggressive attitude and often took the initiative in their never-ending rivalry with Christianity.⁴⁰ They took a most daring step in trying to persuade converts to return to Judaism and to give shelter to them—an action punishable by death under Christian law. The other explanation is connected with the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306 and the absorption of some of them into the lands of the Crown of Aragon, especially Catalonia. Some of the French Jews who had converted in 1306 followed their brethren and crossed the border to revert openly to Judaism.⁴¹ In both cases we have evidence that the papal Inquisition finally established its authority over some of these Jews and repentant converts.

The most illustrative example of Jewish daring was undoubtedly connected with the rumours concerning the conversion in Toledo⁴² of two Germans who were given refuge in a number of communities in the Crown of Aragon. Besides the Inquisition headed by Joan de Llotger, the archbishop of Tarragona also conducted the prosecution against leading members of these communities. The Tarragona community had to pay a heavy fine, while ten of its leading members were condemned to exile and their property confiscated. Royal intervention cancelled

³⁸ ACA R 92, fol. 144r (= Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 133); cf. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms* (above, n. 2), p. 172 on Jaume's reaction to the Inquisition's activities against Jews of Lérida in 1323 and sources quoted in n. 2 there.

³⁹ This happened in 1284 (ACA R 43, fol. 30v = Règné 1206); Jaume I insisted in 1268 that he alone could try the Jews. Cf. J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community* (London, 1938), pp. 403 f.; S. Grayzel, 'Popes, Jews and Inquisition' in *Essays on the Occasion of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Dropsie University 1909-1979*, ed. A. I. Katsh and L. Nemoy (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 181; F. D. Swift, *The Life and Times of James the First* (Oxford, 1894), pp. 296 ff.

⁴⁰ On the reaction of Jews from Zaragoza in 1311 to converts and the denunciation connected with this, see ACA R 239, fols. 18v-19r (= Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 164) and R 207, fols. 239v-240v (= Règné 2919).

⁴¹ See Y. Assis, 'Juifs de France réfugiés en Aragon (xiii^e-xiv^e siècles)', *Revue des études juives* 142 (1983) 299-302 and Bernard Gui, *Manuel de l'Inquisiteur*, ed. and trans. G. Mollat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926-27), 2.6-19; Baer, *History* 2.8 f. Also see n. 55 below.

⁴² Conversion to Judaism seems to have been an occurrence not altogether infrequent if we judge from references to it in the responsa literature of the time; to cite only a few references relevant to Toledo or Castile, see *She'eloth u-Teshuvot ha-Rosh* (Vilnah, 1885) (responsa of R. Asher ben Yehiel), 4.22, 15.1-4, 45.25.

the sentence of exile but heavy fines were exacted from the Jews of Tarragona and Valls, who belonged to the same *collecta* and must have played a role in this affair. Three leaders of the Tarragona community were baptized and one synagogue was converted into a church.⁴³ The Jews of Montblanch, who were also accused of having assisted the German converts, encouraged a convert from Judaism to repent; they too underwent a severe Inquisitorial prosecution and were forced to pay exorbitant fines.

Most serious, however, was the murder of a newly baptized Jew at the hands of a repentant convert, now once again a Jew, with the help of his co-religionists.⁴⁴ A Jew of Valls, Issach Necim, who had been condemned to death for having given shelter in 1303 to a convert who returned to Judaism, fled and left all his property behind. This would have been burnt, in accordance with the sentence pronounced, had it not been for the intervention twenty years later, in 1323, of Jaume II, who decided that the sentence would have harmed surrounding houses and, more important, that the condemned property belonged to him and to the archbishop of Tarragona.⁴⁵

In 1323, the Jews of Tarragona and Valls were still implicated in the judicial processes of the Inquisition. In March of that year, having received 15,000 *s.b.*, the king granted amnesty to Jews from Tarragona and Valls whose property was to be confiscated in accordance with a sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Tarragona and the Inquisitor for heresies in the Crown of Aragon.⁴⁶ The Inquisitor Bernardus de Podio Certoso was not deterred by the king's pro-Jewish measures; in September 1323 he was once again prosecuting the Jews of Tarragona. Jaume II expressed his anger that the Inquisitorial prosecution had been initiated without prior consultation with him as agreed. The Inquisitor was also rebuked for opening proceedings against the Jews of Lérida, thus jeopardizing the royal authority and

⁴³ ACA R 209, fols. 236v-237r (= Règné 2952 = Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 166). The sentence of expulsion was cancelled but remained valid in the diocese of Tarragona (ACA R 210, fol. 40r = Règné 2971). On the conversion of a Jew from Tarragona in connection with this affair see also ACA R 211, fol. 191r (= Règné 3016) and Baer, *Die Juden*, nos. 205-206. On the synagogue of Tarragona see G. Mollat, ed., *Jean XXII (1316-1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican* (Paris, 1906), no. 10635.

⁴⁴ Jaume II intervened in 1312 on behalf of the Jews of Montblanch, informing the archbishop of Tarragona that many of them had fled in consequence of the proceedings he (the archbishop) opened against them (ACA R 251, fol. 79r = Règné 2954). Some five months later, on 26 March 1313, the king reduced the monetary fine imposed on the *aljama* of Montblanch for their help to German converts and to a baptized Jew who returned to Judaism (ACA R 210, fols. 30v-31r = Règné 2966 = Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 168) (this Jew had killed another baptized Jew). Three days later he ordered that all their confiscated documents, title deeds and letters of credit be returned to them (ACA R 210, fol. 31r = Règné 2968).

⁴⁵ ACA R 223, fol. 251r (= Règné 3259). It seems probable that the incident happened around 1312.

⁴⁶ ACA R 223, fol. 227r (= Règné 3256 = Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 180).

rights, and was ordered to appear in the royal court.⁴⁷ Bernardus de Podio Certoso had been pursuing a similar policy for more than twenty years, indeed since 1303, when he had been reprimanded by Jaume II for his Inquisitorial activity against the Jews of Tarragona.⁴⁸ Throughout the period, therefore, the Inquisition did not stop its search for culprits among the Jews of Tarragona and its surroundings.

The Jews of Calatayud, too, were subjected to pressure from the Inquisition, which must have caused great damage to the community, compelling them to send an emissary, Jucef de Quatorçe, to the king. The investigations were conducted by the Inquisitor Guillem Costa.⁴⁹ In 1324, the Jewish community of Calatayud was still deeply affected by the Inquisition, as is illustrated by the case of an apostate who informed the Inquisition of the activities of the community's scribe, and, while the latter was in prison, in the hands of the Inquisition, managed to obtain money from his wife under false pretences.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the Inquisition extended its investigation to the whole community, whose members had to pay heavy fines.⁵¹ Although the king played a moderating role throughout this period, opposing the methods of inquiry and punishment practised by the Inquisition,⁵² we know that the *aljama* of Calatayud suffered greatly and its property, including Hebrew books, Bible, Talmud and others, was confiscated for crimes of heresy.⁵³ The Inquisition intended to confiscate two of the community's synagogues; however, the king managed to cancel this decision which could have proved disastrous for the community.⁵⁴

Why did the Inquisition prosecute and persecute the Jews of Calatayud for so long? In 1326 we are told that Çulema de Quatorçe and his daughter Oro paid 10,000 *s.j.* for the royal pardon which cancelled the sentence of confiscation imposed on them by the Inquisition for having persuaded a baptized Frenchwoman

⁴⁷ ACA R 248, fol. 28r (= Finke, *Acta aragonensia* 2, no. 540 = Régné 3276). The king's rebuke seems to have been effective since a month later two Christians and a Jew, Abraham Cortoni, were given safe-conducts to appear before the said Inquisitor (ACA R 224, fol. 135v = Régné 3288).

⁴⁸ Finke, *ibid.*, p. 859; J. Sánchez Real, 'La judería de Tarragona', *Sefarad* 11 (1951) 342.

⁴⁹ The *aljama* of Calatayud failed to compensate Jucef de Quatorçe for his expenditure and the king ordered the *baile* to see to it that the *aljama* pay him its debt (ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 133, no. 7).

⁵⁰ ACA R 248, fol. 244v (= Finke, *Acta aragonensia* 2, no. 542).

⁵¹ ACA R 248, fol. 272r (= J. E. Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón, su vida familiar* 2 [Barcelona, 1948], doc. 425). On the Infanta Maria's request that her father cancel her Jewish agent's part of the fine see ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 135, no. 376 (= Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 184 — Baer's 'caja 86' is no longer correct since the material has been recatalogued).

⁵² ACA R 248, fol. 243r (= Finke, *Acta aragonensia* 2, no. 543 = Régné 3325). For the acquittal the king granted after the investigation conducted by Fray Guillem Costa was over, the *aljama* of Calatayud had to pay 2000 *s.j.*; see ACA CR, Jaume II, caja 135, no. 395.

⁵³ ACA R 285, fol. 172r (= Rubió y Lluch, *Documents* 2, no. 52).

⁵⁴ ACA R 249, fol. 277r (= Finke, *Acta aragonensia* 2, no. 548).

to return to Judaism.⁵⁵ Most revealing, however, is a document from 1327, according to which Jaume II mitigated sentences, the lightest of which was confiscation of property, rendered by the Inquisition against the community of Calatayud and each of its members for their part in the circumcision of two Christians and the return of a convert to Judaism.⁵⁶ It becomes evident, therefore, that the Calatayud episode was a continuation of that which had begun in Tarragona. The arms of the Inquisition stretched everywhere and, among the communities affected directly or indirectly, mention should be made of Zaragoza, Mallorca and Lérida.⁵⁷

The increase in the number of converts as well as penitents at the beginning of the fourteenth century is attested by various sources. In 1311 the Cortes of Barcelona took some decisions in favour of converts from Judaism and Islam, giving them protection and permitting them to retain their property even after their conversion.⁵⁸ This development was due in no uncertain degree to Jaume II's outstanding efforts on behalf of the Church, efforts equalled neither by his immediate predecessors nor by his close successors.⁵⁹ Assaults on Jews, such as those by the Pastoureaux in 1320, resulted in forced conversions as well as in a growing number of converts who wished to return to Judaism once the danger was over.⁶⁰ Attempts to do so were encouraged both by individual Jews and by organized communities.

⁵⁵ ACA R 228, fol. 99v (= Régné 3389). This woman was no doubt one of those who were converted to Christianity at the Expulsion of 1306; see Assis, 'Juifs de France réfugiés' (n. 41 above). The payment of 10,000 s.j. was reduced a few days later by two thirds (ACA R 228, fol. 135r = Régné 3396).

⁵⁶ ACA R 229, fol. 239v (= Jacobs, *Inquiry into the Sources*, no. 873 = Régné 3419).

⁵⁷ On Mallorca see G. Llompart and J. Riera i Sans, 'La *Historia de sancta fide catholica* de Benet Espanyol (1548)' in *Fontes rerum Balearium* 3 (Palma de Mallorca, 1979-80), pp. 160 ff.; F. Fita y Colomé, 'Los judíos mallorquines y el Concilio de Viana', *España hebrea* 2 (1898) 165 ff.; A. Morel-Fatio, 'Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des Juifs des Baléares sous la domination aragonaise du XIII^e au XV^e siècle', *Revue des études juives* 4 (1882) 43 f.; A. Pons, 'Los judíos del reino de Mallorca durante los siglos XIII y XIV', *Hispania* 20 (1960) 32 f., 49 f. and nos. 50, 51, 55, 61. On Lérida see n. 68 below.

⁵⁸ ACA R 208, fols. 199r ff. (= *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña*, 7 vols. [Madrid, 1896-1903], 2.217-8 = Régné 2934).

⁵⁹ In addition to the material already referred to, see also, on the conversion of Jews from Tortosa and the protection offered to them, ACA R 210, fol. 128r (= Régné 2987); on converts in Manresa, see J. M. de Mas y Casas, *Ensayos históricos sobre Manresa* (Manresa, 1882), pp. 152-54 and Régné 2988, 2991, 2992, 3012. On the baptism of two children and their return to Judaism, see ACA R 211, fol. 342r (= Régné 3023). The number of converts increased, as can be seen from the following sources: Régné 2427, 2446, 2529, 2650, 2845, 2857, 2859, 2862, 2879, 2881, 2919.

⁶⁰ Attempts to bring back baptized Jewish children during the massacre of Jews in Montclús at the hands of the Shepherds caused great tension between Jews and Christians who, in July 1321, applied to the king to confirm that these children be raised outside the Jewish quarter (ACA R 220, fol. 55v = Jacobs, *Inquiry into the Sources*, no. 793 = J. Miret y Sans, 'Le massacre des Juifs de Montclús en 1320; épisode de l'entrée des pastoureaux dans l'Aragon', *Revue des études juives* 53 [1907] 261 = Régné 3189). From the reprisals organized by Jews in surrounding areas against the

The return of forced converts to Judaism became a burning issue at the beginning of the fourteenth century, especially after the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306. A series of letters sent by the bishop of Barcelona, Ponç de Gualba, between June 1315 and March 1316 throw light on the fate of some relapsed converts and on the complicated relations that existed between Jews, converts and Christians in Catalonia. The role played by the papal Inquisition and the ecclesiastical authorities in the context of these relations is worthy of our attention and deserves further research.

Some time before 3 June 1315 Ponç, bishop of Barcelona, sent a convert, Bonanat Torner, to the region of Lèrida to search for and capture Jews who had allegedly blasphemed against the Catholic faith. On 3 June, Ponç dispatched letters to the bishop and the *baile* of Lèrida asking them not to proceed against one of the Jews, Rovent of Castellans, as he had been found innocent. It is significant that the letters were sent with Guillem de Bell Lloch, another convert, who happened to be the brother of Rovent, and we can reasonably assume that the convert Guillem was behind Ponç's intervention and that it was his activity rather than any judicial investigation that proved him innocent.⁶¹ Bonanat Torner had already done some work and on his way to Lèrida he denounced a Jew of Villafranca who was accordingly taken prisoner. Ponç asked for his release on the grounds that the inquiries had proved his innocence. On the same occasion, a group of Jews from Castile were also declared innocent.⁶² Once again we are led to believe that, more than any judicial inquiry, efforts of influential Jewish dignitaries behind the scenes caused the dispatch of the episcopal letters. Our assumption is supported by what followed, for, nine days later, on 12 June 1315, Ponç wrote again to the bishop and the *baile* of Lèrida, this time asking them to stop proceedings against another Jew, Jucef Achaz of Lèrida, denounced by Bonanat Torner. The bishop accused the latter of having acted mendaciously. The letters were dispatched at the request of Mosse Naçan (or Nathan) of Tàrrega,⁶³ a well-known rabbi, wealthy merchant and poet who wrote in both Hebrew and Catalan.⁶⁴ He had an influential position at court which he may have used on this occasion to obtain Ponç's intervention in favour of Jucef Achaz.

territory of Montclús in retaliation for the massacre of their brethren, we may infer that the Jews were not entirely passive (ACA R 219, fol. 176r = Règne 3156 = Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 176).

⁶¹ Appendix, doc. 1.

⁶² *ibid.*, doc. 2.

⁶³ *ibid.*, doc. 3.

⁶⁴ On Mosse Naçan of Tàrrega see H. Schirman, *Ha-Shira ha-ʿIvrit bi-Sefarad uvi-Provence* (*Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence*) (Tel Aviv, 1957) (in Hebrew), pp. 541-43; Baer, *Die Juden*, nos. 221, 253; J. Riera i Sans, 'Les obres catalanes de Mosse Natan (segle xiv)' in *Miscel.lània Pere Bohigas*, 3 vols. (Badalona, 1981-83), 1.95-105.

Haim Quiç, another Jew accused of blasphemy against the Catholic faith and of having persuaded a convert to return to Judaism,⁶⁵ was brought to Barcelona and appeared in front of Bishop Ponç and the Inquisitor for heresy, Joan de Llotger, who found him innocent.⁶⁶ He was one of many Jews who were brought to trial before the Inquisition on the same charges. Eight months later, on 16 March 1316, Jucef Levi was declared innocent by Ponç and Joan de Llotger after having been accused of converting to Judaism a Christian woman called Juana, originally from Estella, in Navarre.⁶⁷ It was in Lérida, too, at that time, that a repentant convert from Toulouse found refuge from the Inquisition's searching team.⁶⁸

* * *

Although by the beginning of the fourteenth century the decline of Aragonese Jewry had already begun, there was still a long way to go before the deadly blow of 1391 would shatter its foundations. The policy carried out by the papal Inquisition prepared the ground for anti-Jewish public opinion which, in 1348, was to prove fatal to the Jews. In the first decades of the fourteenth century, however, the Jews of the Catalano-Aragonese realm still enjoyed a position which enabled them to withstand Inquisitorial attacks. They were still a sufficiently valuable asset to the Crown to deserve its protection. Even some of the ecclesiastical figures involved in the persecution of the Jews were not entirely at liberty to deal with them as they pleased, due to the fact that they were often conducting pecuniary and economic transactions with the Jews. In Montblanch, to cite only one locality where the Jews suffered from the hostility and harassment of the Inquisition,⁶⁹ both the bishop and the rector of the local church borrowed money from Jews. Most revealing, however, were the extensive financial transactions that the bishop of Barcelona and member of the Inquisition court, Ponç de Gualba, had with the Jews.⁷⁰ It is difficult to suppose that a bishop who borrowed so much money from Jews could have been totally immune to Jewish influence.

⁶⁵ Appendix, doc. 5.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, doc. 4.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, doc. 6.

⁶⁸ Baer, *Die Juden*, no. 206; Vincke, *Documenta selecta* (n. 24 above), doc. 368.

⁶⁹ On debts of the rector and bishop of Montblanch to Astruch Vives and Abraham de Carcassona from Santa Coloma de Queralt, see Tarragona, *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos*, *Protocolos de Santa Coloma*, caja 1, libro 3804, fols. 54r, 79v.

⁷⁰ In May 1303 he borrowed £10 from Bonafos de Tolosa and in September he borrowed from the same 200 *s.b.* and £21; in September 1304 he borrowed £10 from Bonafos and in May 1305 300 *s.b.*; in April 1306 he acknowledged a debt of 115 *s.b.* to Bonafos; in July 1307 he owed 215 *s.b.* and in July 1309 he owed 165 *s.b.* to Escapat Zarch, one of the secretaries of the Barcelona community at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This information is found in the following sources: Barcelona, *Archivo Diocesano Registra communium* 1, fols. 3r, 15r, 16r, 24v, 47r, 74r, 104r. He also settled financial conflicts between churchmen and Jewish moneylenders (*ibid.*, fol. 92v). On Escapat Zarch's communal leadership, see Régéné 2898, 2931. These documents will be published in my forthcoming monograph *The Economic Life of the Jews of Barcelona*.

APPENDIX

Capitalization and punctuation have been modernized in the following transcriptions of archival material,⁷¹ and all abbreviations silently expanded. The orthography of the documents has been preserved except that *u* is transcribed as *v* in consonantal position and final *j* (apart from dates) is transcribed as *i*. Letters and words obliterated in the original are supplied in square brackets.

I

Barcelona, Archivo Diocesano Registra Communium 3, fol. 33r.

- (a) Barcelona, 3 June 1315. Letter of Bishop Ponç of Barcelona to Guillem, bishop of Lèrida. The convert Bonanat Torner has been sent to Lèrida to capture certain Jews accused of blasphemy against the Catholic Faith. Bishop Ponç has examined the Jew Rovent de Castellldans, denounced before Bonanat, and finds him innocent; Guillem is not to proceed against him.
- (b) Same place and date. Letter of Bishop Ponç to N., *baile* of Lèrida, or his lieutenant; the same matter.

Both letters were entrusted for delivery to the convert Guillem de Bell Lloch, convert brother of the said Rovent.

SUPER FACTO JUDEORUM

Reverendo in Jesu Christo patri ac domino domino ffratri Guillelmo Dei gratia episcopo Illerdensi, Poncius per eandem Barchinonensis episcopus, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Cum super eo quod quosdam judeos invenerimus contra fidem catholicam in hiis videlicet que sapiunt hereticam pravitatem graviter deliquisse, et ad procurandum captionem quorundam judeorum qui in hiis fautores seu consentientes ut accepimus fuerunt, Bonanatum Tornerii baptizatum, qui de ipsorum judeorum prosapia originem traxit, ad vos duxerimus destinandum, et super statu Rovent de Castro Asinorum judei, licet contra eundem judeum nobis sinistra nulla denunciata fuissent, diligenter duxerimus et specialiter inquirendum, et in nullo eundem judeum culpabilem seu aliter suspectum invenerimus in premissis, attendentes quod qui caret culpa carere debet et pena, eundem Rovent judeum ab eisdem immunem et innocentem penitus reputamus, reverende paternitati vestre hec tenore presentium intimantes ne contra ipsum judeum occasione predicta aliquatenus procedatis nec procedi faciatis. In cuius rei testimonium presentem litteram

⁷¹ There are in the Archivo Diocesano of Barcelona 144 *Registra Communium*, of which 48 belong to the fourteenth century. Volume 3, from which the following documents are transcribed, covers the years 1314-23. A systematic and chronological publication of this material has recently been initiated; see J. M. Martí i Bonet, 'Las visitas pastorales y los "Comunes" en el primer año del pontificado del obispo de Barcelona Ponç de Gualba (a. 1303)', *Anthologica annua* (1981), pp. 581-825.

impressione sigilli nostri fecimus roborari. Datum Barchinone .iiij^o. nonas junii anno quo supra.

Venerabili et discreto .. bajulo Illerdensi vel eius locum tenenti, salutem in omnium Salvatore. Cum super eo quod quosdam judeos invenerimus contra fidem catholicam etc., in omnibus et per omnia simili modo ut supra scriptum fuit pro dicto Rovent judeo, eodem die et anno prefixis.

Guillelmus de Bell Loch, ffrater dicti Rovent, babtitzatus et conversus, recepit dictas litteras.

II

Barcelona, Archivo Diocesano Registra Communium 3, fol. 33r.

- (a) Barcelona, 3 June 1315. Letter of Bishop Ponç to Jaume de Manresa, royal *baile* of Villafranca. A certain unnamed Jew, denounced by the convert Bonanat Torner who was sent to Lérida and Urgel to proceed against Jews accused of blasphemy, has been found innocent following relevant inquiry. Jaume is not to proceed against the said Jew.
- (b) Same date and place. Bishop Ponç issues safe-conducts to four poor Jews from Castile, found innocent before the bishop.

Poncus etc. venerabili et discreto Jacobo de Minorisa bajulo Villefranche pro domino rege delegato vel eius locum tenenti, salutem in Domino. Recepimus litteras vestras super captione cuiusdam judei quem tenetis vestris carceribus mancipatum, quemque cepistis ad denunciationem Bonanati Tornerii conversi qui fuit dudum judeus, quem nos misimus ad Illerdensem et Urgellensem dioceses contra quosdam judeos quos intelliximus contra fidem catholicam in hiis videlicet que sapiunt hereticam pravitatem graviter deliquisse. Verum cum inquisita veritate de hiis cum dicto converso inveniamus dictum judeum per vos captum minime esse culpabilem in eisdem, ideo hec vobis significamus quod contra dictum judeum occasione predicta nullatenus procedatis et si procesistis in aliquo revocetis. Datum Barchinone .iiij^o. nonas junii anno quo supra.

[Ju]ceph Correu

Abraam Adriylo

Gariffa Mesatger

Item Niçaach Enreyrna

Judei pauperes de partibus Castelle, qui fuerunt Barchinone coram domino episcopo, habuerunt litteras testimoniales quod fuerunt innocentes reperti, die et anno prefixis.

III

Barcelona, Archivo Diocesano Registra Communium 3, fol. 34v.

- (a) Barcelona, 12 June 1315. Letter of Bishop Ponç to Guillem, bishop of Lérida. Jucef Acachaz, Jew of Lérida, has been found innocent of conduct against the Catholic Faith; Guillem is not to proceed against him. Guillem is further informed that the

convert Bonanat Torner, sent to Lérída to proceed against Jews accused of such actions, has behaved falsely in his mission, and no trust is to be placed in him henceforth.

(b) Same date and place. Bishop Ponç to the royal *baile* of Lérída; the same matters. Both letters issued at the request of Mosse Naçan, Jew of Tárrega.

DE JUDEIS

Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino domino ffratri Guillelmo Dei gratia Ilerdensi episcopo, Poncius per eandem episcopus Barchinonensis, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Cum super eo quod quosdam judeos invenerimus contra fidem catholicam in hiis videlicet que sapiunt hereticam pravitatem graviter deliquisse, et ad procurandum quorundam judeorum captionem et remissionem ad nos fieri de eisdem qui in hiis fautores seu consentientes fuerunt, Bonanatum Tornerii babtitzatum, qui de ipsorum judeorum prosapia originem traxit, ad vos reverendum patrem duxerimus destinandum, et super statu Juceff Acachaz judei comorantis Ilerde nulla sinistra invenerimus nec nobis etiam aliquem contra ipsum denunciate fuere, ideo ipsum in et super premissis imunem et innoctentem penitus reputamus, reverende paternitati vestre hec tenore presentium intimantes ne contra prenomiatum judeum occasione predicta aliquatenus procedatis nec procedi faciatis. Et quia invenimus dictum babtitzatum in predicta legacione per nos sibi facta mendaciter se habuisse, fidem sibi si placet super predictis nullatenus habeatis. Datum Barchinone .ij^o. idus junii anno quo supra.

Venerabili et discreto .. baiulo Ilerdensi vel eius locum tenenti, Poncius etc., salutem in omnium Salvatore. Cum super eo quod quosdam judeos invenerimus etc., in omnibus et per omnia simili modo ut supra scriptum est pro dicto Juceff Achaz dicto domino episcopo Ilerdensi, sub die et anno prefixis.

Et predictæ littere que requirebantur per Mosse Naçan judeum de Tarrega non emanaverunt de curia, nec episcopus deliberatione habita voluit consentire.

IV

Barcelona, Archivo Diocesano Registra Communium 3, fol. 36r.

s.d. General recognition by Bishop Ponç that whereas Chaim Quiç, Jew of Barcelona, had been denounced for actions against the Catholic Faith before the bishop and before Joan de Llotger, inquisitor and delegate of the Holy See, the bishop and Joan have made diligent inquiry and find the said Chaim innocent.

Universis et singulis, nos Poncius Dei gratia Barchinonensis episcopus notum fieri volumus per presentes quod cum nobis ac religioso viri ffratri Johanni de Lotgerio inquisitori heretice pravitatis a Sede Apostolica deputato denunciatum existeret quosdam judeos contra fidem catholicam graviter deliquisse in hiis que sapiebant hereticam pravitatem, et specialiter contra Chaim Quiç Barchinone degentem, nosque una cum prefato inquisitore diligenter inquisiverimus de predictis, contra Chaim Quiç judeum predictum presentium exhibitorem nichil invenire potuimus.

V

Barcelona, Archivo Diocesano Registra Communium 3, fol. 37v.

Barcelona, 14 July 1315. General recognition by Bishop Ponç that the Jew Chaim Quiç of Barcelona, denounced before the bishop and Joan de Llotger, inquisitor and Apostolic delegate, for seducing from the faith the convert Bonafos nephew of Bonafos Vital, has been found innocent after diligent inquiry. The secular authorities are therefore required not to molest or impede Chaim or his property in any way.

(Note: the entire document has been struck through twice vertically.)

DE JUDEIS

Universis et singulis, nos Poncius Dei gratia Barchinonensis episcopus notum fieri volumus per presentes quod cum nobis ac religioso viro ffratri Johanni de Lotgerio inquisitori heretice pravitatis a Sede Apostolica deputato denunciatum existeret contra quosdam judeos, quod ipsi contra fidem catholicam graviter delinquerant et in hiis precipue que sapiebant hereticam pravitatem, et specialiter Haym Quiç judeum Barchinone degentem, quod super eo quod cum Bonafos nepos Bonafos Vitalis judei Barchinone ad fidem catholicam conversus fuisset, quod idem nepos ad judaismum rediret, idem Haym Quiç consilium prestiterat et assensum, et quod idem judeus alia contra fidem catholicam comiserat propter quod dicebatur quod erat graviter puniendus, nosque cum predicto inquisitore diligenter inquisiverimus de predictis, contra Haym Quiç judeum predictum presentium exhibitorem nichil invenire potuimus contra eum, ideoque ipsum judeum de predictis innocentem et inculpabilem penitus reputamus, requirentes dominos temporales et eorum officiales ne ratione predicta vel pretextu predictorum ipsum judeum vel bona sua impediunt in aliquo vel molestent. In cuius rei testimonium presentem litteram etc. Datum et actum Barchinone .ij^o. idus julii anno quo supra.

VI

Barcelona, Archivo Diocesano Registra Communium 3, fol. 59r.

Barcelona, 16 March 1316. General recognition by Bishop Ponç that the Jew Jucef Levi *alias* Jucef Galiana, denounced before the bishop and Joan de Llotger, inquisitor and Apostolic delegate, for converting a Christian woman to Judaism, has been found innocent after diligent inquiry. The bishop is unwilling that anyone mistreat or impede the said Jucef in any way.

(Note: the entire document has been struck through twice vertically and a third time crossing the two vertical strokes.)

Noverint universi quod nos Poncius Dei gratia Barchinonensis episcopus, attendentes nos una cum religioso viro ffratre Johanne de Lotgerio inquisitore heretice pravitatis a Sede Apostolica deputato ex nostro officio inquisivisse contra quosdam judeos qui nobis denunciati existerant quod peccaverant in quibusdam que sapiebant hereticam pravitatem aut eos qui sic peccaverunt celavisse seu etiam occultasse, nichilque contra Jucef Levi

judeum qui alias Jucef Galiana cognominatur, presentium exhi[bi]torem, qui nobis inter alios super predictis delatus se[u d]enunciatus ex[is]terat, et specialiter quod cum quedam (*sic*) muliere nomine Johana oriunda de Stella Nava[rr]e filia christiani [et] christiane que se judeam fecit ipse Ju[c]ef consenserat, potuerimus i[n]veni[re] aut [..]m super eisdem in ali[quo] deliquisse, idcirco eundem Juceph Le[v]i judeum predictum a pred[ict]is omnibus et singulis nobis contra eundem denunciatis immunem et in[n]ocentem penitus reputamus, ipsumque occasione predicta nolumus per aliquem aliquatenus impediri seu in aliquo male fari. In cuius rei testimonium etc. Datum et actum Barchinone .xvij^o. kalendas aprilis anno quo supra. Et fuit presens littera tradita.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *VITAE PATRUM* COLLECTION*

Ralph Hanna III

IN the course of his discussion of the virtue patience, the author of *Memoriale credencium*, an early fifteenth-century manual of instruction, offers an exemplary anecdote:

An holy hermute was ysmyzt in þe one cheke of a wode man þat was ytrauayled with þe deuele and he bede him þe oþer fulfilling þe gospel þat saiþ, 'If eny man smyte þe in þe o cheke, profur him þe oþer'. And anon þe fende went out of þe man and cryed out, '[Onliche] on pacience ych am ouercome, [and þe vessel þat ichaue long ihadde nowe haue I lore]'.¹

In a very different vein, Chaucer, near the opening of this description of the Monk, remarks that that mighty hunter

... yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith that ...
... a monk, whan he is recchelees,
Is likned til a fissh that is waterlees,—
This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloystre.

Although the two passages appear to have absolutely nothing in common, they share a profound debt, for in both cases the authors present materials which began their literary life as anecdotes or aphorisms within a single text, the 'Verba seniorum' included within the *Vitae patrum*.¹

* I am particularly grateful to the Research Committee of the University of California, Riverside Academic Senate for travel subventions which have made it possible for me to examine all the manuscripts discussed here. Throughout the entire article I reproduce the text of ms. HM 148 with the permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino. This study, which traces the transmission of a single authorial archetype, has a companion piece, the forthcoming 'Origins and Production of Westminster School ms. 3', which in effect adopts the opposite procedure, dismembering a single extant codex to show the archetypes joined by its scribe.

¹ For the texts, see J. H. L. Kengen, *Memoriale Credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People* (Diss. Nijmegen, 1979), p. 95.15-21, with punctuation here modernized and the text corrected to accord with my suggestion in 'The Text of *Memoriale Credencium*', *Neophilologus* 67 (1983) 284-92, at 287; and F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edition (Boston, 1957), 'General Prologue', ll. 177-81. For the sources, see respectively *Vitae patrum* 5.15.53 (PL 73.963c) and 5.2.1 (PL 73.858A). In the first anecdote, the demon's words are a later accretion; they appear as early as Peter Cantor's *Verbum abbreviatum* 114 (PL 205.300-301).

The anonymous Gloucestershire compiler of *Memoriale* and the greatest Middle English poet reflect here a cultural fact. For from small verbal gestures up to elaborate anecdotes, a great deal of late medieval religious life and thought was imbued with the sayings and lives of the early Egyptian monks. Collections of saints' lives, theological dictionaries and exemplum books, as well as the many sermons drawn from them, routinely include healthy chunks of material concerning the Desert Fathers. Chaucer and the author of *Memoriale* merely provide passing evidence of a widespread and expected part of late medieval culture.²

But having called attention to the pervasiveness of the *Vitae patrum* in general religious culture, one must hasten to note that evidence for circulation of these materials in English remains especially sparse and fragmentary. Bits and pieces of *Vitae patrum* material, or turns of speech dependent on such anecdotes, appear fairly widely, but sporadically, and typically detached from their original generic context.³ Only a single, relatively obscure group of texts in English actually presents a substantial block of material on the Desert Fathers in something like a continuous series of coherent and unified works.

This group of texts is evidenced by six manuscripts, one now known only from a fragment of a bifolium, a second now completely lost. Each of these manuscripts presents at least a fragment of the same sequence of three texts:

(1) 'þe pistill of saint Machari þe Ermyte', presented in a critical edition in Appendix 2 below, a translation of St. Makarios of Egypt (d. 390), *Epistola ad filios Dei* (PL 67.1163-66; PG 34.405-10 [my citation text] and 34.443-46).

(2) 'þe (e)pistil of saint Iohan þe Ermyte', ed. Carl Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers. Richard Rolle and His Followers*, 2 vols. (London, 1895-96), 1.122-24 from Bodleian Library ms. Rawlinson C. 285, under the title 'Against Boasting and

² The fullest, although extremely partial, survey occurs in Columba M. Batlle, *Die Adhortationes sanctorum patrum (Verba seniorum) im lateinischen Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 31; Münster i. W., 1971), pp. 208-304. One might note especially the discussion of such an international classic as Peraldus' *Summa* at pp. 243-44, as well as the citation of specifically English exemplum collections such as the *Speculum laicorum* (pp. 259-61) and those of Odo of Cheriton (pp. 237-38), Durham, Cathedral Library ms. B.IV.19 (pp. 253-54), John of Wales (pp. 255-57), and John Bromyard (p. 282).

³ The only study is Constance L. Rosenthal, *The Vitae Patrum in Old and Middle English Literature* (Diss. Pennsylvania, 1936), which concentrates on exemplum literature in English; only Caxton's *Vitae patrum* (STC 14507) provides extensive and continuous material on the Desert Fathers similar to the texts discussed below. Rosenthal discusses (pp. 127-32) the published shorter version of the 'Verba seniorum'. Undiscussed in Rosenthal's work, in addition to the texts I treat below, are a series of isolated exempla appearing amidst material primarily Æsopian in London, British Library Additional 9066 and an isolated translation, independent of those discussed below, of St. Makarios' *Epistola ad filios Dei* at Cambridge, University Library Ff.6.33, fol. 138r. In addition, there is a reference to 'the lyues of the haly Fadirs' as a suitable monastic collation in *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, ed. George G. Perry, *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (EETS OS 26; London, 1867; rev. edition, 1889), 56.29-32.

Pride', a translation of an exhortation attributed to the famous hermit St. John of Lycopolis (d. 394) and circulating within chapter 1 of Rufinus of Aquileia's *Historia monachorum* (PL 21.395-98).⁴

(3) A series of anecdotes, existing in shorter and longer forms, but only extant fragmentarily, translated from *Vitae patrum* 5, the 'Verba seniorum' (PL 73.855 ff.; the latest selection in either version ends in col. 975); the shorter version ed. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 1.125-28 again from ms. Rawlinson C. 285, selections from the longer version presented critically in Appendix 3 below.

Only one extant manuscript (H)⁵ presents all three texts, although the lost copy (S) also contained all three and in the same 1+2+3 order. Wherever two texts appear, they reflect the same order, if fragmentarily: R and its derivative copy C have 2+3; A and apparently R² present 1+2. In tabular form:

H (and the lost S):	Machari + Iohan + 'Verba seniorum'
R and C:	Iohan + 'Verba seniorum'
A and perhaps R ² (a fragment):	Machari + Iohan.

Yet these statements presuppose what requires proof—namely, that what I have identified as 'shorter' (in R and C) and 'longer' (in H) forms of the 'Verba seniorum' in fact represent a single text. The two versions present the work in very different ways. H, about six times the length of RC, provides, in more or less the sequential order of the source, a selective but extensive set of texts. The work retains the general shape of the *Vitae patrum*: large capitals and occasional (still unfilled) blanks for rubrication replicate the division of the 'Verba seniorum' into a series of topically distinguished *libelli*. The only ostensible principle of selection appears to be relative brevity in the source: H routinely avoids involved and lengthy narratives. As a result, the text presents a series of anecdotal responses of the fathers to various questions posed by the 'brothers': given this principle of selection, the work tends toward the gnomic.⁶

⁴ The *Historia* forms book 2 of the *Vitae patrum*, a Renaissance composite from several distinct sources, published in PL 73-74. There is also a partial and rather distant paraphrase of some of this St. John material at *Vitae patrum* 8.43 (PL 73.1146D-47A).

⁵ Henceforth I will refer to the manuscripts by these sigla:

A = London, British Library Additional 33971
 R = Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C. 285
 R² = Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson D. 913, fol. 61
 C = Cambridge, University Library Ff.5.40
 H = San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library HM 148
 S = Henry Savile of Banke 41 (now lost).

What may be a lost copy (or the lost Savile codex) is noted in a Yorkshire will cited by George R. Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral Library ms. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe', *Studies in Bibliography* 32 (1979) 170-71. For brief descriptions of these sources, see Appendix 1.

⁶ Following selections from *Libellus 1* (reproduced below as Appendix 3), H presents in order the following texts from *Vitae patrum* 5: 2.1, 3, 5, 9-10, 12, 14, 16; 3.2-3, 6, 7, 8, 14, 16-17, 18,

The RC version leaves a contrasting impression. Although the type of anecdotes included are the same as those found in H, the comparative brevity of RC, coupled with the appearance there of some relatively lengthy anecdotes, renders the work considerably less unidimensional. Moreover, the work appears somewhat more fragmentary than the text in H. The RC text appears to hop about and shows a fitful and intermittent interest in individual themes. Small clusters of related anecdotes, as if the compiler had plunged into the text at random, rather than transcribed it at length, typify this version.⁷

But in spite of obvious formal differences, the two sets of anecdotes manifestly reproduce the same original English text. About half the RC contents, sixty-nine of the 140-odd lines printed by Horstmann, appear also in H. Moreover, these equivalent contents may be collated: their differences are not of the extensive sort typifying two different translations but of the minor and easily explicable variety which results from scribal transmission. Consider, for example, a brief piece of the text as printed by Horstmann from R:

A broper said þus, 'I am frele & þe passione of lichery ouerledis me: what may I doo?' A haly fader answerd þus: 'At þe bygynnyng when þe steryng comes & þou feele þe feend speke in þi hert of lichery, answer hym nogth be flitand wordis, bot ryse vp & pray god with mekenese & with repentance, sayand þus: "Ihesu goddis sone, hafe mercy on me", & stynte nogth.' (*Yorkshire Writers* 1.126:66-71)

These five-plus lines appear in H with only minor variation: H has *Anothire* for the initial *A* and *oueregose* for *ouerledis*; it omits both the *with* which precedes the word *repentance* and the last three words. On the basis of such a proximate text, H appears to contain a relatively fuller reproduction of a text which RC choose to render selectively.⁸

21, 22; 4.1, 11, 14, 22, 23, 32, 41, 42, 43+51, 55; 5.2, 3, 10-11, 12, 13+17, 19, 20, 30, 32; 6.13, 16; 7.8, 16-18, 20, 25, 27, 35, 42, 43, 44?; 8.6, 8, 9, 16, 19-20; 9.1, 5, 6, 10, 9, 11; 10.1, an unidentified passage, 10.40-43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 61, 62, 66, 67, 70, 72, 75, 74, 78, 81, 84, 86+88, 91, 92, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 111; 11.1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 23-24, 27, 30-31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 53, 54 (incomplete).

⁷ For example, if the *Yorkshire Writers* text is given consecutive lineation, one might note the clusters of thematically related anecdotes at ll. 91-131 (= *Vitae patrum* 5.15.15, 22, 28, 54, 61, 32, 33, 38, 47, 48, 60, 63, 67, 74, 76?, 87), ll. 9-29 and 39-63 (= 5.11.2, 10, 12, 32-33, 42 and 11.2, 27, 30, 31, 36-37, 46), and ll. 73-91 (= 5.10.8, 19, 34, 58, 67). The remainder of the text reflects the following passages in *Vitae patrum* 5: 1.23 (ll. 1-8); 12.10, 12, 13 (ll. 29-39); 4.19, 5.32, 9.5 (ll. 63-73).

⁸ As a further example of the scribal similarity of the texts, consider the total variant corpus for the first eight lines of the *Yorkshire Writers* print, which follows R (H is printed as Appendix 3, § 23): 3 all] alle opere C; ne¹] and H; 5 a man] man H; agayne] with C; if] om. H; 7 restfull] rith ful C; 8 of ... Amen] om. H and quite of c. C. Indeed, in this portion of text, C, which is a direct derivative of R, shows greater variation from R than does H. Given the similarity of the texts and the existence of a Latin source, one may, with relative ease, correct the errors of the version printed by Horstmann; such corrections offer additional examples of scribal difficulties in reproduction, rather than examples

Moreover, H appears to be prior to RC for reasons other than length. In a variety of places it is a fuller version, and gives a consecutive text or a more expansive one than do RC. For example, the H and RC versions of *Vitae patrum* 5.11.36-37 (PL 73.938B) substantially agree for a protracted space, about seven lines of the printed text (*Yorkshire Writers* 1.126:48-55):

A fader said þus, 'þe life of a parfit seruauund of god aw to be mad efter þe folowyng of aungels: righþ as in aungels es na syne, righþ swa in hym suld na syne endure, bot it suld as tit be brynte & waschid thurghþ þe grace of þe haly gast, as stykkes in þe fiere.' Alswa he said þus, 'I hope, bot if a man kepe his hert, he sal be forgettill ande rekles of all þat he heris; forwhi, when þe enemy fyndis a rekles hert vnkepid & nogth tentyd to, als fast he bygyles it vonder slely, & nogth todaynly, bot sokandly.'

Again, H shows very few variants—the right reading *wastyde away* for *waschid* in the third line above, the error *al* for *als* in the penultimate line, and the probably erroneous omission of & near the end of the selection. At this point RC break off, but H follows the Latin source text in adding a quite expansive and elaborate comparison of the Christian soul with a lamp.⁹ That the additional material

of separate origin: 3 ne¹ RC] *read* and ne (and H, *Latin* et ne); 9 Saynt Agathon RC] *read* Ande he H (*Latin* et dicebat), a deliberate editorial change in RC; 9 kepyng RC] *read* besy kepyng H (but *Latin* custodia only); 14 de R] *read* be H, cf. do C; 15 fales R] *read* fayls HC; 16 wyndoues H and YW] *wisdomes* RC (*Latin* fenestras, in parallel to l. 18); 28 wykked RC] *read* wrichede H (*Latin* miseram); 41 a fader RC] *read* fader Sysoy H (*Latin* abbatem Sisoï); 51 waschid RC] *read* wastyde (wastyde away H, *Latin* consumens); 59 seruyd RC] *read* resayuede H (cf. *Latin* recipit, used twice in passages parallel to l. 61); 71 and stynte nogth RC] om. H and Latin (but perhaps a case where H has skipped to the immediately following paragraph); 87 konne R] *read* ken HC (*Latin* docere); 108 sekyn RC] *read* sesyng (*Latin* incessabiliter); 109 not RC] om. (cf. *Latin* sicut); 115 es¹ ... greter YW] *read* es noght ... grete (*Latin* Non est ... magnum).

⁹ Cf. H 221ra-b with the text at PL 73.938D: (f. 221ra) '... begyls it wondyr sleghly, not todaynly bot sokandely. For ryght als a laumpe thorow recleshede of þe kepire resayue none oyle, þan be littill and littyll, mirknes ouergase it, and at þe last it is all slekynde. And also if a mouse come or þan it be slokende forto ber away þe meche, he dar not negh it till it be all slokende for þe hete of þe fyre. Bot if he se þat it is all out ande noupire has hete ne lyzt, þane draws he away þe mech and kastes doune þe laumpe to þe erth and breks it, þe whylke laumpe, if it be of erth, it is chaungede; if it be of brasse, þe same may be reparylde agayn. Ryght þus is it of a saule þat is recles and trystes in fals ydynes. be holi gost withdraws be lyttill and lyttill fro it, till at all þe hete of charyte and of deuocioune and of gude wyll be slokende in þe saule. And so commes þe enemy als a fell mouse, and wastes and stroyes þe holy purpose of þe saule, and makes it yrke of all gudeness. 3a, and ouermor he (f. 221rb) all tohures and pines þe body maliciusly. Neuerpelesse eftyr þis, if he þat is desayuede þus be hymself and be þe fende thorow his awn necligence be gudely thorow a trew effecciune þat he has to Gode, and sympyll withoutyn falsnes, oure Lorde Gode þat is mercyfull stirs his hert agayne and hells in hym a lyttill of His grace, and bryngs to his mynde scherply þe payns of Hell þat er ordaynede for synners þat leues þe grace of Gode and ere seruants to þe fende. Ande so he turns hym agayn to gude leuyng and to his fyrst purpos and maks hym forto be mor sobyre, and þat he kepe hymself þanforwarde with grete warnes þat he fall no more [in]to (hole in ms.) suylike necligence, bot abyde styfly and stabyllly, trauelande in grace and rystande in vertue vnto þe tyme of visitacioune, þat is houre of his bodyly dede.' In H, the passage is followed immediately by a translation of 5.11.38.

corresponds with the Latin text in content and placement indicates that it presumably reflects a fuller authorial version retained in H but excerpted in RC.

However, this unsurprising discovery, that the fuller text more fully reproduces the source, does not tell the entire story of the 'short' and 'long' versions of the 'Verba seniorum'. For half the text in the 'short' version of RC has no parallel in the 'long' version found in H. Here two kinds of omission appear at issue. First, some passages in RC fill in portions of H where that manuscript is palpably incomplete. That is, H breaks off in midsentence, at a point corresponding to *Vitae patrum* 5.11.54 (PL 73.940c), and at least a single leaf, although perhaps a more extensive piece of text, is lacking at the end. Nearly all those portions of the printed RC text not paralleled in H (about sixty-five lines) come from sections of the 'Verba seniorum' subsequent to the end of H at 5.11.54 (PL 73.940d).¹⁰ This additional material, for the most part offered in the sequential order of the source, as is H, suggests that RC are derived from a text like H yet one which extended further in the 'Verba seniorum' than does H as it now survives. Indeed, it is likely that the archetypal text included, in that sequential yet selective manner typical of H, all of *Vitae patrum* 5: the latest quotation in RC, corresponding to 5.17.10 (PL 73.974d-75a), occurs only a dozen columns from the end of the Latin text. The compiler responsible for the RC version may simply have transcribed last the last passage which interested him from a fuller archetype.

Second, a few shorter passages in RC are similarly unparalleled in H. Here there is no possibility that H has sustained text-destroying damage: rather, just as the fuller text of H can be used to repair scribal failures in the transmission of RC, so also RC readings can correct scribal error or outright editing in the production of H.¹¹ But examples of such apparent failures of H to transmit the full archetypal text are not limited to such total omissions. Occasionally within passages which it purports to offer in full, H remains less extensive than RC; on at least some occasions the scribe of H appears to have been prone to homoeoteleuton. One might compare ll. 22-29 of Horstmann's *Yorkshire Writers* text with the rendering in H:

¹⁰ At issue are ll. 29-39 and 91-146 of the printed text, materials primarily from Libellus XV. H ends (f. 221vb): 'A fader sayde þus, "Bot if þu haue fyrst hatredyn, þu may not luf; þat is bot if þu haue [*read hate, Latin oderis*] synne, þou may not do ryghtwysnes, as it is wrytyn..."'

¹¹ Within surviving consecutive portions, H lacks any equivalent to ll. 11-14, 63-66, and 73-83 of the printed text. In the last case, a series of three passages from early in *Vitae patrum* 5.10 lacking in H, H offers a substitute passage whose source I have been unable to locate (fol. 217va): 'A brothere askede a fader þus, "What sall I do? I do no gude, bot lifes in ydylnes and in negligene, etande, drynkande, and slepande; 3a, and euermore I am all tohurlde with foule thoghts and am in gret tribulaciune and vnstabylnes fro o werke to anopire." Ande he ansuerde þus wele, "Syte styll in þi cell and do þat þou may withoutyn turbacione, be it neuer so littill, forwhy þat littill þat þou dose is to þe as mony gret werkes þat Saynt Anton dide war to hym. Ande I trayst in Gode þat he þat keps hym in his cell for þe name and þe luf of Gode and keps his conscience clene sall be funden at þe last in þat place þat Saynt Anton is now".'

Saynt Arseyne says þus, 'As na man may hurte hym ne harme hym þat es contenuelly beside þe kynge in his presence, righ sa may Sathanas nogth hurte ne harme vs if oure saule clefe stably to god in behaldynge of hym; for it es wrytene þus, "Neigh 3e to me and I sal negh to 3ow." Bot for als mekil as we oftsithes liftes vp ourself to pride & has vayne ioy in our hertis, þerfor grace god withdrawes & our enmy lighly rauysches oure wykked saule to syne & drawes [it] doune into schamefull passions of lychery & of fleshly vnclennes.' (*Yorkshire Writers* 1.125)

A fader sayde to anopire þus, 'I ame dede to þe worlde.' þat opire ansuerde þus, 'Tryst not in þiself till þu go out of þi body, for if þou say þat ert dede, wytte wele þat Satnas lifes. Bot for als mykkell as we oftsythes lyfts vpe ouself to pride and has vayn ioy in our herts, þerfor grace withdraws, and oure enmy lyghtly rauisses oure wrichede saules to synne, and draws doune into chamfull passiuns of lychery and of flechly vnclennes.' (H 221rb)

The opening of the passage in H corresponds to *Vitae patrum* 5.11.38 (PL 73.938D), a passage located nearer to what follows in the source (=5.11.42 [PL 73.939A]) than anything in RC. Presumably H presented this passage and then went on to the equivalent of line 22. But most likely, H's archetype here had a text with three paraphs in short compass—one at the head of the quotation from H above, one at 'Saynt Arseyne' at a point corresponding to the opening of the quotation from the printed text above, and one at 'Bot'. The scribe of H returned to his copy one paraph further along than was proper, an error encouraged by the fact that it allowed an analysis of pride to follow immediately a father's statement which calls attention to a brother's pride. Two other examples of eyeskip, in these cases clearly verifiable by comparison with other copies, occur in the production of H; they correspond to ll. 58 and 61 of the printed text, where H skips between two uses of the noun *neglegence* and between two uses of the verb *eschew(e)*, respectively.¹²

On the basis of such evidence, one must conclude that the 'short' and 'long' versions of the 'Verba seniorum' in fact represent the same text. These versions reflect scribal activity (in RC a rigorous eclecticism, in H a certain measure of scribal omission). But each derives from an independent copying of a common archetype. And this archetype presented a sequential translation, probably of the full extent of *Vitae patrum* 5. The exact nature of this text, given the differing causes of selectivity in the surviving texts, is not fully recoverable: the archetype was conceivably a complete, and not a selective, translation. In any event, substantial portions of the archetypal text have probably been lost.

¹² RC are here verified by the Latin (*Vitae patrum* 5.11.46 [PL 73.939C]); cf. 'negligentiam; de negligentia vero concupiscentia nascitur' and 'concupiscentiam non recipit; si vero concupiscentiam non recepit.'

Since the versions of the 'Verba seniorum' found in H, R, and C ultimately represent the same text, all six manuscripts share part or all of a fixed set of contents in a fixed order. But in spite of their agreement in various of the three *Vitae patrum* texts, the manuscripts share no further contents. From this fact, one may infer that in the extant copies the *Vitae patrum* texts have been joined with materials of different origins according to the tastes of individual compilers. And one's sense that the *Vitae patrum* materials differ markedly in kind and origin from the texts which surround them is underscored by codicological data. For the physical composition of the extant manuscripts points toward a source for the *Vitae patrum* texts different from the source of the prose works currently associated with them.

Here only the three texts A, R, and H offer relevant evidence. (C is a fairly slavish copy of R or a closely related text, primarily in a single hand.) In all three of these manuscripts, the *Vitae patrum* texts are marked off from surrounding materials by clear breaks. In A the texts under consideration appear at the opening of the second of the two booklets which comprise the manuscript. They were copied by the scribe of the first booklet, but they were plainly written as a separate textual unit and now survive joined only with a unique text.¹³

The situation in H is more complicated. The codex contains work by three scribes; the materials in the first hand (fols. 1-22) have no connections with the remainder in terms of production but have been bound up with the other folios since at least the seventeenth century.¹⁴ A second scribe copied Rolle's English *Psalter* on fols. 23-203; this text concludes late in quire 15, which was probably made deliberately large (a 16, rather than the usual 12) to accommodate the last bits of the *Psalter* comfortably. At that point, a third scribe took over: he copied his work in a format very similar to, but not absolutely identical with, that of his predecessor. He is responsible for the final five texts of the volume (two short pieces and the full set of three *Vitae patrum* texts).

The disposition of the *Vitae patrum* materials in R is particularly striking. Here two of the works have been used by one scribe to fill blank leaves (nearly half the total) in a one-quire booklet begun by another scribe. The texts have all the appearance of being filler from some source different from all other portions of the

¹³ The blank folio (fol. 64r) at the end of the preceding quire—and text—is a feature associated with production in independent booklets by P. R. Robinson in her important study, 'The "Booklet", A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', *Codicologica* 3 (1980) 46-69. For particulars of this and the subsequent descriptions, see Appendix 1.

¹⁴ As George R. Keiser, 'Be holy boke Gratia Dei', *Viator* 12 (1981) 289-317 (especially 309) points out, the association of the two codices may indeed go back to the medieval period, since the manuscripts show traces of a still earlier binding. The appearance of this originally separate text, 'Be holy boke Gracia Dei', confirms one's sense of the high quality of H's texts. As Keiser demonstrates, the H text of this work is considerably more reliable than those found in other manuscripts, including Robert Thornton's Lincoln, Cathedral Library ms. 91.

manuscript: this scribe's hand does not recur in R. Indeed the fact that the scribe of the *Vitae patrum* texts was filling a quire he inherited partly written probably explains the disordered and truncated version of the 'Verba seniorum' which he presents (one which was simply copied off by the scribe of C). Having a limited amount of space to fill, the R scribe appears to have made a quick selection of snatches from the 'Verba seniorum' text before him. Thus, in each of the three manuscripts useful as evidence, available codicological information suggests that the *Vitae patrum* texts came to the individual scribes as a group and as a group separate from other materials used to form the surviving codices. Given these facts and the fixed order of the texts, the *Vitae patrum* materials presumably reflect a single exemplar containing only these three texts, in fixed order, and none of the other, unshared contents of the manuscripts under discussion.

If this is an acceptable conclusion, it allows further speculation about the form of the original exemplar of the *Vitae patrum* texts. This manuscript appears to have contained only these texts and to have presented them in the order St. Machary + St. John + anecdotes. Given the amount of Middle English prose involved, this exemplar may not have resembled what one would normally consider a full literary manuscript. Rather, like the various pieces of R, the archetype may well have been a small bundle of several quires. At the most compact, in a double column format resembling H, this archetype could have only contained sixteen folios, two eight-leaf quires; it is extremely unlikely, given the size of the texts, that, if the authorial manuscript had such fascicular form, it would have been larger than three quires in a format comparable to H.

Further study of this hypothetical exemplar, the source of these *Vitae patrum* texts, should take two forms. First, one should discuss the transmission of the texts; by grouping erroneous readings of the surviving manuscripts to form a stemma codicum for each of the three selections, one can trace the descent of each from their common archetype. Alternatively, one can examine the edited texts for information about their author-translator: where and when did he live? What do the juxtaposed texts suggest to have been his interests?

To pursue a transmission history, one must begin with the most widely attested of the works, the previously published 'Epistil of saynt Iohan'. This text, originally part of all six of the codices, will provide the best overall sense of manuscript affiliations. And this information may then be qualified by the evidence provided by the other works.

Before examining the data presented by the various versions of this work, two caveats are in order. First, Middle English prose texts seem, as a general rule, to provide more limited evidence of variation than do the familiar Middle English poetic texts. There is simply less variation, perhaps indicating a stronger interest in fidelity than is the case with copyists involved with the poetry. And such variation as appears with prose texts is frequently, especially from the perspective

of poetic texts, giggling; it often involves such alternation as *the/that*, article/no article, *this/that*. However, that these two tendencies appear in combination is important: if variation occurs infrequently, then whatever variation occurs is considered; consequently, it must be taken as valuable. Certainly, within the Middle Ages itself, even very tiny variations in prose works seem to have caused quite excessive concern, as Anne Hudson's recent work on the Wycliffite sermon cycle attests.¹⁵ In short, considering the raw data seems the only appropriate procedure for distinguishing copies. Similarly, the usual, if rough, statistical model for identifying related copies, the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence, must be followed in the absence of any more compelling method of determining manuscript relationships.

A full collation of the four complete surviving copies and the modest fragment of a fifth text of 'Þe epistol of saynt Iohan þe Ermyte' reveals that the manuscripts fall into two separate genetic groups. A and H, R and C agree with each other in error on a substantial number of occasions, and counterexamples occur too infrequently to outweigh this evidence. Insofar as R²'s fragmentary text may be placed, it appears to belong with A and H.

The fundamental evidence provided by 'Þe epistol of saynt Iohan' involves a series of agreements of two texts in error. Here A and H agree seventeen times, R and C nine times. Against this body of evidence, twenty-six agreements in all, putative genetic or familial lines are crossed only four times by variants involving two texts: two agreements of H and C, one of A and C, one of R and A. All of these four readings are probably coincident independent errors, not readings genetically transmitted. The only further evidence against familial groupings AH and RC comes in readings where a single manuscript preserves the authorial lection and all other texts agree in error. This situation occurs seven times: on four occasions H is correct against A and RC; on three R preserves the correct reading against C and AH. In only one instance, 93 *alanle/a lyt tyl* HAC, is there any strong likelihood that the agreements in error are not coincident. But in the most generous assessment of the counterevidence, the genetic groupings AH and RC are supported by twenty-six readings, while questioned by only eleven, and thus may be sustained.¹⁶

¹⁵ Such at least are my conclusions after work with Trevisa's *Bartholomaeus* and Chaucer's *Boece*. The finicky behavior of Hudson's scribes and their correctors is particularly telling in this regard; see, for example, Anne Hudson, ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1 (Oxford, 1983), especially pp. 138-51.

¹⁶ I have given the text, as it appears in *Yorkshire Writers*, consecutive lineation. H and A agree in error at 9 þe (om. HA), 20 saules (saule), 52 ofte (hoste), 57 some (sum men), 85 alle (all þe), 89 þe¹ (om.) 92 of¹ (of þe), 103 þarefor (forþi), 110 sais (saide), 114 na (none), 118 fra¹ (fro þe), 118 þe¹ (om.), 126 þe² (a), 130 contenance (continuance), 131 in^{1,2} (into), 132 Forþi (þarfor). R and C agree in error (and the printed text should be corrected as appropriate) at 13 ze^{1,2} (read we ... we as H; om. ... we A, cf. *Latin* fugiamus ... incurramus), 21 anely (omit as HA and Latin), 53 gladenes (read ay gladenes as HA, *Latin* semper), 69 synful (read sympyll as HA, in an addition

Given that only seven and one-half lines of the text survive in R², information about its affiliations is especially fragmentary. R² agrees with other manuscripts four times in error: on three of these occasions it concurs with H (one such lection might be interpreted as an agreement of A with HR²). The fourth reading, where R² and C agree in error, is probably coincidental.¹⁷

Besides identifying possible lines of transmission of the *Vitae patrum* text, this view of the variant corpus may be used to correct the unannotated edition in *Yorkshire Writers* (based on R). First, it confirms what seems apparent from external codicological information: the text of C seems utterly dependent on that of R. Where C disagrees with R, its reading most usually provides a palpably scribal response to a text like that recorded in R. And C's modest agreements with manuscripts in the other textual tradition, A and H, involve shared errors of a variety so commonplace as to be almost certainly coincidental, rather than genetic.¹⁸ In fact C is that rare bird among Middle English manuscript texts—a witness which can be rejected because its readings can be of no value in determining the text.

In contrast, H, one of the texts unknown to Horstmann, appears of substantial independent value. On fourteen occasions, nine with support from A, H provides right readings not in R and C, at least a few of these fairly substantial additions to the text.¹⁹ However, although in touch with a textual tradition independent of

to the Latin), 113 saule (*add* specially as Goddes der frende, and þai er redy and buxum to fulfyll all þe askyngs of þat saule as HA, *Latin* tanquam amicum Dei et obsequuntur ejus petitionibus), 115 fra (*add* þe lufe of Gode as HA, cf. Rom 8:38 a caritate Dei), 131 thurgh (*read* thorow swylk as HA, *Latin* hujusmodi), 133 layd (*read* bade as HA, *Latin* exspectabam), 134 scorne (*read* storme as HA, *Latin* pusillo ... et tempestate). H and C agree in error at 115 sayd (says HC) and 123 vse (forto vse H, to vsen C). A and C agree in error at 60 in² (om. AC). R and A agree in error at 64 þaim (*read* þaimself as H; þei C). H preserves the correct reading against ARC at 95 affeccione (*add* of þe saule when it is departyde fro all flechly affeccioune, although unparalleled in Latin), 102 wyth (*add* fylth of, *Latin* sordibus), 124 fere (*read* fre, cf. *Latin* carere), and 133 flyed and (*read* fleand, *Latin* fugiens). R preserves the correct reading against HAC at 2 heyghtnes (heghnes HAC), 82 þat² (om.), 93 alanle (a lyttyl); to these readings should perhaps be added 76 saules (saule HAC).

¹⁷ R² agrees in error with other texts at 3 some (sum mene HR², somtyme A), 6 þai¹ (and þai HR²), 6 mekyly (mekil CR²), and 7 had (hade bot H, hade be R²).

¹⁸ C varies from R on ninety-one occasions, none of these readings of any consequence. They include substitutions for northernisms (e.g., 31 gers] doth C, 53 (twice) ay] eue C, 67 alstite] alsone C, 92 an] eny C, 127 and 128 ylka] eche C; and note the confusion 77 whayme] whanne C), but also a variety of other substitutions (e.g., *desyryng* routinely for *yerning*, as at 30, 121, 123) and two examples of homoeoteleuton (15-17 Be war ... hert, 98-99 gastly ... gastly), both omissions inserted later in the text.

¹⁹ These are the readings cited in n. 16 above as nine errors shared by R and C, four unique correct readings of H, and the variant at l. 64 included under erroneous agreements of RA. In addition to these readings, the *Yorkshire Writers* text requires three other corrections. All manuscripts agree in error at 12 leefes (*read* leesess, *Latin* perdit) and 69 or (*read* of, cf. the locution at 73-74 below). At l. 31, Horstmann emended unnecessarily: restore *þis* 'these' (*sc.* yearnings).

and unavailable to the scribe of R, H will not serve as a universal check on R readings. The manuscript includes its share of minor variation, and, more troublingly, reflects some massive cases of sloppy inattention during copying. In 'þe Epistil of saynt Iohan', a single example of homoeoteleuton probably is responsible for the omission of twenty-odd lines of text. And similar omissions occur in the other two *Vitae patrum* texts: these suggest a scribe who, although capable and often fastidious in minor readings, was a bit too prone to mark his place in his exemplar by recourse to paraphs and who, as a consequence, tended to leap from one such piece of punctuation to a neighboring one with subsequent omissions.²⁰

The basic outline of textual transmission which emerges from a consideration of the variant corpus of 'þe epistil of saynt Iohan' is only confirmed by the variants of the other two texts. Given the patterns of manuscript survival, the variants of 'þe pistill of saynt Machari' provide information about the relationships within only the family HAR²; the variants of shared portions of the 'Verba seniorum' translation offer only additional evidence which confirms the genetic split H versus RC. The one important discovery from this evidence is the proximate relationship within the grouping HAR² between A and R². Such a relationship is confirmed by five agreements of these two codices in error against H in the course of 'þe pistill'.²¹

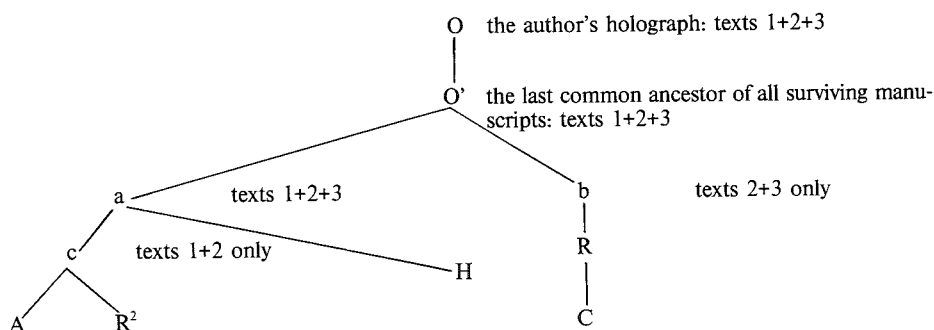
The discovery of this subfamilial grouping, the proximity of A and R² in opposition to H, produces a quite striking set of manuscript confirmations. The affiliation of the manuscript copies, as determined by agreements of erring variants, exactly parallels the agreement of the manuscripts in contents. Thus H, which provides three texts, stands apart from the other four survivors, while those codices containing only the two epistles and those containing only 'St. John' and selections from the 'Verba seniorum' each form separate genetic groupings. As a general principle of manuscript study, it may well be that parallelism of contents, even small bunches of material like the *Vitae patrum* texts, is a more general indicator of shared archetypes than is usually recognized. But it is not a universal indicator, and may here reflect simply a limited transmission history and geographical circulation of the texts in question.²² In any event, a stemma codicum for the *Vitae*

²⁰ The omission in 'Saynt Iohan' occurs at ll. 27-49. For similar problems in the transmission of the 'Verba seniorum', see above, p. 417 and n. 12. A further example in 'Saynt Machari' occurs at ll. 51-56 of the text printed below in Appendix 2; again H appears to have skipped from paraph to paraph, since such a mark precedes 56 *Saynt* and may be inherited from H's archetype.

²¹ For agreements of AR² in error against H, see the variant apparatus in Appendix 2 below. For examples of R and C agreeing in error against H in the 'Verba seniorum' translation, see n. 8 above. Erring agreements of R and H or C and H, which would qualify the familial relations, are in fact very rare.

²² Simply to cite one counterexample, the only two manuscript copies of the verse 'Book of Hunting' (IMEV 4064) happen to be intimately associated with two manuscripts of the early fifteenth-century alliterative romance *The Awntyrs off Arthure* (IMEV 1566). In London, Lambeth Palace Library 491, the two poems appear in the order *Awntyrs* + 'Hunting' within the separate booklet, fols. 275-290 (now lacking a further quire which followed). The two also appeared together

patrum manuscripts allows a labelling of archetype and subarchetype which identifies both contents and textual forms:



Having identified the various forms in which the texts have been transmitted, one should next turn to the surviving texts for specifically literary information. Why, quite in contrast to the normal Middle English tendency to view the *Vitae patrum* in the context of other literary forms, was the author-translator of these texts drawn to produce a pure *Vitae patrum* sequence? What kinds of interests may have led to the selection of these particular texts for translation? Do the texts appear to have any consistent thematic center? Might this allow one to suggest any particular audience which the author had in mind? Alternatively, one may be interested in questions associated with the author's identity: what qualities do these texts share which might lead one to hypothesize a single authorial source? how would one define the author's literary abilities? and to what extent is the author localizable, either temporally or spatially?

Whatever the thematic attractiveness of the *Vitae patrum* for late medieval readers, the translator responsible for these texts may have been strongly conditioned in his choice of materials simply by those manuscripts available to him. Nearly twenty codices of English provenance containing unexcerpted copies of the 'Verba

in the large miscellany described by Kathleen L. Smith, 'A Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Manuscript Reconstructed', *The Bodleian Library Record* 7 (1966) 234-41, *Awntyrs* as quires *i-k* (now Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 324), 'Hunting' as perhaps the last quire, following *s* (now Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson poet. 143). Neither the two copies of the 'Book of Hunting' (see Rachel Hands, *English Hunting and Hawking in The Boke of St. Albans* [London, 1975], p. xxxiii) nor the two copies of *Awntyrs* have, so far as one can tell, a common archetype. Indeed the *Awntyrs* texts reflect the two opposed genetic versions of the poem (Lambeth and Lincoln Cathedral 91 versus Douce and a manuscript from the Robert H. Taylor collection [the 'Ireland Blackburne' codex], now on deposit at Princeton University Library). Here one must consider first that *Awntyrs* had a very extensive circulation for an alliterative poem (only exceeded by *Piers Plowman*, *Siege of Jerusalem*, and *Susannah*) and second, that the manuscript including Douce 324 and Rawlinson poet. 143 may have been put together from geographically diverse sources and perhaps different archetypes; see A. I. Doyle, 'The Manuscripts' in *Middle English Alliterative Poetry and Its Literary Background*, ed. David A. Lawton (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 94, 97, 145-46 (nn. 34-37).

seniorum' survive. Interestingly, in four copies the text appears with either Makarios' letter or Rufinus' *Historia monachorum*; five other copies present all three texts, always in the order *Historia* + 'Verba seniorum' + Makarios. Of course, the *Historia* contains prominently at its beginning, as if an introduction to the desert life, the exhortation of St. John. This repeated collocation of the three texts chosen for translation appears more than merely fortuitous: the Middle English collection seems a deliberate effort to condense and rearrange a set of contents which occurs rather frequently in Latin manuscripts.²³

But the condensation of the texts, suppression of nearly all Rufinus' *Historia* and selective use of the 'Verba seniorum', does imply a particular point of view at work in the translation. The Middle English selections focus on certain repeated themes. Most importantly, the three texts belong within a popular tradition of *contemptus mundi*. They guide the reader to see life as protracted spiritual warfare: the good man will achieve a selflessness in which God dwells within his soul through grace and supports him in his efforts to preserve himself against incursions, temptations from without.²⁴ Thus the works abound in metaphors of siegecraft and of storm and quiet; they insist again and again upon the importance of *kepyng*, custody and restraint of the senses, and upon the importance of being chastised in this world in order to achieve a properly humble attitude.

These emphases seem to imply an audience substantially different from that envisioned by the authors of the *Vitae patrum* itself. One detail suggestive of this difference is the translation of the key term *monachus*: although the translator wavers somewhat in his choice of equivalents, 'monk', with its implications of one inculcated to pursue perfection, is in fact a very rare alternative, and as his usual form the author chooses 'perfect servant' or 'perfect servant of God', although sometimes 'man' is felt to be an adequate equivalent.²⁵ One should not insist

²³ See Batlle, *Die Adhortationes*, pp. 16-70, who lists 112 nonexcerpted manuscripts. Of the sixteen English copies, four contain two of the texts: London, British Library Royal 8 C.vi (p. 35); Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 84 (p. 37) and Douce 351 (p. 37); Winchester, St. Mary's College 18, part 2 (p. 42); the following have all three texts: Cambridge, University Library Mm.4.28 (p. 32); Harvard University, Houghton Library Typ 194H (p. 32); Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 386 (pp. 36-37); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 36 (p. 57); Cambridge, King's College 4 (pp. 57-58). English copies ignored by Batlle include: Eton College 32, fols. 22r-35r (excerpts); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 234 (120), part 1, pp. 185-96 (excerpts); London, Lambeth Palace Library 373, fols. 85r-140v ('Verba seniorum'); Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Lat. 396 ('Verba seniorum'); in addition, Rylands Lat. 422, copied in Nijmegen, contains fols. 1r-43v the *Historia monachorum*, fols. 43v-87r 'Verba seniorum'. These codices may imply, not that the Middle English texts are rearranged, but that they had the original order 2+3+1. In any event, the Makarios translation of Cambridge, University Library Ff.6.33 is already marked as of an origin independent of the texts here discussed by virtue of its isolation from other *Vitae patrum* materials.

²⁴ Cf., among numerous other loci which might be cited, 'Saynt Machari', ll. 23-24, 54-56, 104 below; or 'Saynt Iohan', ll. 50-54.

²⁵ Cf. such variable translations as the renditions of *monachus* as *munke*, *man*, and *Godes seruand(es)* in the 'Verba seniorum' translation, ll. 9, 28, 35, respectively in Appendix 3. Such

particularly strongly on the niceties of translation, since the author tends to reproduce his source very freely. But generally the texts implicitly exhort the reader to imitate the behavior of the Desert Fathers as a universal ideal, rather than one relevant to a small select group.

Apparently, the *Vitae patrum* provides a healthy regimen for all readers. The works translated seem chosen to offer such a universal code of conduct, a 'form of living'. In 'þe pistill', 'saynt Machari' explicitly presents a model regimen starting 'In þe fyrst begynnynge'; similarly, 'saynt Iohan' in his 'epistil' addresses an audience of novices and devotes most of the discussion to the temptation of pride as it affects those not far advanced in their search for God. And the apothegms of the 'Verba seniorum' translation return ceaselessly to a single basic narrative, in which 'a brother', one of the novices, seeks advice from a famous father well-advanced in the desert life.

But if these Desert Fathers materials form a guide to basic conduct, they also extend toward the limits of the religious life. Like a great many works Horstmann printed in *Yorkshire Writers*, these works testify to an effort to present some form of contemplation as an integral part of common religious experience. The works suggest that some kind of visionary experience forms an expected part of the religious life of those addressed. For example, the 'pistille of Saynt Machari' assumes that one step in the regimen described is receiving 'þe priue bydyngs of þe holi gost', which include visions of heaven and hell. Nor is this the final step in the regimen, but one which precedes a total 'gostlynesse' of behavior.²⁶

Although the texts assume an audience potentially sophisticated in religious matters, the form they take is not exceptionally elevated. Generally speaking, the quality of the translation appears consistent through all three texts and is typified by its frequent awkwardnesses. Given this consistency, a fairly accurate sense of the translator's method can be gained from a single example. If one compares the opening of 'þe pistill of saynt Machari' with the independent translation found in Cambridge, University Library Ff.6.33, one can gain some sense of the translator's prolixity and diffidence. In the following parallel selections, I have italicized the various additions of the two versions (two omissions of Latin words in 'þe pistill' are marked by dots):

In primis quidem si coeperit homo semetipsum agnoscere, cur creatus sit, et factorem suum deum, tunc incipiet poenitere super hiis, que commisit in tempore

variability of lexicon is quite individual and contrasts strikingly with the usage of such figures as Trevisa and Chaucer, who typically allow a single English root to translate all uses of a single Latin root.

²⁶ The quotation is from Appendix 2, ll. 101-102; for the discussion of contemplative activity, see ll. 79-88; the end of the paragraph alludes to the discussion in ll. 91 ff. Other common works printed in *Yorkshire Writers* which show an interest in contemplation as a universal endeavor include *The Mirror of Holy Church* and *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*.

negligencie sue. Sic demum benignus deus dat illi tristiciam pro peccatis, et post hec iterum per suam benignitatem donat illi afflictionem corporis in ieiuniis et vigiliis, et oracionis instanciam, et contemptum mundi, et ut libens illatas sibi iniurias sufferat,... (PG 34.405-406).

Iffe a man begynne first to knowe hymself why he is made and *to knowe also* God his maker, than shal he begynne to forthynke hym of tho thynges that he dyd in tyme of his negligence, so that aftirwarde *oure* benigne *and merciful* God zeveth hym *heuynesse* and sorowe for his synnes. And aftir thes he zeueth hym also of his beningnyte affliction of body in fastynges and wakynges and besy contynuaunce in prayer and dispyte of the worlde, and that he suffyr gladly wronge that is doo vnto hym ... (Cambridge Ff.6.33, fol. 138r).

In þe fyrst *begynnyng*, if a man begyn to know hymself *what he is* and why he was made and Gode his maker, þen chall he begynn to forthinke him for *his defeutes* þat he dyde *befor* ine tyme of his negligence. And þan *oure* ... Lorde gyfs hym sorow for his synnes, and efter þat he gyfs hym ... affliccioune of *his* body in *gret* fastyng and wakyng and *mikell* besines in prayer, dispite *and forsakyng* of þe worlde, ande *he makes him* to suffyr *patiently* and gladly wranges *ande hermes* þat ar don to hym ... (H 208va corrected).

Both translations are, as is typical of Middle English renderings of Latin, expansive: lacking recourse to a synthetic syntax, like that of the source text, they require many words to communicate grammatical relations which Latin economically expresses through inflectional suffixes. Moreover, like all Middle English translations, the two texts are routinely expansive in their rendering of individual Latin words: doublets occur frequently.

Yet, these features taken into account, the H version is considerably more expansive than the Cambridge. Since it ignores two Latin phrases which run to nine English words in the Cambridge text, H is about 17 per cent longer, ninety-five words to ninety. Moreover, much of this excess is comprised of materials essentially superfluous. In contrast to the restraint of the Cambridge translator, who offers essentially two doublets (for *benignus* and *tristiciam*, the latter perhaps a technical term),²⁷ and one clarifying repetition of a parallel phrase, 'þe pistill' has a much more various and capricious set of expansions. Although the text includes doublets for individual words (for the technical term *contemptum*, but also *ut libens* and *iniurias*), it not only uses doublets more frequently than the Cambridge text but also shows a propensity toward doubling translations of full phrases and clauses. Indeed such repetitious translations amount to a persistent authorial practice, repeated insistently as a way of insuring the transmission of Latin content. In the selection, *cur creatus sit* gains the qualification 'what he is'

²⁷ Since the word frequently functions as the name of the fifth 'deadly sin', *acedia*.

as well as being translated directly, and this tendency is more widespread in the texts than would appear from the selection cited.

Moreover, a fussiness like that which qualifies 'why he was created' by a parallel yet different statement of the purpose of human existence, 'what he is', appears in other forms in the *Vitae patrum* texts. The author persistently qualifies and overqualifies his source, adding superfluous and sometimes inapposite information. In the passage above, the addition 'befor' reflects, for example, the translator's anxiety that an unvarnished past tense may not be an adequate marker of the pastness of the events described. At the opening, 'begynnyng' shows a similar awkwardness: having decided to follow literally the form of Latin 'In primis', rather than use the idiomatic English 'At erst', the translator is thus committed to supplying an otherwise unnecessary noun to clarify through identification the referent of 'fyrst'. Besides such efforts, some of which substantially distort the Latin sense, the text is weighted down with additional qualifiers like 'gret' and 'mikell'.

Ineptitudes of this sort seem potentially useful for localizing the composition of the *Vitae patrum* pieces. For the translator shows no particular qualms about relative infidelity to the text, about ignoring some of its words or offering extensive additions in other places. This stylistic freedom, joined with the *terminus ad quem* provided by H, the oldest manuscript narrowly dateable, allows some inferences about the date of the three works. In middle and later fourteenth-century translations, there appears to be a progression toward greater ease and freedom of rendition in two ways.²⁸ First, translators gradually escape from an utterly literal *verbum pro verbo* translation, occasionally even in the (non-English) word-order of the source. Although apparently a commonplace mode of procedure near mid-century, such slavish fidelity appears infrequent after the earlier Wycliffite biblical translation and certainly plays little part in such translations of the 1380s as Chaucer's *Boece*, Trevisa's *Polychronicon*, or the common version of *Mandeville's Travels*. Provisionally, one can say that the translator of the *Vitae patrum*

²⁸ The best discussion of literal prose translation from Latin remains that of Elizabeth Salter, 'The English Tradition of Prose Translation', pp. 179-263 of *Nicholas Love's 'Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ'* (Analecta cartusiana 10; Salzburg, 1974). Salter does not, however, distinguish carefully between more literal (what is sometimes considered 'stencil translation'; see Samuel K. Workman, *Fifteenth-Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose* [Princeton, 1940], pp. 7-10) and freer forms of rendition. For examples of mid-century scrupulous fidelity, see Salter's citations from an early translation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran life of Christ (Elizabeth Zeeman, 'Continuity and Change in Middle English Versions of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*', *Medium Aevum* 26 [1957] 26-27) or Hope Emily Allen's citations from an early prose translation of William of Waddington's *Manuel des péchés* (Allen, 'Two Middle-English Translations from the Anglo-Norman', *Modern Philology* 13 [1915-16] 744). The only major piece of translation showing such fastidiousness and composed subsequent to the Wycliffite earlier version of Scripture is, I think, Misyn's version of Rolle's Latin (1430s); see the sample of the *Emendatio vitae* translation cited by Margaret G. Amassian, 'The Rolle Material in Bradfer-Lawrence MS 10 and Its Relationships to Other Rolle Manuscripts', *Manuscripta* 23 (1979) 72.

texts has a good deal more in common stylistically with compilers of the 1380s than with those of earlier periods.

A second feature of the texts may imply a slightly later date, toward 1400. In his extensive additions, the *Vitae patrum* translator is considerably freer in his response to the source text than either Chaucer or Trevisa. These translators (as well as Nicholas Love, writing after 1400), although they may omit materials, rarely add them: when qualifications are necessary, they are clearly marked as such and separated from the authoritative received text.²⁹ The *Vitae patrum* translator eschews such fastidiousness in favor of a greater, and more awkward, freedom. He is probably then to be placed in the years around 1400-15, following the more faithful, yet more fluent, Ricardian translators, yet early enough to allow some dissemination of his texts before 1425, the latest probable date for the relevant portions of H.

Geographically, the author may be placed rather precisely. With the exception of the derivative C and the fragment R² (itself a deteriorated version of the texts as found in A), all surviving witnesses originate in Yorkshire.³⁰ Moreover, the lost manuscript S, which contained the Yorkshire poem *Speculum vitae* in addition to the *Vitae patrum* pieces, likely had a similar genesis. Somewhat unusually, manuscript provenances may suggest an even narrower localization of the area in which the author was active.

Two of the codices containing the Middle English *Vitae patrum* texts point suggestively toward a relatively small area of North Yorks., including York City and an area immediately to the north and west. H, before its acquisition by the Huntington Library, belonged to the Ingilby family of Ripley Castle, near Harrogate. The Ingilbys, over a three hundred-year period, put together a library of nearly sixty codices, many of them materials acquired in the neighborhood, including a number of volumes from the adjacent Fountains Abbey (O.Cist.).³¹

²⁹ Discussions of the licit degree of departure from the grammatical forms of the source-text or of the treatment of authorial comments are almost a commonplace of late fourteenth-century prose translations. In addition to the well-known Wycliffite materials, relevant texts include Trevisa's *Dialogue* prefixed to the *Polychronicon*, the prologue to Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, the unpublished Latin prologue to Henry Daniel's *Liber uricislarum* (1379), one of the Latin headnotes prefaced to Love's *Mirror* (c. 1410), and (as Professor Linda E. Voigts tells me) the prologue to the Middle English phlebotomy in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College ms. 176/97 (c. 1400). Such translators consider themselves *compilatores*: see Alastair G. Minnis, 'Discussions of "Authorial Role" and "Literary Form" in Late-Medieval Scriptural Exegesis', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 99 (1977) 37-65 and *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1984), especially pp. 191-210.

³⁰ For information on scribal dialects of the various copies I am grateful to the generosity of Professor Angus McIntosh.

³¹ The collection was dispersed by sale at Sotheby's, 21 October 1920. Of the Fountains volumes cited by Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edition (London, 1964), pp. 88-89, ten belonged to the Ingilbys: Mr. H. Davis' manuscript (sale lot 50);

Moreover, George R. Keiser has pointed out that signatures in H and a second Ingilby manuscript, now Huntington ms. HM 1339, suggest that the codices belonged in the early sixteenth century to the more northerly Carthusian house of Mount Grace.³²

Inferentially, there are reasons for believing that the lost S may have come from this area or one adjacent. Although Henry Savile came from Halifax in West Yorkshire, so far as one can tell, most of his manuscripts did not emanate from that area. Much of Savile's collection was put together from North Yorkshire monasteries, in some cases through the intermediate ownership of John Nettleton of Hutton Cranswick, East Yorks. Among Savile manuscripts with ascertainable provenances, the largest monastic sources were Byland (thirteen codices), Fountains (four), Rievaulx (six or seven), and various houses in York City (nine total). A few Savile texts also came from Mount Grace.³³ The association of S with any of these houses remains highly inferential, but the possible link of the only two codices containing all three *Vitae patrum* texts with a limited area of North Yorks. seems provocative.

The *Vitae patrum* texts, perhaps originally a small booklet of related items composed in Yorkshire, typify one form of Middle English literary composition in need of more protracted study. Prose works of religious instruction seem often to have been of particularly brief compass and to have circulated in small bundles like the one I have been discussing.³⁴ One way of advancing our knowledge of

Manchester, John Rylands University Library Lat. 365 (lot 151); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 890 (lot 17); Oxford, Bodleian Library Lyell 8 (lot 152); Princeton, Princeton University Library Garrett 94 (lot 49); the last four Vyner manuscripts cited (VR 6107, now London, British Library Additional 62129 [lot 116]; VR 6108, now Additional 62130 [lot 125]; VR 6106, now lost [lot 75]; and VR 6120, now Additional 62132 [lot 124]); and Oxford, University College 167 (sold before the sale). In addition, the Ingilbys owned a large number of Fountains legal documents not listed in Ker: London, British Library Additional 40009-40011 (sale lots 55-57); three manuscripts at Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (lots 58-60); and a variety of deeds, including London, British Library Additional Charters 62747-58 (lots 179-80). Other legal materials at one time owned by the Ingilbys include the Fountains cartularies London, British Library Additional 37770 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B. 449.

³² Keiser, 'Holy boke', 309-10; however, now see A. I. Doyle, 'Reflections on Some Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*', *Leeds Studies in English* N.S. 14 (1983) 82-93, especially 87-88, 92 (n. 32) for a suggestion that ms. HM 1339 is of metropolitan manufacture (and by the scribe of Cambridge, University Library Mm.5.15 and Oo.7.45). However, exchange of manuscripts and monks between Carthusian houses went on as a matter of course in the fifteenth century, and a London brother or manuscript might well emerge later in Yorkshire.

³³ Andrew G. Watson, *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969), pp. 6-7, 9.

³⁴ Two such collections, one fourteenth and one fifteenth century, were identified by A. I. Doyle in his 1953 Cambridge dissertation, *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English...* 1.165-74. I am grateful to Dr. Doyle for information about the manuscripts of the Middle English *Vitae patrum* and for his constant encouragement. Needless to say, he is not responsible for the more bizarre uses I may have made of his good counsel.

vernacular instruction in the later Middle Ages will be the identification of more such textual sequences. Subsequent efforts at mapping the provenance and transmission, as well as at analyzing the peculiarities of content, of such textual groupings cannot fail to offer new information about networks of literary production in later medieval England.

APPENDIX 1

Brief Manuscript Descriptions

I use the following short titles to identify bibliographical tools or commonly cited texts:

Jolliffe = P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974).

IMEV = Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943); Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington, Ky., 1965).

Wells rev. = J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung, eds., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven, 1967-).

YW = Carl Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers. Richard Rolle and His Followers*, 2 vols. (London, 1895-96).

(A) London, British Library Additional 33971

S. xv in. Vellum. 82 fols. 200×130 mm. (writing area 135×97 mm., up to 145 mm. high in final portion of the codex). In anglicana formata, two hands (the second for only half a side, fol. 73v, the opening of text 4). 22-29 lines per page. Regular signatures in first halves of quires (signed *b-I*), although often cut away; catchwords.

Contents:

Booklet 1 = fols. 1-64

(1) fols. 1r-63v: *The Chastising of God's Children*, beginning imperfectly with original quire *a* lost; ed. Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (Oxford, 1957).

(a) fol. 64r-v: blank.

Collation: 1⁸ (-8) 2⁸⁺¹ (+1) 3-8⁸.

Booklet 2 = fols. 65-82

(2) fols. 65r-69r: 'þe pistill of saynt Machari þe Ermyte'.

(3) fols. 69r-73v: 'þe epistill (pistil in *colophon*) of saynt Iohan þe (*om. in colophon*) Ermyte'.

(4) fols. 73v-82v: 'Meditacio pauperis', 'Walter Hilton in a pistill to a cristen frende', a unique and unpublished text, mentioned in Helen L. Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 22 (1937) 107.

Collation: 1⁸ 2¹⁰.

Dialect: pure northern, probably Yorkshire.

Descriptions: *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the Years MDCCCLXXXVIII-MDCCCLXCIII* (London, 1894; rpt. 1969), p. 147; Bazire and Colledge, pp. 2-3.

(R) Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C. 285

S. xv in. Vellum. 118 fols. 215×155 mm. In four main hands with later additions, particulars below.

Contents:

Booklet 1 = fols. 1-39

(1) fols. 1r-39r: Walter Hilton, *Scala perfectionis* 1; partly modernized ed. Evelyn Underhill (London, 1923).

(2) Fol. 39r: extract from *The Prick of Conscience* (IMEV 3561.1); ed. YW 1.129.

(a) fol. 39v: originally blank; added meditations (in a hand of s. xv); ed. YW 1.129-31.

Writing area for main hand 190×130 mm. In anglicana. 32-37 lines per page, usually 36 or 37. No signatures; catchwords.

Collation: 1¹⁰ 2¹⁴ (-9) 3¹⁴ 4².

Booklet 2 = fols. 40-63

(3) fols. 40r-57v: Richard Rolle, *The Form of Living*, ed. Hope Emily Allen, *The English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 82-119.

(4) fols. 57v-63v: a series of nine brief prose texts; ed. YW 1.104-12.

(b) fol. 63v: originally blank; added Latin notes (in a hand of s. xv); ed. YW 1.128.

Writing area for main hand 175×120 mm. In anglicana. 28 and 29 lines per page. No signatures; catchword.

Collation: 1-2¹².

Booklet 3 = fols. 64-73

(5) fols. 64r-68v: 'The Passion and Three Arrows on Doomsday'; ed. YW 1.112-21.

(6) fols. 68v-71r: 'The Epistle of St. John' (untitled); ed. YW 1.122-24.

(7) fols. 71r-73v: a series of exempla from the 'Verba seniorum' (untitled); ed. YW 1.125-28.

(c) fol. 73v: originally blank; added Latin notes in the same hand as (b); ed. YW 1.128.

Two main scribes: item 5 in the same hand (and approximately same format—180×120 mm., 28 lines) as Booklet 2; the remainder in a contemporary anglicana. For the second scribe, writing area 180×120+ mm. 37 and 38 lines per page.

Collation: 1¹⁰.

Booklet 4 = fols. 74-118

(8) fols. 74r-118v: Walter Hilton, *Scala perfectionis* 2.

Writing area 183×121 mm. In bastard anglicana. 38-40 lines per page. Regular signatures in the first halves of quires 1-3 (signed *a-c*); catchwords for the first three quires.

Collation: 1-4¹⁰ 5⁶ (-6).

Dialect: pure northern, probably Yorkshire.

Descriptions: see entry and bibliography in Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of The Prick of Conscience* (Oxford, 1982), p. 157.

In addition, an effort has apparently been made to upgrade the quality of the volume. This presumably occurred at the time that the separate booklets were bound together and involved adding decoration. The opening page of each of the booklets has been distinguished with pale red marginal flourishing and rather roughly drawn figures of birds, insects, animals, and flowers; after this rubrication, gold leaf was added to the first initial in the volume.

(R²) Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson D. 913, fol. 61

S. xv. Vellum. A fragment, the bottom portion of a conjoint bifolium, cut and folded rather unevenly but c. 190×130 and 200×125 mm. (writing area 110×120-125 mm.). In anglicana formata. 18 lines per page survive.

Contents:

- (1) fol. 61a: 'The Epistle of St. Machary', ll. 113-116 (conclusion).
- (2) fol. 61a: 'The Epistle of St. John' (untitled, with four-line high decorated capital on red and blue quartered ground), ll. 1-8 of the YW text.
- (3) fol. 61bcd: 'The Epistle of St. Machary', ll. 20-31, 51-62, 82-93.

Apparently the central bifolium of a quire: disposition of the text on fol. 61bcd suggests an original leaf in 47 or 48 lines and a writing area of c. 295×125 mm. However, there are problems with such a reconstruction, unless the text was copied from a disordered exemplar in which leaves were reversed so that 'The Epistle of St. Machary' ended on fol. 61a before it began on fol. 61b. The fragment has been used as both a wrapper and a pastedown and is often illegible under ultraviolet light.

Dialect: south Beds.

Descriptions: one of a number of fragments from bindings mounted in a guardbook; see William D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, partis quintae fasciculus quartus, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson...* (Oxford, 1898), col. 139.

(C) Cambridge, University Library Ff.5.40

S. xv^l. Vellum. 130 fols. (numbered 17-146 to account for two lost quires at the head). 223×150 mm. (writing area c. 165×105 mm.). In anglicana formata. Regular signatures in first halves of quires (Booklet 1 signed 3-6; Booklet 2 signed a-e; Booklet 3 signed [2]-8); catchwords.

Booklet 1 = fols. 17-48

- (1) fols. 17r-31v: Walter Hilton, *Mixed Life*, beginning imperfectly with original quires 1 and 2 lost; ed. YW 1.264-92.

- (2) fols. 31v-48v: Middle English translation of Richard Rolle, *Emendatio vitae*; unedited but described, with sample passage, by Amassian, 'Rolle Material' (above, n. 28), 73.

Collation: 1-4⁸.

Booklet 2 = fols. 49-86

- (3) fols. 49r-86v: Walter Hilton, *Scala perfectionis* 1 (ending in chapter 61).

Collation: 1-4⁸ 5⁶.

Booklet 3 = fols. 87-146

- (3) fols. 87r-104v: Walter Hilton, *Scala perfectionis* 1 (concluded).

- (4) fols. 104v-108r: Richard Rolle, *The Commandment*; ed. Allen, *English Writings*, pp. 73-81.

- (5) fols. 108r-109r: 'Proper Will'; ed. *YW* 1.173-75.

- (6) fols. 109r-112v: Walter Hilton, *Of Angels' Song*; ed. *YW* 1.175-82.

- (7) fols. 112v-113v: 'Treatise on Deadly Sin'; ed. *YW* 1.182-83.

- (8) fols. 113v-114r: extract from *The Prick of Conscience* (=R item 2).

- (9) fols. 114r-146v: the fifteen texts (=R items 3, 4, [b], 5, 6, 7, [c]), copied consecutively. 'The Epistle of St. John' and the Rawlinson 'Verba seniorum' exempla appear without titles on fols. 140v-143r, 143r-146r, respectively.

Collation: 1-6⁸ 7¹².

The division of the *Scala perfectionis* between two booklets apparently reflects some change in plan during production of the codex. The scribe wrote eight lines of chapter 61 at the foot of fol. 86v, and copying was apparently to be resumed by another scribe. This person, writing a wavy anglicana, began chapter 61 at the top of fol. 87r and completed that leaf, along with twelve lines of the next. However, at that point, he was replaced by the original scribe, who cancelled the initial lines of chapter 61 he had written on fol. 86v and resumed the text where his successor abandoned it. The first scribe then copied through to the end of the volume.

C plainly shared an exemplar with R and also with Cambridge, University Library Dd.5.55 (which contained, before losses, items 3-8 above, followed by R item [a]). R is presumably the archetype behind the other two copies since not only do all share texts in the same order but in R that order is formed by the piecing together of discrete chunks in various hands while the Cambridge manuscripts are continuous copies. However, R is probably not the direct ancestor of the Cambridge copies for two reasons. These texts share a feature not in R (but perhaps in another, lost derivative), namely, the sequence of C items 4-7. Further, these texts can never have been in R in this order, since C items 3 and 8 occur sequentially within the same leaf in R. A further complication is the inclusion in MS. Dd.5.55, but its omission in C, of item (a) added in R by a later hand.

Dialect: northeastern Norfolk.

Descriptions: see Lewis and McIntosh, *Descriptive Guide*, pp. 151-52.

(H) San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library HM 148

S. xv (variously). Vellum. 221 fols. 270×205 mm. In three hands, particulars below.

Contents:

Part 1 = fols. 1-22

- (1) fols. 1r-22va: *Be holy boke Gracia Dei*; ed. Mary Luke Arntz, *Richard Rolle and be Holy Boke Gratia Dei. An Edition with Commentary* (Salzburg, 1981).

(a) fol. 22vb: blank.

Writing area 223-228×150 mm. in double columns. In anglicana, s. xv med. 44-50 lines per column. Signatures in the first halves of quires 2 and 3 (signed *b* and *c*); catchwords.

Collation: 1-2⁸ 3⁶.

Part 2 = fols. 23-221

- (1) fol. 23ra-vb: prologue to Richard Rolle's *English Prose Psalter* (ed. Allen, *English Writings*, pp. 4-7); followed by the opening of the prologue to the Latin version.
- (2) fols. 24ra-203vb: Richard Rolle, *Prose Psalter*, without Wycliffite interpolations; ed. Henry R. Bramley, *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles* (Oxford, 1884).
- (3) fols. 204ra-206rb: Richard Rolle, *The Commandment*; ed. Allen, *English Writings*, pp. 73-81.
- (4) fols. 206rb-208va: unpublished text on the two New Testament commandments; described by Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (New York, 1927; rpt. 1966), pp. 366-68.
- (5) fols. 208va-210rb: 'A pistille of Saynt Machari hermet, sende to his breþer in Uitas Patrum'.
- (6) fols. 210rb-211vb: 'The Epistle of St. John' (untitled).
- (7) fols. 211vb-221vb: extensive series of exempla from the 'Verba seniorum', ending imperfectly, with perhaps a full quire lost at the end.

Writing area 225×155 mm. in double columns. By two scribes who share the same page format: the first, who copied items 1 and 2, writes anglicana (lemmata in textura), s. xv¹; the second, who takes over on fol. 204r, writes bastard anglicana, s. xv^{1/4}. The first scribe provides signatures (usually cut away in binding) and catchwords; the second scribe uses neither.

Collation: 1-14¹² 15¹⁶ (change of hands, fol. 204r, leaf 14) 16⁸ 17⁸ (-8).

Dialect: part 2, first scribe northwest Yorkshire?; part 2, second scribe north Lancs.?

Descriptions: Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* 1 (New York, 1935; rpt. 1961), p. 59; forthcoming catalogue of the Huntington manuscripts, ed. Consuelo W. Dutschke.

(S) *olim* Henry Savile of Banke 41 (now lost)

A folio volume which contained nine items; see Andrew G. Watson, *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969), p. 26. Identifiable contents include items *a*, the *Speculum vitae* (IMEV 245), a poem with strong Yorkshire associations, and *i* (IMEV 244?, ed. YW 2.36-45), also occurring in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson A. 389 (an early Rolle manuscript); also:

- e* 'Epistola sancti Machari heremitae ad fratres, soluta oratione anglice'
f 'Item doctrina Sancti Johannis Eremitae ad fratres, soluta oratione anglice'
g 'Doctrina Sanctorum Patrum collecta ex vitis patrum prosa Anglica'.

Cambridge, University Library Ff.6.33

S. xv/xvi. Vellum. 142 fols. 160×120 mm. (writing area 105×75 mm.). In bastard anglicana. 19 lines per page. Regular signatures in first halves of quires through fol. 88 (and excepting fols. 33-40, signed *a-d, f-l*); catchwords.

Contents:

- (1) fols. 1r-22v: 'Benjamin minor'; ed. Phyllis Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to The Cloud of Unknowing* (EETS ES 231; London, 1955), pp. 11-46.
- (2) fols. 22v-38r: six short English prose tracts, mostly on prayer, including a translation from the *Speculum spiritualium* on the virtues of the Pater Noster (fols. 27r-31v).
- (3) fols. 38r-67v: St. Brigit, 'Rewell of Saynt Sauioure', translated into English (Wells rev. 6.6; the only other copy is London, St. Paul's Cathedral 5 [s. xvi in., from Syon]).
- (4) fols. 67v-88r: 'The fyve wyles of Pharao' (Jolliffe K.7a), unpublished.
- (5) fols. 88r-98v: 'The rewle of seynt Austyn', translated into English (Wells rev. 6.5; the only other copy is London, St. Paul's Cathedral 5).
- (6) fols. 98v-114r: text on temptation (Jolliffe K.4), unpublished.
- (7) fols. 114r-115r: 'To the pope', unpublished.
- (8) fols. 115r-138r: 'A ladder of foure ronges' (Guigo of Chartreuse, *Scala claustralium*, translated into English); ed. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, pp. 100-17.
- (9) fols. 138r-142v: 'A pistyll' (in running titles 'scripcion' and 'wrytyng') 'of seynt Machary', unpublished.

Collation: 1-17⁸ 18⁸ (-7, -8).

A rich, and nearly unique, source for Middle English rules (a context non-tangential with those of the other manuscripts). The Makarios text is probably taken from that version providing a climax to the *Speculum spiritualium*, a source utilized elsewhere in the collection (item 2 above).

Dialect: Middlesex; in the hand of William Darker of Sheen (see Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, p. xiv n.).

Descriptions: *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* 2 (Cambridge, 1857), pp. 534-36.

APPENDIX 2

The Epistle of St. Machary: *A Critical Edition*

(H 208va) *Her begynnes a pistille of Saynt Machari hermet sende to his breþer in Uitas Patrum.*

- In þe fyrst begynnyng if a man begyn to know hymself what he is and why he was made and Gode his maker, þen chall he begynn to forthinke him for [his] defautes þat he dyde befor ine tyme of his neglignce. Ande þan oure lorde gyfs hym sorow for his synnes, and efter þat he gyfs hym affliccioune of his body in gret fastyng [and] wakyng, and mikell
 5 besines in prayer, dispite and forsakyng of þe worlde, ande he makes him to suffyr patiently and gladly wranges ande hermes þat ar don to hym ande forto haue in hateredyn all flechly [refreschyng] and wordly solace ande þat he luf better wepyng þen laghyng. Ande eftire (H 208vb) þis he gyffes hym desire of teres and mekyng of hert and þat he anly behalde þe balke in his awne egh, noght þat he besy hym to draw out þe mote of anoþer mans egh,
 10 bot þat he say ay þus with Daudid, 'Forwhi I know myn awn syn, and my wikkednes is ay agayn me'; and þat he haue oft in his mynde þe day of his deghyng, how he chal stande and apere to syght of our lorde, and also þat he [deskrye] in þe syght of his saule þe strayt [domes] of God agayn synners and þe harde vgly paynes ordande for syn and also þe desertis, þe wirchips, þe medes, and þe blisses þat schall be gyfen to holy men for þair gude
 15 dedes. And wen a man has [sene þis and has] fone sauor and comforth þarin thorow grace, þan our lorde suffers him to be assayde of his gostly enmys, if he will be trew and stedfast in grace þat he has resayuode, and if he will þan forsake frely lustys and flechly lykynges, and if [he] will agaynestand myghtyly þe fandynge of fendes, princes of þis worlde þe qwylke hade hym bunden fyrst ine þar pouer. þai tempe him by glotony, first whan þai
 20 bryng into his thought ser sauors and lustes of delicious metes and drynks and makes þe hert so nesch and so wayke þat it is nerhande ouercomen, what thorow werynes and

Titulus a] þe A hermet] þe ermyte A sende ... Patrum] *om.* A 1 if] of A 2 and] of A his] all his H 4 fastyng] fastynges A and¹] *om.* H wakyng] wakynges A mikell] grete A 5 he] *om.* A to] *om.* A 7 refreschyng A; refreschyngs H 9 egh¹] eghen A besy hym] *trs.* A 12 to] to þe A 12,13 deskrye, domes] -rye, -mes (hole in leaf) H 13 synners] synnes A 15 sene ... has² A: *om.* H 16 to] *om.* A his] *om.* A 18 he A: *om.* H of] of þe A þis] þe A

- 2 *his*, 63 *opire*: H adds the intensifier *all*, absent in A and in the Latin (cf. *hiis*; 63 occurs within a Middle English expansion).
 4 *and*¹: Latin *ieiuniis et vigiliis*; possibly the plural forms of A should also be inserted, but the translator is not always fastidious about number.
 7 *refreschyng*: Latin *refrigerium*.
 8 *mekyng*: probably the author's simplification of the Latin *humilitatem et humiliacionem*, but an original English *meknes* and *mekyng*, simplified by scribal haplography, is possible.
 9 *balke*: see Mt 7:3.
 10 *Forwhi*: see Ps 50:5.
 15 *sene þis and has*: cf. Latin *Si igitur viderit, quoniam hec illi suavia sunt*.
 19 *bunden ... pouer*: Latin *vinxerunt*, perhaps read as *iunxerunt*. *first*: Latin *prius* is translated twice; cf. *fyrst*.

febylnes of body, what thorow lenketh of tyme. And þai say þus in his thocht, 'A, [houe]
 lang tyme trows þou þat þou moue suffer þis trauell? þou wot neuer how harde trauell it
 is or a man be wor(H 209ra)thi forto haue God wonnande in his saule, namely to þe þat
 25 has bene defoulyde with many grett synnes. Nay, it wor inogh to þe gif þi synnes myght
 be forgyffen þe. þarfor lat be: it is for noght at þou dose.' þus say þai in his thoughts. Bot
 þan zyf our lorde see þat his hert is stedfast in drede of Gode þat he forsaks not his place
 ne leues not his purpose bot myghtyly agaynstandes [with] sorow and with trauell, þan his
 30 enmys withdraws a lyttyll. Bot astit þai come agayne on anopire maner, sayande to hym
 þus in his thoughts vnder colour of ryghtwysnes, 'þus þou has synnede, bot þou has done
 þi pennaunce, and þi synnes [er] forgyffen þe. Now art þou haly.' And þai gare him thyng
 þan of opire men þat he knew for synners and dide no pennaunce þat he his better þan
 þai are, and so þai sawe in his hert wayne ioy and pride of himself. And nozt anely þat,
 bot þai mak opire men forto prayse and loue him by [flateryng] and styres hym to hegher
 35 werks þan he may do, ande þai put also in a mans thocht þat he chulde not ete ne drynk
 bot littill or noght, and nozt to slepe, and many opire grete werks þat passe kynde. And
 þai gyf a gret lyghtnes to a man to fulfyll alle þese, as him thynk withoutyn dises. þus dos
 þin enmys forto begyll þe o þat o syde or o þat opire, bot haly wrytte bydes þe be ware
 sayande þus, 'þou chall noght helde on þi ryght syde ne on þe left, bot sall go þe (H 209rb)
 40 ryght in þe mene.' Ande if our gude lorde se þat he assentys nozt in his wyll to none of
 þes wykkede styrryngs, zyt he suffers him to be assayde in opire, sayande Dauid of swylyk
 temptacions þus to oure lorde, 'þou has assayde my herte, ande þou has vysede me by
 nyght; thorw fir þou has examinde me and in me his fun na wyckednes.' Ande he says,
 'þou has vysede me be nyzt', and not be day, for als mykkell as all þe gylings of þe enmy
 45 ere lykynde to nyght. For Godes son, þat is Iesu Cryst, is daye and verray lyght, bot þe

22 A *houe* AR²: *about* H 23 *moue*] *schalt mowe* R² suffer] *suffis* R² þis] *þis grete*
 AR² 24 *for to*] *at* A 25 *grett*] *om.* A synnes¹] *syn* A 28 *with*¹ AR²: *om.* H
 with²] *grete* A 29 *astit*] *.s sone* R² 30 *þus*¹] *om.* AR² 31 *and*] *.ow and* R² synnes]
 synne R² er A: *is* R²: *om.* H 34 *flateryng*] *fla'ying* H 35 *a*] *om.* A 36 *to*] *om.* A
 many opire] *trs.* A 38 *þin*] *myn* A 39 *bot*] *bot þou* A 40 *gude lorde*] *lorde god*
 A 43 *says*] *sayde* A 45 *to*] *to þe* A

22 *A houe*: Latin *quanto* confirms the AR² reading; in the hand of H, the letters *h*, *l*, and *b* are remarkably similar, and an archetype in the same script probably lies behind the error. Cf. 71 below.

28 *with*¹: cf. Latin *resistat et pugnat*; unsupported by the manuscripts, but also possible is the reading *sorow with trauell*.

29 *astit*: 'then, next' (Latin *tunc*), a reduction of the root sense 'immediately'.

31 *er*: probably lost in H by haplography from *synnes es/is*.

33 *sawe*: 'sow' (Latin *superseminantes*).

37 *a gret lyghtnes*: 'a sense of great ease' (Latin *facilitatem*). as ... *dises*: Latin *si quomodo eum ad hec illiciant* ('if in some way they should entice him to these acts').

39 *þus*: see Pr 4:27.

42 *þou*: see Ps 16:3; *vysede* is past participle of *visiten*.

45 *Godes son*: see 1 Jo 1:5.

- fende is mirk and nyght. And þan when a man has thorow grace and help of our lorde ourgone all þes batells, þan begynnes his enmys forto cast in his saul foule thoghts of lychery and auowtrye ande a wonderfull desyre of flechly vnclenes, so ferforth þat þe soule begynnes to fayle, and þe hert waykes þat him think it vnpossypyll þe kepyng of chastite.
- 50 þai say þe tyme is so long, and þe trauell abut vertus so gret, and þe byrpine of þaim is vnsouerabyll, what for sekenes of body and what for frelte of kynde. [Bot þan if a man stande fast and turn noght þe bak, oure Lorde God, full of mercy, sendes hym his haly vertue, and conforthes his hert in grace, and gifes hym gladnes of hert and gastly refreshyng and myght, þat he be funden stranger þen his enemys, sa mekill þat þare
- 55 malicius feghtynges agaynes hym ouerga hym noght, bot þat þai er aferde and dredes þe vertue of God þat wonnes in hym.] Saynt Paule says þus, 'Striues, and 3e sall resayue þe vertw of Gode.' Bis vertu is it þat Saynt Peter spak of þus, 'Our Lorde has behett heritage vncorrupt, not faylande, kepede in heuen to 3ou þat er kepyde in vertw thorow fayth in hym.' Ande when our gude mercifull Lorde sees þat his hert is strenkethyde (H 209va)
- 60 abouen his enmys, zite he assayes him more, for he withdraws be a lyttill and lyttill fro þe saule þe holy vertu þat helpyde hym befor, and grawnts leue to his enmys forto assayle him and tary him and ouerlay hym with seer temptaciouns of flechly lustes of vaynglorye, of couetyse, of pride, and of [opire] synnes þat draw a saule to lesyng, so ferforth þat a man fels him þan as he ware forsakyn of Gode, and þat he his lyke a schippe þat is
- 65 withoutyn gouernale þat is dryuen hyder and þider with þe storme in þe see and in poynt of perichyng. Ande when a mans hert fades in all þes and fayles at all þe styrryngs of þe enmy as hit war a thyng þat hade no myght ne lif, ne grace, ne comforth, ne sauore in Gode outtakyn only a nakede wyll, þan our Lorde Gode, trew louere of men, hafande tendere cure of all his creaturs, sendes to him holy vertu and confermes hym in it, vndyrstande
- 70 þe hert and þe saule, þe body and all þe myghts of þe saule and þe lymes of þe body vndyr þe 3ok of þe holy gost, as he says himself þus, 'Takes my 3ok ypone 3oue and [lers] of me, for I am mylde and meke in hert.' Ande þan our gude Lorde schall begyne forto oppyn þe eygh of his hert thurg his blyssede lyght þat he may wele see and vndyrstande þat he his noght of himself, bot it is only Gode þat thorow grace helps him (H 209vb) and giffes
- 75 him vertu and [conformes] him. And when his innere eygh is oppynde, þan at arst sall a man begyn sothfastly to [ken] gyf honoure, louyng, and thankyng to Gode with all meknes

46 is] is verray A 48 and¹] and of A 50 so] is sa A 51-56 Bot ... hym AR²: om.
 H 52 Lorde] om. R² 54 sa] are so R² 55 ouerga] oþer go R² þat] om. R²
 56 Saynt] As ... R² 60 zite] and (?) R² be] with A: om. R² a] om. A 63 opire
 A: all opire H 65 þe storme] stormes A 67 ne¹] ne na A 71 lers A: bers H
 72 Lorde] god A 73 wele] wole A 74 thorow] thurg his A 75 conforms]
 conforthes HA 76 ken A: cone H

51 *vnsouerabyll*: i.e., *unsufferable* 'insupportable' (Latin *importabilia*).

51-56 *Bot ... hym*: homoeoteleuton in H; the passage has full Latin parallels.

56 *Saynt Paule*: cf. 1 Cor 9:25?, 2 Cor 5:9?

57 *Saynt Peter*: see 1 Petr 1:4-5.

71 *Takes*: see Mt 11:29; *lers* is confirmed by Vulgate *discite*.

75 *conformes*: Latin *confirmat*.

76 *ken*: this A reading more adequately represents Latin *nosse* than does H *cone*.

- and zeldyng of graces, as Dauid says þus, 'Sacrifice to God is a saule assayde with tribulaciouns', forwhi thurgh þis trauel of gostly tribulaciouns a saule is made mek and mylde, [pacient] and soft and buxum to Gode. And when a man is assayde with all þes
- 80 þus, þan sall þe haly gast begyne forto schew him haly kyrk, þe ioies and þe [rewardes] þat sall be zolden to þaim þat hopes mekly in his mercy. And þan says a man to himself þe wordes of þe apostyll þus, 'All þe passions of þis lyf are not worthi forto deserue þe ioy comande þat schall be schewde to vs'; and also [what] Dauid says, 'What thyng is to me in heuen and what walde I for þe abouen erth?' Þat is, þou lorde, how gret thyngs ar þo
- 85 þat þou has grathede to me in heuen, and what askede I for þe ine þis dedly lyf? Ande also þe turments and þe payns of hell sall be schewde till him, þe whilk wykkede men schall suffer; and mony opire priuetyss sall be schewde to him, þe whylk a holy man schall vnderstande, þof I spekt hit not. And efter all þis thyngs þe holy gost schall begyne to mak connande with þe saul in clenness of conscience, in stabyl(H 210ra)nes of saule, in holyness
- 90 of body, and in mekness of spyryt. And he schall lyft hym vppe and mak hym to go gostly abouen all creaturs, and þat his mowth spek no mor þe dedes and þe werks of wordly men, and þat he see with his eyghne sympylly and ryghtly, and þat he sett a warde to his tonge and mak ryght way in all his [goyns], and þat he haue ryghtwysnes ay in his handes, [þat] is instaunce of prayers and of gude werkes, and also affliccioun of þe flech in [fast] wakyng.
- 95 þes disposys þe holy gost with him in mesour and in discrecioun, nouper to mykkell ne to littill, ne in trobylyng and perplexe bot in quiete. Neuer þe lese, ȝif hit be so þat efter þis ȝit a saule forsaks thorow blyndnes of itself þe disposicioun of þe holy gost, alstite þe vertu þat was gyffen to hym and þe grace þat he hade gose fro hym, and þan rysyngs, fyghtyngs, and styrryngs in þe hert and sere passions of þe body al todraw þe saule thorow

77 graces] grace A 78-79 and mylde] *om.* A 79 pacient] paci- (leaf smudged) H
 and¹ *om.* A 80 forto] to A rewardes] -ew-illeg. (leaf smudged) H 83 what¹ A: þat R²:
om. H 84 for] fro R² þo] þai A 85 for] of AR² dedly] dede A 86 till] in
 R² 87 priuetyss] priutes A to him] *om.* AR² 90 to] *om.* AR² 92 þat¹] þan R²
 his¹] *om.* A sympylly] symple A ryghtly] right A 93 goyns R²: goyng HA and²]
om. AR² þat²] leaf smudged H 94 fast] fastyng and H: fastyng in A wakyng] *adds* and
 A 96 perplexe] amplexite A so] sa þat A 97 blyndnes] þe blyndnes A

77 *Dauid*: see Ps 50:19.

80 *haly kyrk*: Latin *occulta hoc est* ('secret things, that is'), which would normally be rendered *privitees* (as at 87); but apparently the translator misread an unusual abbreviated form as *ecclm*, i.e., *ecclesiam*. þe¹ ... *rewardes*: Latin *iure ... meritoque* ('by right and by desert').

81 *golden to þaim*: Latin *sanctis ... debentur et hiis* ('are owed to the saints and to those'); the translator apparently read the text as *dabuntur*.

82 *þe apostyll*: cf. Rom 8:18.

83 *what¹*: cf. Latin *quid*. *Dauid*: see Ps 72:25.

84, 85 *for*: for *fro*; cf. Latin *a te*.

89 *connande*: 'covenant' (Latin *pactum*).

93 *his goyns*: cf. Latin *gressibus suis*.

94 *fast*: cf. Latin *et vigiliarum frequenciam* ('and constant performance of wakes'); cf. *MED Fast a.*, sense 1(b), 'stable, enduring, persistent'.

- 100 [entisyngs] of his enmy, so þat þe saule is all out of ryst and stabylnes. Bot þan if grace
viset hym and his hert be turnede agayne to grace, and þat he may gette þe priue bydyngs
of þe holi gost, þan sall þe defense of our Lorde be festinde to hym. And þan sall a man
fully knawe be experience þat þar is nathyng so gude til a saule as forto cleue to Gode and
len to hym withoutyn styntyng, forwhi He his þe lif of þe saule, and withoutyn Him þe saule
105 may (H 210rb) not lif bot all in pine. And þan says þe saule as Daudid sayde, 'I cryede to
þe, and þou [helede] me, forwhi at þe is þe well of lif.' Ande þerfor, efter my counsell, bot
if a man haue grete meknes, þat is grounde and chef of all vertus; and þat he set kepyng
to his muthe be silence and to his hert drede of gode; and in þat þat he ourepasses opere
in onye grace or vertu, he haldes hymself neuer þe worthier, ne sets noȝt himself befor þaim
110 as if he hade ony gude; and þat he may suffer wranges and schames gladly, and þat he may
to þe smytande him o þet o chek profyre þe toper; and þat he may byrst vpe redyly and
violently to all gude as hit nedes to be don; and þat he ber his saule ay in his hande, as
ilk day dyande, redy forto offyre it to þe wyll of oure Lorde; and þat hym thynk all thyng
vayne and vnnayte þat is vnder sune; and þat he say with Paule þus, 'I couet to be lousede
115 fro my body and to be with Crist'; and 'Crist is my lyf, and Cryst is my dede'—he may not
parfytylly kepe and fulfyll þe speciall beddyngs of þe hali gast. Iesu amen.

100 entisyngs A: entiryng H 101 agayne to] be A bydyngs] biddynges A
103 cleue] be clene A 106 helede] herde AH 107 and² om. A 108 drede] þe drede
A ourepasses] passes A 111 þet] þe A 114 vnnayte] vanyte A: vnfair R² say] om.
A lousede] leued A: lesid R² 115 not] om. A 116 kepe] kastyn R² Iesu amen om.
R²: adds Here endes þe pistill of saynt Machary þe ermyte A

105 *Daudid*: see Pss 29:3, 35:10.

106 *helede*: confirmed by Vulgate *sanasti*.

111 *to þe smytande*: cf. Mt 5:39.

112 *as²*: Latin *quasi* ('as if').

113 *thynk*: Latin *ducat*.

114 *Paule*: see Phil 1:23, 21.

APPENDIX 3

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library HM 148: Verba seniorum (the incipit)

- (f. 211vb) 1. A broþire asket Sant Antonyus, 'What schall I do to plesse Gode?'
(f. 212ra) Ande he ansuerde þus, 'Kepe what I say; whidyre so þou gose, haue Gode ay
before þin eyghne; and in all thyng þat þou dose, take wytnes of haly wrytyng; and in what
place þou rests þe, styre not lyghtly fro it. Halde þes iij. and þou schall be saue.'
5 2. Also þe same fadyr sayde þus, 'Trist not in þi ryghtwysnes; do so at þou repent þe
not for thyng þat is passede; and be continent of þi tung and of þi wombe, and þou chall
be safe.'
6. Saynt Zacary hermete sayde þus, þat what man whil vndyraste and constreyne
hymself to bodyly nede mekly, he may be a munke.

1 I have divided and numbered the text to accord with the divisions of the source (PL 73.855-57).

10 8. Abbot [Ion] sayde þus, 'I wyll þat a man tak part of all vertus on þis manere: ylke
day rysande at morne, tak þe begynnyng of ilke a vertue; and kepe Godes byddyngs in gret
pacience, with drede and esy abydyng, in charyte and in meknes, in tribulacioun of body
and kepyng of hert, in mykell prayer and oft besekyng to Gode with wepyng, in purte and
clennes of tunge, and kepyng of eyghne fro vanite, sufferande wrangs and not be wroth,
15 pesfully not zeldande ill for ille, not gyfande tent to enuy and to defautes of opire men, ne
lyfande vpe þiself abouen oþer, bot be mek and buxume and soget to ylke a creature.'

9. Abbot Iosepe sayde þus, 'Thre ordyrs of men er wyrchypfull in þe syght of Gode.
þe fyrst is of a man þat is in gret seknes, and zite [oure] Gode suffers hym to be taryde
be gostly temptaci(f. 212rb)ouns, and he takes þaim bot gladly with zeldyng of thanks to
20 Gode. Anopire is when a man makes all his warkes clene before Gode, nothyng hauande
blame of flechlyhede. þe thryde es of hym þat sytts mekly vndyr subieccioun of a gostly
fader and forsaks all his propyr wylle.'

11. A broþere askede a holy fader, 'What gude thyng may I do and lyf þerin?' And
he ansuerde þus, 'Only Gode wot what gude is, for all werks are not euen ilyke; forwhi,
25 as holy wrytt says, Abraham helde hospitalite, and Gode was with hym. Ande Hely þe
prophet lufede ryst, and Gode was with hym. Also Dauid was mek, and Gode lufede hym.
þarfor whatso þou sees þi saul wyll, þat is gude at þe ledyng of God, þat thyng do.'

15. Abbot Pastor sayde þus, 'If a man hate tua thyngs, he may be fre fro þe worlde.
Ande þese are flechly ryste, as it war recreacioun, and vayne ioy.'

30 18. Abbot Chamyne sayde þus, 'Duel not with erytyks, ne haue na knawying of iustyce,
ne be not þi handes opyne forto take and gedyr, bot streke þaim out forto gyf.'

19. How comes drede of Gode into a mane? A fader answerde þus, 'If a man [han]
meknes and pouerte, and þat he deme nan opire man bot hymself, so commes drede of
Gode.'

35 22. þe lyf of Godes seruandes is fyrst werks of obedience and meknes, meditacioun
of holy scripture and of werks of Gode, and þat he deme not, ne iuele spek, ne gurch not,
ne assent not with þe vnryghtwys man, ne forto se iuele werks, (f. 212va) ne forto be curius
in his doying, ne here opire mens defautes, ne stele with his handes, bot rapare gyf of þat
he has, ne be not proude and hegh of hert, ne be lypire and dissayuabyll and fenande in
40 his thoghts, ne fille his wombe with mete, bot all thyng do be discrecioun. Loo, þis is þe
lyf of Godes seruande.

10 Ion] -n (hole in leaf) H 18 oure] oure þat H 32 han] *om.* H; cf. Latin *habet homo*

12 *esy abydyng*: 'the virtue "long sufferingness"' (Latin *longanimitate*).

16 *mek ... creature*: Latin *subditus et humilior omni creaturae* ('subject to and meeker than every creature').

21 *blame of flechlyhede*: expands upon and qualifies Latin *humanum* ('that is human').

22 *all*: superfluous, and unparalleled in the Latin; cf. Appendix 2, ll. 2 and 63.

25 *holy wrytt*: cf. Gen 18. *Hely*: cf. 3 Reg 17:1-6, 19 (Elijah's withdrawals into a hermitlike *quies*); the subsequent David reference is very general.

27 *at þe ledyng of*: a very literal translation of Latin *secundum*.

30 *iustyce*: Latin *judicium* ('judges, justices').

35 *werks ... meknes*: Latin *opera obedientia* ('works [and] obedience').

23. Pray Gode þat He wyll gyf to þe compuncione and wepyng in þi hert with meknes, ande ay loke on þin aune synnes and deme not opire, bot be vndyrloute to all, and haue na homly frenchype with wimen ne with herityks ne with chyldyre. Cote away
 45 fro þe ouremykell trist, and halde þi tung, and abstene þe fro win, and what men speke to þe, strif not agayns hym for na cause. Bot he say wele, acorde with hym; if he say ille, say to hym þus, 'Broþer, þou wot what þou says', bot strif not with hym. And þan chall bi saule be ristfule and in pese.

University of California, Riverside.

46 *for na cause*: Latin *de quacunque causa* modifies *loquitur*, not *contendere*.

A NEW COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT AT VENOSA

Virginia Brown

SINCE the publication of the second edition of E. A. Loew's magisterial *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1980) the 'Hand List of Beneventan mss.' which it contains can be supplemented, happily, by a considerable number of hitherto unknown specimens, mostly fragmentary.¹ In 1980 dott.ssa Annamaria Santangelo discovered at the Biblioteca Comunale, Venosa a nearly complete codex in Beneventan which contains an anonymous and apparently unique commentary on the gospel of Matthew. The text itself presents a challenge by virtue of its being acephalous, and the manuscript's association, though perhaps only fortuitous and modern, with Venosa, the birth-place of Horace and a small city in what is now Basilicata, is intriguing. Palaeographically speaking, Basilicata has been overshadowed by neighboring Puglia where Beneventan, often in a distinctive form known as the 'Bari type', was written.

Yet there is no apparent reason why Beneventan had to remain confined to Puglia. Does, in fact, the codex at Venosa point to the use of Beneventan in the adjoining region to the west?² if so, where and when? and where and when did the commentary on Matthew originate? These and other questions will be considered in the following pages. It is prudent to state at the outset that any answers which may be attempted are hypothetical at best and based on circumstantial evidence. Much remains to be explored and learned about medieval manuscripts and Basilicata.

I am very grateful to dott.ssa Santangelo for knowledge of this manuscript as well as for some detailed information, to dott.ssa Rosa Maria Liroy, Direttrice of the Biblioteca Comunale, Venosa for various and generous assistance, and to the Comune di Venosa for permission to publish the findings and photographic reproductions presented here. I have to thank also Professor Denis Brearley for many helpful suggestions.

¹ All new items now known will be described briefly (and relevant bibliography given) in V. Brown, 'A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988). The present article is prompted by the unusual palaeographical and textual interest of the Venosa codex.

² As will be shown below, the palaeography of the Venosa manuscript suggests a scriptorium on the fringe of the Beneventan zone, probably near Puglia. It may be noted here that this codex is not the only Beneventan specimen in modern Basilicata; a leaf (Liturgica with neums, s. XII ex.), now in the Archivio di Stato, Matera and exhibiting 'Cassinense' characteristics, will be described in 'A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)'.

I

ms. 1 (hereafter referred to as V) of the Biblioteca Comunale, Venosa consists of 117 folios numbered from 1 to 116 (fol. 6 is numbered twice) and measuring 204×117 (160×80) mm., in 30-32 long lines, arranged thus: $1^6 + 13^8 + 1^7$. In addition to this modern arabic foliation in pencil at the lower right-hand corner of the recto, there is an older foliation in black ink at the upper left-hand corner of both recto and verso which begins at 'IX' on fol. 1r, continues with 'X' on fols. 1v and 2r, 'XI' on fols. 2v and 3r etc., and goes on more or less uninterruptedly to fol. 102r ('CXX'); thereafter noticeable gaps occur in the older foliation until the end of the text, the last entry being 'CXXIII' on fol. 116r. Pasted to the inside front cover is a fragment of a leaf displaying *probationes pennae* in Gothic (with another *probatio pennae* in seemingly the same Gothic hand on fol. 116v); fragments of two folios, now sewn together and pasted to the back cover, are written in non-Beneventan minuscule s. XIII and contain passages from the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*.³

The binding consists of red leather, now torn and frayed, over boards, with a nail remaining to indicate a missing clasp. There are no apparent indications of previous ownership, and it is not known when and how the codex arrived at its present location.

Ruling is in dry point, lightly applied, seemingly, to the hair-side of every leaf, and prickings are seen in the extreme outer margin of a number of folios (e.g., fols. 28, 29, 111). The hair-side is used for the outermost leaves of a quire; within the quire there is the usual arrangement whereby hair-side faces hair-side, and flesh-side faces flesh-side. There are neither catchwords nor quire-marks. Double vertical bounding lines enclose the text.

The ink of the text is brown, with occasional traces of black. Initials at the beginning of chapters and sometimes at the beginning of verses are in red ink; occupying one or two lines and displaying the serifs, simple protuberances and hair-line flourishes that often embellish Beneventan majuscule, these initials comprise the only decoration in the manuscript and are usually the only indication of a new chapter or verse.⁴ Generally a Caroline or Beneventan minuscule letter in the margin (e.g., fols. 15r, 38r, 40r, 41r-v, 58r, 81v) informs the rubricator as

³ J. Holmberg, ed., *Das Moraliū dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches* 1 (Uppsala, 1929), pp. 7-10, 68-70. Only one side of the folio is legible; the first decipherable line begins at '<ho>nesti indiuia est' (p. 7.4) and the last line ends at '<re>pugnante ita non' (p. 70.4-5).

⁴ Occasionally a later hand has added an abbreviation for 'capitulum' followed or preceded by a Roman numeral as on fol. 37r11 'X. ca.' (before Mt 10:2-4) and fol. 41v 'XI^m c^m' in the margin opposite Mt 11:1 (line 21); however, on fol. 32r4 'C. IX' has been added erroneously before Mt 8:23.

to which majuscule letter should be inserted, and from such instructions it may be inferred that copyist and rubricator need not have been identical.

Clearly the scribe of V knows the Beneventan rules, but, as will be evident from the plates accompanying this article, a few of them are put into practice under the influence of Caroline minuscule. He writes a small, neat hand which lacks the angularity and shading associated with Cassinese manuscripts and at times approximates to, but misses, the lightness and roundness of 'Bari type' products. At first glance, the general effect is almost indeed that we are dealing with non-Beneventan writing.⁵ Yet the rules of Beneventan morphology, strictly speaking, are surely followed, and hence the script is certainly not that of the 'tentative' or 'formative' periods (s. viii ex.-x). Letters begin with a tiny approach stroke; there are the typical forms of *a* and *t* and required ligatures with *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, *ti*; the distinction between hard and soft *ti* is observed; *e*, *f*, *g*, *r* and *t* exhibit a horizontal connecting stroke. As distinctive features of his hand, we may note that the ordinary form of *c* seems to be invariably preferred to broken *c*, final *r* is usually short, the *i* of the *fi* ligature rests on or above the base-line and turns inward, and final *f* and *s* often go below the base-line. The occasional use of uncial *a* (e.g., fols. 68r4 *anni* and *annis*, 92v21 *designat*, 105v22 *aū*, 106r15 *quā*) may reflect Caroline influence. Brief additions and corrections made suprascript are sometimes written in contemporary Caroline minuscule, perhaps by the scribe himself (cf. fols. 19r10, 26r12, 68r6, 107r28); longer additions, e.g., at the bottom of fols. 15v and 114r and in the outer margin of fol. 17v, are entered in the Beneventan of the text hand.

Some of the numerous abbreviations likewise indicate that the manuscript is later than the tenth century. Most importantly, the apparently constant use of the 2-symbol for *tur* and *i* for *in*, together with the very frequent use of abbreviation by superior letters (for *ergo*, *ibi*, *modo*, *quomodo*, *uero*, and so forth) and the apostrophe to denote *s* and *us* in medial and final position, all point to a late eleventh-century date.⁶ The abbreviations for the various forms of *omnis* do not present such clear-cut evidence since they reflect, sometimes on the same folio and almost in the same line, both the older and later systems. Some instances are: (nominative singular) *om̄is* (fols. 14r25, 40r29, 58v4) and *ois* (fols. 15r30, 28v2, 58v3, 74r10); *om̄em* (fols. 36v18, 37r9) and *ōem* (fols. 36v19, 37r9); (nominative or accusative plural) *om̄s* (fols. 28r23, 30v16, 116r12) and *ōs* (fols. 16r4, 25r22, 39r9, 68v6); (nominative or accusative plural) *om̄a* (fol. 26v23) and *oīa* (fols. 16v19, 98v10); *om̄ium* (fols. 2v30, 101v32) and *oīum* (fols. 26r29, 73v18);

⁵ In the palaeographical data given below, I have also included the line numbers of the folio since the diminutive size of the script often makes it difficult to locate the examples cited.

⁶ Loew, *The Beneventan Script* 1.174, 213.

(dative or ablative plural) *omibus* (fols. 29v19, 96r23) and *oibus* (fols. 32v9, 67r4).⁷

While the scribe of V demonstrates his Beneventan training by the use of the traditional Beneventan abbreviations listed above and also by his adherence to the usual Beneventan forms for *misericordia* and *eius* (*ei* ligature with stroke through the tail of the *i*⁸), he also differs in some instances from the Beneventan norm. Striking is his use for omitted *m* of a suprascript horizontal stroke, inclined upwards to the right, which is actually a flourish. This is the form which he generally employs throughout the manuscript in obvious preference to the Beneventan 3-shaped *m* sign; that he knew the latter, however, is evident from its sporadic occurrences.⁹ The flourish is, of course, used also for omitted *n*, as well as for the many other abbreviations found in V that were permitted by the Beneventan canon, such as the Nomina Sacra and omitted *en*, *er*, *it*, *on*, *un*. While the suprascript horizontal stroke accompanies such abbreviations in all Beneventan manuscripts, it may be argued that the pronounced upward swing is so distinctive in V as to be extraordinary and hence a sign of 'external' influence.¹⁰ To this 'external' influence may also be attributed, perhaps, the occasional appearance of such non-Beneventan abbreviations as *aut* (fols. 1v13, 26r8 and elsewhere) instead of the traditional *au* (= *autem*), along with a few other unusual symbols like *mōs* (fol. 25r3) for *modis* and *q* with a sinuous stroke through the shaft for *quam* (passim).¹¹ I have noted one instance of *.N.* for *enim* (fol. 48r6).

Punctuation in V is rather simple. For declarative sentences a point usually indicates medial and final pauses and is used before quotations; it is very rare to find as the final pause the comma surmounted by two dots (after *parturies*, fol. 20r14) and the comma between two dots (after *recedunt*, the last word on fol. 28v). The conclusion of interrogative sentences is usually marked by a dot surmounted by a question mark resembling the modern symbol (e.g., fols. 26r24, 27v8, 64v5, 89r8) or, much less often, by a dot surmounted by a *u*-shaped symbol

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 210-12.

⁸ The use of this distinctive *eius* abbreviation is not absolutely invariable: at fol. 71r26 the *ei* ligature is followed by the apostrophe denoting *-us*. But such a deviation is very rare.

⁹ The 3-shaped *m* sign is used, for example, at fols. 5r13 *gratiam*, 26r29 *omnium*, 90r16 *filium*, 115r24 *primum*; when it does occur, the '3' is often not articulated clearly but resembles a kind of angular comma.

¹⁰ The horizontal stroke as employed by our scribe has none of the 'lozenge quality' noticeable, for example, in Cassinese manuscripts of the Desiderian period and elsewhere in the Beneventan zone. Obviously such a sign was often made in haste, and it would be extremely hard to argue that the stroke can be used as evidence of origin. Nonetheless in V the upward flourish does seem reminiscent of Carolingian practice.

¹¹ Loew, *The Beneventan Script* 1.190 notes that this *q* symbol usually denotes *quod* in Beneventan manuscripts except in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7530 (s. VIII ex.) where it denotes *quam*, the symbol being 'probably taken over from the exemplar'. For the Beneventan use of *au*, see *ibid.*, pp. 198-99.

(fols. 4v24, 9r4, 12v10, 13v16, 22v3); the former is characteristic of manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards, and the latter of those copied s. x ex.-xi in.¹² I have noted one instance of a suprascript sign over the interrogative word itself at the beginning of the sentence (fol. 4v24).

Thus the palaeographical data suggests for V a late eleventh-century date, and this is consonant with the general aspect of the script. Certain aberrant letter-forms and abbreviations indicate that the scribe was operating on the periphery of the Beneventan zone.

II

The anonymous commentary on Matthew begins abruptly on fol. 1r (pl. 1) with a comment on a lemma towards the beginning of chapter 2 (I reproduce scribal orthography, punctuation and capitalization): 'ad creatorem. Quia eum intendebant esse deum . propterea hoc dixerunt',¹³ followed by the first lemma, *Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est* (Mt 2:3). To judge from the numeral 'IX' in the top left-hand corner, the portion of the text now missing occupied eight leaves, perhaps arranged in a single gathering. The last gathering, which consists of seven leaves, has lost between fols. 112 and 113 a leaf which would have contained the lemmata and commentary on Mt 27:36-60 now missing as well. A later non-Beneventan hand has added at the bottom of fol. 115v 'Explicit Nicolaus de Lira super Matheum' (see pl. 5), but this is wrong on two counts since the commentary actually ends on fol. 116r and its final passage bears no resemblance to the concluding section of Nicholas of Lyra's commentary.¹⁴ The last lemma and comment of V's commentary are then (see also pl. 6):

Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, docentes eos seruari (sic) omnia quecumque mandaui uobis. Et ecce ego

¹² *ibid.*, pp. 244-45.

¹³ In all other citations of the text of the commentary I have preserved the orthography of the manuscript (with the exception of *e*, which is rendered as simply *e*) and inserted punctuation and capitalization according to modern conventions. Angle and square brackets enclose respectively my own additions and deletions; V^c signifies corrections or additions apparently made by the scribe or a contemporary, and V² those made by a later hand.

¹⁴ The attribution to Nicholas of Lyra may have been prompted by the fact that fol. 115v ends with a comment on Mt 28:15 which includes an enumeration of five of the ten appearances of Christ after his Resurrection. When discussing Mt 28:16 Nicholas of Lyra lists ten appearances of Christ, the first four of which (the apparitions to Mary Magdalene, the women returning from the tomb, Peter, the two disciples on the road to Emmaus) are also those of the Venosa commentary. Possibly the person who entered the note at the bottom of fol. 115v did so on the basis of a comparison of these comments. (For Lyra's text see *Bibliorum sacrorum tomus quintus cum Glossa Ordinaria, et Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus. ... In libros Matthaei, Marci, Lucae, Iohannis* [Lyons, 1545], fol. 87va-b).

uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consumationem seculi (Mt 28:19-20). Hic uero Matheus uidetur fecisse finem sui tractatus, qui in decimo canone sancti Ieronimi breuior ceteris inuenitur; qui in primo et in secundo amplior omnibus manifestatur. Si quis uero de sapientibus studiosius requisierit de tempore nostri ingenii quare tam magna breuiatim transcurrimus, tale (*sic*) de causa excusetur nostra simplicitas quia nichil nouum dicere possumus, sicut ait Salomon in Ecclesiasten quia *nichil est nouum sub sole* (Eccli 1:10). Quod autem gratia spiritus sancti subministrat, elationi sue stultitie non inputet sed dona referat creatori, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Immediately there follow on fol. 116r slightly garbled versions of three poems by Hildebert of Le Mans which explain the symbolism connected with the tripartite fraction of the Host, some features of the Mass, and various hours of the Divine Office.¹⁵ These lines were added as if they were prose, with no indication of authorship, by a somewhat later and less expert scribe (s. XII, *ut uid.*) in 'ordinary minuscule' obviously influenced by Beneventan; cf. the modified 3-sign for final *m* (ll. 2, 4, 7, 8), *li* and *ti* ligatures (ll. 3, 6, 7), large *e* (passim) and uncial *d* (passim). On fol. 116v, other non-Beneventan hands have added the beginnings of several lines from the gospel (Mt 1:18, 2:1, 2:13, 3:1, 3:13, 4:1, 4:12, 4:23, 5:1, 5:17, 5:20, 5:21, 5:43, 6:3, 26:32; Mc 16:7).

When the text to be discussed is anonymous, it goes without saying that the identification of the author is often very difficult. In this case the task becomes even harder since, regrettably, the beginning of the commentary is lost along with any possible title and other clues such as a prologue revealing the author's purpose and statement of procedure.¹⁶ Can the acephalous contents of the commentary be made to yield information which would accord with the late eleventh-century palaeographical date suggested above and also serve to illumine the commentary's origin? This is the issue to be examined now.

It is instructive to consider first the general question of codices in Beneventan which contain Biblical commentaries. The number of surviving manuscripts or fragments with such works comes to more than 130, of which many contain more than one commentary; these figures may rise when the contents of manuscripts described now simply as 'Homiliae', 'Patristica', etc. are determined more pre-

¹⁵ A. B. Scott-D. F. Baker-A. G. Rigg, 'The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert of Le Mans: A Critical Edition', *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985) 311, no. 68 (= 'Tres partes facte [*sic*] Christi de corpore signant...') and 310, no. 67 (= 'Est ratio cur liber altaris...'); A. B. Scott, ed., *Hildeberti cenomannensis episcopi Carmina minora* (Leipzig, 1969), p. 54, no. 57 (= 'In matutino cantantur [*ut uid.*] tempore...').

¹⁶ With a view to reuniting 'membra disiecta', I have examined all the fragments listed in the 'Hand List of Beneventan mss.' (vol. 2 of *The Beneventan Script*) as well as the items discovered later, and have not yet been able to locate the missing leaves which once formed part of the Venosa codex.

cisely. At present there are known more commentaries on the Old Testament than on the New Testament; the *Moralia in Iob* of Gregory the Great is the text most often found among the former, and Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannem* among the latter. Surviving commentaries on Matthew in Beneventan script are not at all plentiful. I note the following:

Berkeley, University of California, Bancroft Library ff 2MS A2M2 1000:8, s. XIII: Jerome, *Prologus commentarii in Matthaeum* (1 fol.)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 14730, s. IX/X: Jerome, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 627, fol. 1r, s. XII in.: Remigius of Auxerre, *Commentarius in Matthaeum*.¹⁷

Hence the Venosa commentary is a notable addition to this list, which is conspicuous for the absence of such well-known medieval commentaries as those by Bede, Hrabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Rupert of Deutz, etc. Significant too, perhaps, is the omission of Bruno of Segni's exposition of Matthew, when surviving manuscripts in Beneventan testify to the circulation of his other exegetical works in southern Italy.¹⁸ Given the extant evidence, it is clear that this prelate of the Beneventan zone did not furnish that area with the standard commentary on Matthew.

Likewise it is clear that the commentary preserved in V was hardly the standard work for the Beneventan zone or, for that matter, any other region. So far as can

¹⁷ Some items were identified as 'Commentarius in Matthaeum' or simply 'Commentarius in Evangelium' in Loew, *The Beneventan Script* 2.36, 45, 50. None of them has any connection with the Venosa commentary as their contents are the following:

Cremona, Biblioteca Statale Fragmenta codicum 2 (now Fragm. 1.2), s. XIII (1 fol.): ps.-Augustinus, *Sermo* (= Caillau 1.49) (PLS 4.1895-97)

Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale C 168, fols. 31-32, s. XI ex.: Remigius of Auxerre, *Homiliae XII in Matthaeum* 7 (PL 131.900A-901C, 904A-905A); fol. 33, s. XI²: *Sermo de Passione*.

Leningrad, Sobranie Inostrannykh Rukopisei Otdela Rukopisnoi i Redkoi Knigi Biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR Fr. Q. W. 5, s. XI ex. (part of 1 fol.): Bede, *Homiliae* 1.12 (on Mt 3:13-17) (CCL 122.80-82).

It should be noted that the 'homilies' of Remigius of Auxerre on the gospel of Matthew are actually excerpts from his unpublished commentary on that text; cf. H. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre* (Studi e testi 225; Vatican City, 1962), pp. 125-28. For convenient reference to the text of the twelve 'homilies' printed in PL 131, I shall continue to call them 'homilies' in this article.

¹⁸ Identified Beneventan copies of Bruno's commentaries are: *In Leviticum*, *Numeros*, *Deuteronomium* (Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 195, s. XI ex.); *In Psalmos* (London, British Library Egerton 1945, s. XII; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Chigi A VII 202, s. XII); *Homiliae in euangelia totius anni* (Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 194, s. XI ex.); *In Lucam* (excerpt) (Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 251, s. XII); *In Iohannem* (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Heid. 3298, no. 23 [1 fol.], s. XII). Naturally there could have been (and probably were) Beneventan manuscripts of his commentary on Matthew which are now missing, but their numbers do not seem to have been so great as to ensure transmission of the commentary in this form.

be determined at present, the text seems to be unique: it cannot be identified with any of the commentaries on Matthew printed in the standard texts series (*Patrologia latina*, *Corpus Christianorum*, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*), and key passages in V do not correspond to any of the commentaries listed in F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1940-80). Is V's commentary, then, an 'import' to southern Italy? Again we must regret the loss of the folios at the beginning of the manuscript which might have enabled us to reply easily and with a greater assurance than may be had from an examination of the contents of the text.

For this commentary is very reluctant indeed to yield information bearing on its origin and date of composition. Let us consider the arrangement. The commentary proceeds according to the lemmatic method: several words of the text are cited, and then a comment is given. Lemma is not distinguished from comment by a mark or different color of ink.¹⁹ Every verse in the gospel is reported in a lemma, with the only gaps occasioned by the loss of folios as detailed on p. 447 above. Lemmata vary considerably in length; in general, the lemmata cited at the beginning of the commentary through Mt 7 (the end of the Sermon on the Mount) are shorter and so these chapters contain more separate comments, while from Mt 8 on the lemmata encompass longer passages from the gospel and there are fewer comments. Such disparity in length of lemmata and comment may indicate that the commentary was actually taught (i.e., we can visualize the teacher devoting considerable attention to the earlier part of the gospel and then treating the later portions in much less detail). The longest lemma comprises the verses from Mt 25:14-30 (fol. 100r-v). Transition from comment to lemma is often effected with various 'linking' words or phrases such as 'Propter quod subinfertur' (fol. 3v), 'Propterea subinfertur' (fol. 5v), 'Cui dicitur' (fol. 7r), '... sic infert' (fol. 26r), '... statim subintulit' (fol. 70r), 'Quare subinfertur' (fol. 91v), '... subiungit dicens' (fol. 95r); often the last words in the sentence, they are preceded by reasons explaining the transition (e.g., 'Et ut euidentius ostenderet fideliter debere credi, statim subintulit *Ubi enim sunt...* [Mt 18:20]' [fol. 70r]).

Transitional phrases also occur within various sections of the comments. Different interpretations are usually introduced by the simple 'Vel aliter' (fols. 3v, 5v, 21v and passim) or by 'siue' (e.g., fol. 4r). When the author wishes to change the direction of the discussion or to add a comment of his own, the first person plural seems to be used invariably. Some examples are: at Mt 2:11, 'Sed ut pro posse nostro uestigia eorum sequamur, aliquid mysticum assignemur' (fol. 2r); at Mt 4:11, 'Tum mouetur quoque nostra intentio in amiratione cum intelligimus per

¹⁹ As reported on p. 444 above, a large capital letter sometimes signals the beginning of a lemma, but such instances are at best infrequent, given the length of the commentary, and occur hardly at all after fol. 72v.

memoriam narrationis domino (*sic*) a diabolo ita fuisse temptatum...' (fol. 8v); at Mt 8:16-17, 'Ipse autem euangelista testimonio prophete in maxima parte uidetur hec miracula exposuisse, sed tamen aliquid mysticum addamus' (fol. 31r); at Mt 15:10-11, 'Sed quod obscure prefert, inferius apertius demonstrabit; propterea non indiget hec pars scripture nostre (*sic*) expositione' (fol. 59v).

There is no direct address or appeal to the 'fratres' or any one else which might indicate the audience for whom the commentary was intended. Similarly, references to monastic life and its practices, abbots, monks, etc. are lacking. Our author may have been a cleric of some kind (secular, perhaps, or a canon regular?), to judge from the comment at Mt 6:17-18: 'Vel "caput unguimus": pauperes in domo nostra suscipimus, in quibus intelli<gi>tur Christus' (fol. 22v). Of course in this passage he may also be speaking in general terms, with no reference intended, for example, to a hospice.

The commentary does exhibit what may be called 'ecclesial' interests. A number of times the author refers to 'pastores ecclesiae', 'pastores et prelati', 'prelati', and the three orders in the Church.²⁰ Also 'ecclesial' are several themes which recur more or less regularly, namely, (1) the Church and Christ as its Head/Foundation/Bridegroom, and the Church as his Body/Building/Spouse, (2) the Church contrasted with the synagogue or Jews or Pharisees, with the latter often regarded as objects of opprobrium or connected with the next theme, (3) the dangers posed to the Church by heresies and heretics (and Jews), and (4) the Incarnation. However, these are accorded only a general treatment because the commentator does not mention any local communities of Jews or name individual heresies and heretics; more specific information would, of course, have been helpful for purposes of dating and attribution. Regarding the Incarnation, he affirms only that Jesus Christ is Son of God, consubstantial with the Father, and Son of Man, or true God and true man. Likewise, in keeping with a general approach, when he uses the metaphor of Christ's body for the Church, he refers to it simply as 'corpus Christi'.²¹

²⁰ e.g., at Mt 5:29, 'Oculus uero tuus pastorem ecclesie significat, qui sic debet lucere pre ceteris...' (fol. 15v); Mt 21:4-9, 'Sicut ante materialiter terris Sion erat monitio totius ciuitatis in qua erant uigiles custodientes urbem inferiorem, in sancta ecclesia pastores et prelati debent uigilare super subditos et gregem sibi commissum...' (fol. 78r); Mt 21:12-13, 'Nam illi prelati in ecclesia qui uendentur federe in cathedra <ad> populum dei regendum et iudicandum...' (fol. 79r); and Mt 25:14-30, 'Tribus ordinibus distribuit suam pecuniam quia tali numero denotantur fideles ecclesie, scilicet coniugati, continentes et rectores' (fol. 100v).

²¹ For the Church as 'corpus Christi' cf., e.g., these comments: at Mt 2:19-20, '... post mortem Antichristi quando sancta ecclesia que est corpus Christi per ammonitionem Helie et Henoc de Egipto, idest de tenebris ignorantie, ueniet ad terram Israhel, idest ad congregationem uidentium deum' (fol. 4r); at Mt 6:9, 'Sic uero per filium et per sanctam ecclesiam que est corpus Christi sanctificatur nomen patris, idest intelligi<tur> esse sanctum...' (fol. 20v); at Mt 8:26, 'Illi autem dicuntur esse modice fidei uel null<i>us fidei qui in ecclesia que corpus Christi sunt cum domino' (fol. 32v). By the middle of the twelfth century, *corpus*, when qualified by *uerum* or *mysticum*,

When our author does treat the Eucharist in his commentary, he gives only a few brief observations, possibly because of the teaching constraints imposed on him (cf. p. 450 above) since the topic occurs towards the end of the gospel. Nonetheless we may have a possible clue for dating in his statement about the breaking of the bread at Mt 26:25-26 (I italicize certain key words): 'Expleto misterio ueteris Pasche, misterium noui testamenti docuit. Cum ipse fregit panem qui erat panis facturus (qui quamuis fractus tantum (*sic*) erat integer omnibus credentibus), non dicit "Hoc *significat* corpus meum" sed "Hoc *est* corpus meum" quia natura panis *in rationalem* corporis domini *uertitur substantiam*. Et nec mirum: si panis noster cotidie quo utimur conuertitur (-mur s.s. *V*^o) in substantiam nostre carnis, non est minus credendum de corpore et sanguine domini' (fol. 106r). Here, with the words *in rationalem uertitur substantiam*, our commentator seems to be stating a doctrine of the Eucharist which developed in reaction to the teaching of Berengar of Tours (1000-1088) who denied the substantial change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.²² Taken in conjunction with the non-development of such topics as the hypostatic union in Christ or a theory of redemption, both of which became the focus of numerous discussions in the twelfth century, this passage suggests that our commentary was composed before that period and, indeed, in the latter part of the eleventh century.

On the whole, the author's principal aim seems to be the extraction of the spiritual sense lying behind the literal meaning of the letter. This is evident even in the first complete lemma with comment: '*Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est* (Mt 2:3). In Herodem (*sic*) autem turbatus est diabolus quando intellegit

denoted the Eucharist or the Church respectively (while in the preceding centuries the reverse was the case); cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum: l'eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge. Étude historique*, 2nd rev. edition (Paris, 1949), chaps. 1, 5, 9 and Y. Congar, 'Corps mystique' in *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain* 3 (Paris, 1952), cols. 212-13.

²² On Berengar see: N. M. Haring, 'Berengar's Definitions of *Sacramentum* and Their Influence on Mediaeval Sacramentology', *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948) 109-46; M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 63-97; G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 35-43, 149 n. 84 (with additional bibliography).

Our commentator's choice of *rationalem*, rather than the more usual *uerum*, is interesting. Possibly this is an inexact echo of a similar word used in a similar context of the Canon of the Mass: 'Quam oblationem tu deus in omnibus quaesumus benedictam adscriptam ratam *rationabilem* acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini dei nostri iesu christi' (B. Botte, ed., *Le Canon de la messe romaine* [Louvain, 1935], pp. 36-38, no. 7). It might also be argued that *rationalem* reflects the tone of the oath, with its emphasis on *substantia*, which Berengar was compelled to take in 1079 as opposed to the oath of 1059 whose stress was on the actual physical presence ('sensualiter ... manibus sacerdotum tractari et frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri'); cf. H. Denzinger-A. Schönmetzer, eds., *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (Freiburg i. Br., 1976), nos. 690, 700.

Christum natum esse: quia sicut Herodes timebat materialiter²³ regnum amittere quod iniuste tenebat, ne surgeret aliquis de regna (regia *V*²) stirpe qui sibi auferret illud, sic diabolus metuebat illud, idest ne regnum humani generis amitteret per fidem domini nostri' (fol. 1r). Throughout the commentary the author will precede an explanation with *mistice* or *spiritualiter* or *materialiter* or *moraliter* or similar expressions. Thus, when ready to discuss the meaning of the gifts of the Magi at Mt 2:11, he prefaces the comment with 'aliquid mysticum assignemur' (fol. 2r). Jesus' withdrawal to Galilee after the capture of John the Baptist is explained at Mt 4:12 (fol. 8v) 'iuxta istoriam' and 'iuxta figuram'. At Mt 5:17-18 he writes: '*Tota unum* hic ponit, quod est unum elementum de grecis litteris, pro litteris ueteris testamenti, et *unus apex* hic adibetur pro spirituali intellectu eiusdem legis. ... apex significat altitudinem spiritualis intellectus' (fol. 13v). Particularly illustrative of his method are his remarks at Mt 11:15 *Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat* ('idest qui intellegit mente que[m] mystice et spiritualiter dicuntur, retineat in corde in quo sunt spirituales aures' [fol. 43r]) and Mt 13:1-3 *In illo die exiens Iesus ... in parabolis dicens* ('Parabola[m] est ubi materia auditur et mysticus sermo intelligitur' [fol. 51r]). Our author varies his phraseology at Mt 14:17-20 when he understands 'gens Iudeorum uel, ut largius accipiamus, gens humana' (fol. 58r). He emphasizes the Jews' lack of understanding at Mt 19:7-8, 'nam Iudei nichil aliud intelligunt (-gitur *V*) nisi quod littera sonat' (fol. 72r) and shortly afterwards the obtuseness of the disciples at Mt 19:10-11, 'qui nondum erant capaces diuini eloquii, non intelligebant misterium quod dominus per figuram dicebat illis' (fol. 72r) and at Mt 19:25-26, 'qui nichil aliud intelligebant nisi pura uerba sine intellectu figure' (fol. 73v).

To support the spiritual interpretation which he extracts from Matthew, our author cites numerous parallels from both the Old and New Testament. His favorite book for this purpose is the Psalms (approximately 110 quotations), and next is the gospel of John (approximately 90 quotations). However, in general he prefers the New Testament, drawing over 350 parallels from 20 of the 27 works which make up the canon as opposed to approximately 200 parallels from 24 books of the Old Testament. While he may have gathered some of the Biblical citations himself, he certainly did not assemble all of them, and probably drew for the most part upon readily available material whose origin was ultimately patristic. Some illustration of this is easily found, e.g., in the comments on Mt 2:11-12 where the gifts of the Magi have a spiritual interpretation also present in a more or less similar form in Hrabanus Maurus and Remigius of Auxerre and the descent of the Magi from Balaam is derived from Ambrose's commentary on Lc 2.48 (PL 15.1651), or at Mt 13:18-23 whose identification of the threefold yield of the seed planted

²³ *maternaliter* V. This reading may be owing to aural or palaeographical confusion; see pp. 460-62, below.

in good earth as Job, Noah and Daniel (fol. 52r) appears earlier in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 1.14.20 (CCL 143.34), or at Mt 23:34-35 when the comment on the deaths of the prophets resembles another passage in Remigius of Auxerre.²⁴

The non-Biblical sources explicitly named are Josephus, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, 'Antoninus Placentinus' and Isidore. Of these writers our author knew the following works either directly or indirectly:

(1) the *De bello iudaico* of Josephus. He never gives this title, referring five times simply to 'Josephus'. The same quotation is used at Mt 23:38 (fol. 91v) and 26:67-68 (fol. 109v): 'Unde refert Iosephus (fol. 109v a Iosepho ... referuntur) quinquies undecies centena milia Iudeorum fame et gladio deperisse'; but this statement is derived ultimately (and with the omission of *quinquies*) from Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*.²⁵ Similarly, at Mt 2:22 (fol. 4r), our author reports, according to Josephus, on Archelaus' career and exile to Lyons, but he may be indebted finally to Jerome's commentary on Mt 2:22 (CCL 77.15-16) which records Lyons as the city of exile (Vienne in other sources, including Josephus, *De bello iudaico* 2.111) and whose comment finishes, as in V, with 'Lege Iosephi historiam'. The other two references to Josephus are not found in the *De bello*

²⁴ On Mt 2:11 cf.:

V (fol. 2r), 'Per aurum namque quod est munus regis diuina sapientia intelligitur siue sensus fidei quem Christus querit in regno sancte ecclesie; per thus uero mundas orationes significamus sicut in psalmo dicitur *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo*; per mirram uero mortificationem (*sic*) nostrorum uitiorum assignemus....'

Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* 2:11 (PL 107.760B-C), 'Item auro sapientia ... assignatur. ... Thure autem quod Deo incenditur, virtus orationis exprimitur, Psalmista attestante, qui dicit, *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo*. Per myrrham uero carnis nostrae mortificatio figuratur.'

Remigius of Auxerre, *Homiliae XII in Matthaeum* 7 (PL 131.907A), 'Aliter per aurum designatur coelestis sapientia...; per thus intelligitur oratio munda, ut illud: "*Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo*"; per myrrham mortificatio carnis....'

On Mt 23:34-35 cf.:

V (fol. 90v), 'Querit quare sanguis prophetarum et iustorum requiritur a Iudeis cum ipsi a constitutione mundi non interfecerunt omnes sanctos. Nam Abel a fratre interfectus est, sed mos est in scripturis diuinis tractare de duabus generationibus, scilicet praua et bona. De praua sic dicitur: *Generatio mala et adultera* (Mt 12:39, 16:4). De bona autem generatione scribitur in psalmo: *Generatio rectorum benedicetur* (Ps 111:2); et alibi: *Hec est generatio querentium deum* (Ps 23:6).'

Remigius of Auxerre, *Homiliae XII in Matthaeum* 5 (PL 131.893B-C), 'Rursus quaerendum est quomodo dicat Dominus omnem sanguinem iustorum quaerendum esse ab Abel iusto usque ad sanguinem Zachariae filium Barachiae super generationem Iudaeorum cum ipsi neutrum eorum occiderint, scilicet nec Abel, nec Zachariam. ... Sciendum est ergo quia moris est sacrarum Scripturarum duas generationes narrare, unam bonam et alteram malam. ... De bona namque generatione scriptum est: "*Generatio rectorum benedicetur*," et iterum: "*Haec est generatio querentium Dominum*"....'

²⁵ Eusebius Werke. *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* 269F, ed. R. Helm (Berlin, 1956), p. 187: 'Iosephus uero scribit undecies centena milia fame et gladio perisse....'

iudaico itself and must be taken from another intermediary (though not Hegesippus):

Mt 2:16 (V 3v), Sed ut Ioseph testatur, postquam Herodes interfecit Yrcanum et alios complures ut supra dictum et natiuitatem Christi audiuit, timore sui sceleris perterritus, ad inquirendam Christi natiuitatem impenditus talibus de causis aduocatus est a romano senatu, et ueniens Romam multis argumentationibus recepit gratiam romani imperii et suscepit firmiter regnum cum diademate.

Mt 24:1-2 (V 93v), Nam ut Iosephus refert iusta hystoriam suam, in nocte Pasche unus nobilis homo eiusdem ciuitatis inclusit totum thesaurum suum in muro urbis qui erat continuus sue domui. Et in crastinum (-tino V^o) sequenti hostes in illa parte dantes assultum fregerunt murum; et thesaurum illum reperiens dum ceperunt ciuitatem, existimantes omnes muros et parietes edificiorum esse plenos auri et argenti, ade (*sic*) causa omnia diluerunt a fundamento.²⁶

(2) the *De ciuitate dei*, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, *Epistulae*, and *De quantitate animae* (or *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus*) of Augustine, whom he cites by name fifteen times, usually without the title of the work. I have located four quotations from the *De ciuitate dei*: at Mt 5:18 (fol. 13v) and 24:22 (fol. 96r) he inserts passages from *De ciuitate dei* 20.14 (CCL 48.724:24) and 20.23 (CCL 48.742:50) respectively, introducing the latter with 'Sanctus uero Augustinus ostendit super epistolam Pauli ad Tesalonicenses'; he quotes a Sybilline verse from *De ciuitate dei* 18.23 (CCL 48.613:30) at Mt 10:26 (fol. 40r, 'sicut ait Sibilla') and Mt 21:4-9 (fol. 78v, without attribution).

The *Epistulae* are cited twice. First, in dealing with the question of how to compute the three days and three nights of Christ's death at Mt 12:39-40, he gives (fol. 49r) the solution of 'beatus Augustinus in responsionibus super Genesim heresio interroganti' (= *Ep.* 102.34 [CSEL 34.573:21-23], where Augustine answers questions which had been submitted to Deogratias); then, at Mt 23:23, he seems to refer (fol. 89v, 'Et Augustinus de eodem: "Qui in minimis peccat totam legem offendit"') to *Ep.* 167 (CSEL 44.586-609) in which Augustine treats the problems posed by Jac 2:10.

There are single citations of the other works. When faced at Mt 13:28-30 (fol. 53r) with the difficult question of who will be saved and who will be damned, our author is circumspect: 'Sed sicut dixit beatus Augustinus, "Consilium tibi dicere non possum"' (= *Enarrationes in psalmos* 61.22 [CCL 39.790:10-11]). A

²⁶ V's commentator relates this story in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian. At Mt 27:65-66 his account (V 113v-114r) of the omens preceding the destruction is an abridgment of Josephus, *De bello iudaico* 6.201 ff. and 288 ff., but he does not refer to this source. In the same comment, his version of Herod's death is ultimately derived from *De bello iudaico* 1.656, 659-60, 662 but does not tally in all particulars; V's account of Herod's suicide by a stab wound when he pretended to peel an apple is also recorded by Remigius of Auxerre, *Homiliae XII in Matthaeum* 6 (PL 131.897D-898B).

passage from *De quantitate animae* 4.6 (PL 32.1039) supplies a definition of *uentus* at Mt 14:30 (fols. 58v-59r, 'Iuxta uero sententiam sancti Augustini uentus dicitur aer esse conmotus').²⁷

Although four more quotations are attributed to Augustine, they are actually to be found in Prosper, *Liber sententiarum*, namely, at Mt 5:43-44 (fol. 17v = no. 2 [CCL 68A.257:11]), 6:5 (fol. 19v = no. 6 [CCL 68A.258:1-2]), 12:7-8 (fol. 45r = no. 114 [CCL 68A.283:1]), 25:14-30 (fol. 101r = no. 13 [CCL 68A.260:2-3]).

I have not been able to find the following four quotations ascribed to Augustine: at Mt 7:3, 'Sunt uero nonnulli, sicut Augustinus dicit, qui peccata aliorum bene perspiciunt et sua emendare nolunt antequam alios corrigant' (fol. 25r); at Mt 15:28, 'Augustinus autem dicit: "Quando homo facit opera spiritus sancti, uir est et imago dei; quando autem meditatur ea que sunt carnis, mulier est quasi mollis et fluens"' (fol. 61r); at Mt 22:18-21, 'Sicut ait Augustinus, "Homo quandiu[m] facit que deo pertinet, imago dei est; quando autem peccat, mulier est"' (fol. 85v); at Mt 25:10, 'Sicut beatus Augustinus dicit: "Est peccatum usque ad mortem, de quo frustra expectatur uenia[m]"' (fol. 99v). However, our author may not have intended to ascribe to Augustine all these passages in their entirety but rather only certain parts.²⁸

(3) Jerome's commentary on Matthew and a text of the pseudo-Jerome. At Mt 18:15 V's author prefaces a citation from 1 Reg 2:25 with 'Sicut dicit beatus Ieronimus in commentariis super regum' (fol. 69v); the same biblical citation is also found at Mt 18:15 in Jerome's commentary on this gospel.²⁹ Twice our author cites 'Jerome', *De xv signis diem iudicii praecedentibus*: a general reference at Mt 24:23-25, 'Sed aduentus illius in quo signa incipient secundum annales Hebreorum a sancto Ieronimino expositos in latinam quindecim dierum spatio constat, in quo omnia helementa dissoluebunt' (fol. 96r); and at Mt 24:27, 26, 'Nam in eisdem annalibus supradictis ostendit beatus Ieroniminus quod in sexto die aduentus iudicii surgent ab ortu solis fulmina contra faciem firmamenti currentia usque ad occasum' (fol. 96v). This sign for the sixth day corresponds to that given by Peter Damian, *De nouissimis et Antichristo* 4 (PL 145.840c).³⁰

²⁷ Cf. also *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus* 4 (CSEL 28.467:23): 'Ventus autem est aer motus'.

²⁸ As he did, for example, with the quotation (cited below) from Gregory the Great. Occurrences of certain phrases from these as yet unlocated texts of Augustine may be noted here: 'et sua emendare nolunt antequam alios corrigant' is paralleled loosely by *Sermo* 19.2, 'Quaerunt enim non quid corrigant, sed quid mordeant et cum se non possint excusare, parati sunt alios accusare' (PL 38.132); various references to 'homo' as 'imago dei' appear in *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus* 16, *De Trinitate* 7.2 and 15.11, *Retractiones* 1.25.52, etc. The last quotation may actually be taken from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* 16.68.82: 'Peccatum namque ad mortem est peccatum usque ad mortem, quia scilicet peccatum quod hic non corrigitur, eius uenia frustra postulatur' (CCL 143A.847).

²⁹ See p. 454 above for the use of Jerome's commentary on Matthew regarding a quotation allegedly from Josephus.

³⁰ For the several Latin versions of the *De xv signis diem iudicii praecedentibus* attributed to

(4) the *Moralia in Iob* of Gregory the Great. The quotation, however, is attributed to Gregory's *Registrum epistularum* by V's author when he comments on the question of hellfire at Mt 25:41: 'Ignis iste lucet et non lucet, sicut dicit beatus Gregorius in registro suo: lucet ad hoc ut impii uideant unde doleant; non lucet ut uideant unde gaudeant' (fol. 103r). This appears to be a rather free rendering of *Moralia in Iob* 9.66.101, 'Quamuis illic ignis et ad consolationem non lucet, et tamen ut magis torqueat ad aliquid lucet' (CCL 143.528:32-33), with *lucet* and *non lucet* as the key words.³¹

(5) the *Itinerarium* of 'Antoninus Placentinus'. At Mt 21:42 our author reports (fol. 83r): 'Beatus Antonius refert se inuenisse in basilica Sion que fuit domus sancti Iacobi apostoli [se inuenisse] unum lapidem deformem, quem si adhibueris auribus tuis, audies intus quasi uoces multorum hominum murmurantium' (= CSEL 39.173-74).

(6) the *Sententiae* of Isidore. On the question of guardian angels our author relies at Mt 18:10 on *auctoritas* (fol. 69r): 'Unusquisque uero (s.s. V^o) homo testimonio Ysodori et Luce euangeliste in actibus apostolorum legitur habere suum anngelum (*sic*), sicuti dicitur de beato Petro apostolo quando exiuit de carcere et uenit ad domum Marie matris Iohannis, qui interpretatur Marcus, et pulsare (*sic*) ianuam. Qui dixerunt qui intus erant: "Non est Petrus sed angelus eius est". Et Petrus in epistula sua dixit: "In quem desiderant angeli dei perpiscere (*sic*)"' (= *Sententiae* 1.10.21-22 [PL 83.557B]).

Of course the author of the commentary in V relied on other unnamed sources as well. On this question it is much easier to rule out what works were not used rather than vice versa. First, no patristic work on Matthew seems to have functioned as a 'standard reference source'; but a use of authorities may be implied in the explicit of the commentary cited on p. 448 above ('... tam magna breuiatim transcurrimus ... quia nichil nouum dicere possumus'), with allowance being made, of course, for the usual formulaic expression of humility. Nonetheless, our author

Jerome in the Middle Ages cf. B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca hieronymiana manuscripta* 3b (The Hague-Bruges, 1970), nos. 652-55 (pp. 534-41). The Latin and vernacular versions are examined and compared by W. W. Heist, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday* (East Lansing, Mich., 1952), who observes that Peter Damian is the earliest witness for this particular group of signs in its fullest form (p. 26) and that the common Latin ancestor which it shares with the group preserved by the pseudo-Bede (PL 94.555), or a version between this common ancestor and Peter Damian, seems to have been written in verse (p. 110).

³¹ For another possible quotation from Gregory, see n. 28 above. Various works of his may be the ultimate source for other passages in V's commentary; cf., e.g., the comments at Mt 2:17-18, 'Siue Rachel significat sanctam ecclesiam quem (*sic*) uidens deum per contemplationem mentis' (fol. 3v) with Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* 2.2.10-11 (CCL 142.231-32) and *Moralia in Iob* 6.37.61 (CCL 143.330-31), and Mt 3:11, 'quia dominus cum (de s.s. V^o) substantia diuinitatis in nostra mortalitate natus fuit, per nostram substantiam calciatus apparuit; misterium cuius incarnationis Iohannes minime intelligere potuit' (fol. 6r) with Gregory, *Homiliae xl in euangelium* 1.7.3 (PL 76.1101B-1102A).

did not derive to a 'plagiaristic' extent his explanations from the commentaries by Jerome and Hilary on this gospel or from the homilies on Matthew by John Chrysostom, Origen and Gregory or from Augustine's *Quaestiones XVII in Matthaeum*. Nor does the Venosa commentary share any considerable amount of material with Carolingian commentaries or with the later commentaries of the Laon school (including the *Glossa ordinaria*), Peter Comester and Peter the Chanter.³²

However, this is certainly not to make a strong claim on behalf of his originality, for his other interests are typical of many exegetes. Over 100 times, for instance, he pursues Hebrew, Greek and Latin etymologies, of which at least the proper names derive ultimately from Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*.³³ Moreover, like other commentators, he was eager to elucidate the meaning of numbers: the 40 days and nights of Jesus' fast in the desert (Mt 4:2, fol. 6bisv, where the fasting of Moses and Elias is recalled); the choice of 12 apostles (Mt 10:2-4, fol. 37r-v, where 12 is linked to the 12 tribes of Israel, 12 stones of Paradise, 12 gates of the heavenly city, and various combinations of 9 and 3, 8 and 4, 7 and 5, etc.); the 7 evil spirits (Mt 12:45, fol. 50r, where 7 is associated with the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit); the 7 loaves of bread which were sufficient for a crowd of 4000 (Mt 15:34-37, fols. 61v-62r, where 7 denotes the 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit which satisfy the 4 parts of the world). That our author also considered historical sources important for his commentary is evident from the citations of Josephus discussed above; in addition he inserts a number of historical details which are often prefaced by 'iuxta (secundum) (ad) historiam', etc.³⁴

³² See pp. 453-54 and n. 24 above for a few passages found in Hrabanus Maurus, Remigius of Auxerre and V; their number is not so great by any means as to suggest that V made extensive use of either Hrabanus Maurus or Remigius of Auxerre. On the later Matthew commentaries cf. B. Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 45 (1978) 147-80 and 'Peter Comester on the Gospels and His Sources', *ibid.* 46 (1979) 84-129. The Venosa commentary takes up none of the concerns regarding poverty and ecclesiology that interested twelfth-century exegetes and does not exhibit the same terminology.

³³ e.g., at Mt 2:22-23, 'Nazareth ... interpretatur uel uirgultum seu flos. ... Galilea namque transmigratio facta interpretatur' (fol. 4r) (= Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* [CCL 72.137, 140]); at Mt 4:18, 'Andreas interpretatur ... decorus' (fol. 10r) (= *ibid.* [p. 134]); at Mt 21:1-3, 'Bethage uero Hebraicum est, quod in latinum domus bucce uel maxillarum (*sic*) dicitur' (fol. 77r-v) (= *ibid.* [p. 135]).

³⁴ Some examples are: at Mt 2:17-18, 'Iuxta historiam Rachel non fuit mater Iude, de tribu cuius Christus fuit natus, sed mater Benjamin' (fol. 3v); at Mt 8:5-6, 'Hunc autem centurionem alius euangelista regulum uocat [Jo 4:46], sed more Romanorum centurio uocabatur qui centum hominibus preerat' (fol. 30r); at Mt 10:5-6, 'Viam Samaritanorum ipsam Samariam dicimus quando habitabant populi Cuteorum qui false fingebant se esse Iudeos et non erant. Nam Nsalamanasar (*sic*) rex transtulit illos de Persia in Samariam quando X tribus de Samaria migrare fecit in Persiam' (fol. 38r); at Mt 13:26, 'Per ducentos uero annos et amplius a tempore passionis Christi usque ad tempus Constantini magni imperatoris sanctam (*sic*) ecclesia decem plagas martirii recepit' (fol. 52v); at Mt 14:1-2, 'Hic Herodes secundum istoriam filius fuit magni Herodis qui interfecit innocentes. Iste uero Herodes non regnum sed tetracha (*sic*) obuam tenebat, quod aperte Lucas

Further, he compares certain passages with the accounts of the other evangelists when, in his view, they have given fuller or contradictory information, as at Mt 13:53-54 (fol. 55v, 'Dum dicit euangelista dominum uenisse in patriam suam, uidetur esse contrarius Iohanni qui dixit in passione domini: *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo* [Jo 18:36]), Mt 20:29-30 (fol. 77r, 'Apud Lucam [Lc 18:35 ff.] uero unus cecus tantum illuminatus a domino dicitur, sed hic et illuc fere est congrua eadem sententia'), and Mt 28:7 (fol. 115r, 'Aput Marcum uero nominatur Petrus post alios discipulos').

Finally, we may observe that the author of our commentary interprets some passages according to certain rhetorical figures: antiphrasis (three times, all in connection with the same word), metaphor (twice), metonymy (five times), simile (once), syllepsis (twice).³⁵

III

What, then, can be said regarding the date, author and origin of our commentary? On the basis of the previous discussion we may deduce at least the following: certain palaeographical features, such as abbreviations and punctuation, suggest a

euangelista ostendit ut superius dicitur. Euangelista hic facit proposterum (*sic*) ordinem ut artificiali narratione ostendat quod instorialiter referre uolebat' (fol. 56r).

³⁵ These passages are: at Mt 20:11-16, "'Amice" per antifrasi[m] dicit sicut de Iuda traditore...' (fol. 75v), Mt 22:11-14, "'Amicum" uocat illum per antifrasi[m] quia ille qui non est de consortio electorum non dicitur amicus dei esse' (fol. 84v) and Mt 26:50, "'Amicum" uocat eum per antiphrasi[m] (*sic*)' (fol. 108r); at Mt 3:10, 'Istud dictum est prosap[er]ice et metaforice ut de arboribus infructuosus ad homines comparationem faciamus. Sic Iuda[m] sepe uocatur ficus sine fructu...' (fol. 5v) and Mt 7:15-16, 'Metaforice autem dicitur et prosapaice (*sic*) quando per comparationem rerum inanimatarum et mutarum relationem facimus ad [d]animatas et loquentes' (fol. 27v); at Mt 2:3, 'Qui uero dixit "et omnis Ierosolima", non pro continente sed pro contente (*sic*) metanomic[e] dicitur; non de muris sed de hominibus loquitur' (fol. 1r), Mt 5:23-24, 'Metanomica autem figura dicimus domum orationis ubi fideles conueniunt esse ecclesiam propterea quia ecclesiam continet' (fols. 14v-15r), Mt 23:37, 'Sepe dominus metanomic[e] locutus est dicens ad Ierusalem. ... Intransitiue dictum est non ad he[re]dicia, non ad muros, sed ad prauos ciues qui interfecturi erant legatos domini' (fol. 91r), Mt 24:36, 'Vel metanomic[e], filius nescire se dicit diem quoniam nescire facit, non quod ipse nesciat' (fol. 97v), and Mt 25:11-13, 'Sed mirandum est cur dominus dicitur nescire illos qui rogant aperire ianuam in nouissimo die: sed hoc dicitur metanomic[e] quia illi qui nolunt dominum scire nec preceptis illius obtemperare' (fol. 99v); at Mt 24:43, 'Per similitudinem dominus dicit quia sicut fur uadit in certis temporibus ad furandum et non potest plenarie intellegi in qua hora debet frangere domus sed tamen a custodibus semper uigiletur qui custodiunt eam, sic etiam caueamus de domo nostri corporis ne dormientibus nobis in somno peccati perfrangat illam iudex furtiua dampnatione iudicii' (fol. 98r); at Mt 20:11-16, 'Quod "dictum est uni eorum" uidetur per tropum silempsis; ubi uni dicit, uidetur dedisse generalem sententiam (*sic*) omnibus' (fol. 75v) and Mt 26:8-9, 'Est autem tropus silensis figura barbaris nigramatice (*sic*) artis ut pro uno multi ponantur aut pro multis unum intelligatur. Talis uero figura in epistula Pauli ad Hebreos inuenitur: *Lapidati sunt ut Stephanus, secti sunt ut Esayas, temptati sunt ut Habraham, in occisione gladii mortui ut Iacobus* [Heb 11:37]' (fol. 104v).

late eleventh-century date for the copying of the codex; the general aspect of the script and preferred use of the horizontal flourish for omitted *m* instead of the Beneventan 3-sign points to a scribe writing on the edge of the Beneventan zone; Isidore is the latest authority quoted (hence the commentary cannot be earlier than the seventh century), and our author's brief treatment of the Eucharist, along with his silence on other topics, suggests the latter part of the eleventh century as the date of the commentary's compilation. There is one more feature of the commentary which it would be helpful to consider, namely, the very large number of textual errors which occur throughout the commentary and are evident in some of the passages quoted above. Their quantity alone suggests that the scribe had before him an exemplar which was textually corrupt (perhaps because the commentary was taught and so transmitted orally at one stage) or written in an unfamiliar hand or possibly both.

From the great mass of data available I have chosen the following slips (noted in italics) as generally illustrative and capable of ruling out some alternatives:

fol. 1r (Mt 2:3), '... Herodes timebat *maternaliter* regnum amittere' (for *materialiter*)

fol. 7r (Mt 4:3), "'Sordidas uestes" [Zach 3:3] dicimus *formam* strui quam pro nobis Iesus assumpsit. Nam *sordidum uidentur* maiestatem assumpsisse nostra *mortalitatem*' (for *forma*, *sordidam*, *uidetur*, *mortalitate* respectively)

fol. 11r (Mt 4:23), '... et ut ostenderet se esse uerum *medicus* et animarum et corporum' (for *medicum*)

fol. 23r (Mt 6:22), '... sicut oculus regit corpus exterius, ita intrinsecus intellectus debet regere *mente*' (for *mentem*)

fol. 31r (Mt 8:14-15), '... sed *per* infidelitate iacebat in febribus' (for *pro*)

fol. 45v (Mt 12:9-10), '... inuenit ipse quendam mancum sed antequam posset *eam* curare' (for *eum*)

fol. 74r (Mt 19:28), 'Nam in epistula sua ad *Galahas* ostendit...' (presumably for *Galatias* [= *Galatas*])

fol. 96r (Mt 24:23-25), 'Discipuli autem Antichristi post mortem illius ad augmentum sui erroris fingent illum *fuissent* Christum et per diuinitatem suam esse translatum hic aut illic' (for *fuisse*)

fol. 99v (Mt 25:10), 'Quia sicut *amor copulatur* uiri et mulieres in *nuptius*...' (for *amore*, *copulantur*, *nuptias* respectively).

To judge from the types of error found in the sampling, it is clear that the scribe had difficulty with suspensions and contractions, at least some of which were presumably in his exemplar: the endings of words are often not expanded correctly, *per* and *pro* are confused, and superfluous marks of suspension occur throughout V. Some errors arise from the misunderstanding of letters like *a* and *u*, *ti* and *h*, and they are surprising slips for him to make if he had been trained in Beneventan

and was copying from an exemplar in Beneventan. Let us speculate now on these 'non-Beneventan' aspects of the question.

First, his exemplar could have been written instead by an Insular hand.³⁶ Such a script is famous for peculiar abbreviations which many non-Insular scribes might have found difficult to decipher, such as the symbols for *per* and *pro*, while in Insular minuscule the open *a* resembles *u*; and the gospel of Matthew held a particular attraction for Irish Biblical exegetes.³⁷ But the contents of V do not exhibit to any marked extent the peculiar exegetical features designated as 'Irish'. That is to say, our commentary displays some of these characteristics (for example, enumerations of various possibilities, the allegorical exposition of numbers, mention of the canons, etymologies in Greek, Latin and Hebrew), but they are not so abundant or appear in the same way typical of undisputed Irish Biblical commentaries. Consider, for instance, the use of etymologies: equivalents in Greek, Latin and Hebrew are given and so noted, but there is no reference to the 'tres linguae', a term which especially distinguishes an Irish commentary.³⁸ Nor does the Venosa commentary display the shibboleths of queries regarding *locus-tempus-persona*, comparisons of the *uita theorica-uita actualis*, citation of familiar sources in an unusual way, occurrences of *non deficile* and similar expressions, interpretation of 'ten' as the ten senses, remarks that something happens for the first time, and insertion of apocryphal details such as the names of the Magi.³⁹ Further, I have not been able to find any evidence that this commentary depends on Irish works like the *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* of pseudo-Augustine, *Collectanea* of pseudo-Bede, and *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* of pseudo-Jerome.⁴⁰ Given all the negative factors, then, it is probable that the 'Irish' palaeographical symptoms belong to another script, and the 'Irish' textual symptoms to the stock of general material available to medieval commentators.

Of the other alternatives, we may dismiss as highly improbable the possibility of a Visigothic exemplar. While this would also explain the apparent confusion of *per* and *pro*, *a* and *u*, it would not account for the slips involving *h* and *ti* and the lack of any typically Visigothic abbreviations. An exemplar in Caroline minuscule,

³⁶ 'Insular' is used here as a general term for the writing practiced in Great Britain, Ireland, and continental centers founded by monks from Great Britain and Ireland.

³⁷ Cf. B. Bischoff, 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Irish Church: A.D. 650-800' in *Biblical Studies. The Medieval Irish Contribution* (Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 1; Dublin, 1976), pp. 113-29 (for eleven commentaries on Matthew, by far the largest number on any of the four gospels).

³⁸ R. E. McNally, 'The "Tres linguae sacrae" in Early Irish Bible Exegesis', *Theological Studies* 19 (1958) 395-403.

³⁹ For these Irish characteristics cf. Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', 82 ff. and *passim*.

⁴⁰ I make this statement on the basis of my comparison of the text of the commentary with all the printed Hiberno-Latin Biblical texts listed in J. F. Kelly, 'Bibliography on Hiberno-Latin Biblical Texts' in *Biblical Studies. The Medieval Irish Contribution*, pp. 161-62.

however, might explain the difficulty with *h* and *ti* and even (in the late eleventh century) the confusion of *a* and *u* if the letters were carelessly written; but there are still numerous errors involving suspensions (such as *per* and *pro*), final endings, etc. whose cause can be visualized only with some trouble as a Caroline model.

Indeed we may never be able to explain fully the reasons for the many mistakes in the text of V. A partial explanation for the many slips may lie in the use actually made of the commentary. If the commentary had been taught (as suggested on p. 450 above) and then copied from a *reportatio*, mistakes of the kind just discussed would probably occur, particularly those involving the termination of words. The *reportatio* could also have been in Caroline minuscule since this is the script which perhaps best fits with the palaeographical confusions.

At this point it may be helpful to recall certain palaeographical facts about V. The general aspect is that of a small, neat Beneventan which admits a number of features from 'ordinary minuscule' so that the overall appearance is different from the Cassinese and 'Bari-type' hands as well as the kind of Beneventan written at Naples, Salerno, Benevento, etc. If V's script may be said to be closer to one type of Beneventan rather than another, this would have to be the Beneventan written in Puglia (as distinct from Bari itself), since V exhibits short final *r*, the distinctive *fi* ligature with *i* resting on or above the base-line, and a general lack of shading and angularity.⁴¹ Conspicuously absent from V are the lightness and roundness characteristic of the 'Bari-type'.

This *Puglian* link and the fact that it is rather tenuous (since V does not display other Puglian features such as broken *c* and usually short final *f* and *s*) are both interesting from the viewpoint of the manuscript's present location. Venosa is near the border of northern Puglia (Capitanata) and Basilicata, and so would be exposed to the distinctive Puglian writing without necessarily being in the mainstream. We may assume the existence of a scriptorium at least at the Benedictine abbey of SS. Trinità founded 1046-51 by the Normans and located just outside the modern Venosa. Berengar, a monk originally from the Norman monastery of Saint-Évroul-sur-Ouche (*dép.* Orne, *arr.* Argentan) and vigorous second abbot of SS. Trinità (1066/73 to 1094), was a renowned scribe himself and increased the number of monks at the abbey of Venosa by fivefold (from 20 to

⁴¹ For manuscripts written in Puglian centers other than Bari, see G. Cavallo, 'Struttura e articolazione della minuscola beneventana libraria tra i secoli x-xii', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 11 (1970) 362-68 (Troia and elsewhere in Capitanata) and C. Tristano, 'Nuove testimonianze di scrittura beneventana alla Biblioteca Laurenziana', *ibid.* 18 (1977) 394-400 and 2 plates (Capitanata and a region 'vicino alla zona barese' [p. 400]).

⁴² Cf. M. Chibnall, ed. and trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80), 2.20, 50, 100, 102 for Berengar's education at Saint-Évroul and his work at Venosa. The reference to his calligraphic skill on p. 102 is especially noteworthy: 'Hic (sc. Berengarius) nobili parentela exortus ab infantia sub Teoderico abbate apud Vticum Christo militauit, peritiaeque legendi

100).⁴² After his education at Saint-Évroul, a center of learning famous for its library which could claim over 130 titles when the first catalogue was compiled in the second quarter of the twelfth century,⁴³ it is hardly conceivable that Berengar would not have instituted a scriptorium at the abbey of Venosa. Given the proximity to Puglia, Beneventan would have been a readily accessible 'regional' script, and doubtless Berengar would have insisted on high calligraphic standards. Certainly it is suggestive that a tract on the Eucharist, written in 'ordinary minuscule' but preceded by a title in Beneventan claiming 'Berengarius' as the author, has been attributed to Berengar, abbot of SS. Trinità, Venosa and is followed in the unique witness by other scriptural commentaries written in a 'Puglia-type' of Beneventan.⁴⁴

Thus the hypothesis that V was copied at SS. Trinità towards the end of the eleventh century is attractive for a variety of reasons. First, the very distance of the monastery from the main Beneventan centers of writing in the Cassinese, Campanian and Puglian zones might account for the distinctive aspect of the script. It may even be the case that the scribe was, like Berengar himself, a monk whose native hand was Caroline minuscule; if this is so, it would also account for the almost non-Beneventan appearance, at first glance, of the script and such definite 'intrusions' as the unusual abbreviations and very frequent use of the upward flourish to denote *m*. Certainly the dates of Berengar's abbacy (1066/73-1094) are consonant with the palaeographical facts, and, given the presence of French monks

et canendi *optimeque scribendi* floruit' (my italics). On the history of the abbey of SS. Trinità, Venosa see L.-R. Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 39 (1959) 22-57 and H. Houben, *Il "libro del capitolo" del monastero della SS. Trinità di Venosa (Cod. Casin. 334): una testimonianza del Mezzogiorno normanno* (Galatina, 1984), pp. 21 ff. and passim (pp. 27 and n. 36, 30 for his correction of Ménager's date of 1063 for the beginning of Berengar's abbacy).

⁴³ Cf. L. Delisle, 'Notice sur Orderic Vital' in A. Le Prévost, ed., *Orderici Vitalis ... Historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim* 5 (Paris, 1855), pp. iii-xxxii (the catalogue is printed on pp. vii-xi).

⁴⁴ The codex in question is Aberdeen, University Library 106, s. xii in. (Loew, *The Beneventan Script* 2.11), which contains on fols. 55v-63r an incomplete treatise directed against Berengar of Tours with the inscription 'Domino sancto ac uenerabili .G. summo pontifici . Berengarius seruus eius'. G. Morin, 'Bérenger contre Bérenger. Un document inédit des luttes théologiques du xi^e siècle', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 4 (1932) 109-33 (study and edition) ascribes the work to the Venesian abbot; however, A. J. Macdonald, 'Berengariana', *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1932) 180-83 does not accept the attribution, and Houben, *Il "libro del capitolo"*, pp. 30-31 n. 57 cites recent bibliography which advances Morin's ascription with requisite caution. The 'Puglia-type' of Beneventan used for the other works in Aberdeen 106 (fols. 65r-105v) — a fact not previously noted — may lend more plausibility to the authorship of Berengar of Venosa. C. Tristano, 'Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale', *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) mentions the Aberdeen codex briefly (p. 92) and describes the Beneventan section as 'atipica' con forti influenze caroline, accentuate dalla presenza di ampie sezioni scritte in carolina. Non è possibile dire di più di questi codici (*sc.* Aberdeen 106 and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana S. Croce 18 dextr. 10), se non che essi appartengono a una zona tra il confine settentrionale della Longobardia minore e quello meridionale dell'Italia centrale' (p. 147).

at SS. Trinità, Caroline minuscule must have been a hand employed there. Next, from the viewpoint of V's text, ties with such a monastery as Saint-Évroul, where special attention was given to the *lectio diuina* and whose library contained numerous aids to scriptural study, including the sources cited explicitly in our commentary,⁴⁵ would explain the appearance in southern Italy of this apparently unique commentary on Matthew. A connection with France is likewise suggested by the later addition on fol. 116r of three poems by Hildebert of Le Mans (c. 1056-1133) immediately after the final comment and also the use of fragments containing the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* (a work of French origin) as a pastedown; Orderic Vitalis, historian of Saint-Évroul, mentions Hildebert several times and praises him for his learning, describing him as 'incomparabilis uersificator' whose poems are much sought after.⁴⁶ Third, we know from the evidence of Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 334, s. XII (the 'chapter book' of SS. Trinità) that SS. Trinità did indeed possess manuscripts of its own; and so V's present location at the Biblioteca Comunale, Venosa might be a result as well as an indication of its 'local' origin.

Of course other arguments, some equally strong and all of them valid, can be adduced to counter this hypothesis. Let us take them in the same order. It might be said first that little is known of the scriptoria on the fringe of the Beneventan zone and that little progress has been made in identifying books produced there; hence V could have been copied in any of those centers which was also exposed to the influence of Caroline minuscule. Then, the ecclesial interests and lack of specifically 'monastic' references in the commentary on Matthew militate against a connection with Saint-Évroul, particularly since, in surviving commentaries associated with this monastery, 'much of the exposition was directed towards the life of the cloister and its moral struggles.'⁴⁷ Finally, the force of the proverbial 'Habent sua fata libelli' has been amply demonstrated in other instances and so V's presence in Venosa today may be owing to sheer chance, especially since the only

⁴⁵ Cf. Chibnall, ed., *Orderic Vitalis* 1.14-23.

⁴⁶ *ibid.* 5.236: 'Ildebertus autem post mortem Gisleberti Turonensis archiepiscopi a clero et populo electus est, nutuque Dei de Cenomannico culmine metropolitanam sedem adeptus est. Hic mansuetus fuit ac religiosus, et tam diuinarum quam secularium eruditioni litterarum studiosus. Temporibus nostris incomparabilis uersificator floruit, et multa carmina priscis poematibus aequalia uel eminentia condidit; quae feruidus calor philosophorum subtiliter rimari appetit, ac super aurum et topazion sibi consciscere diligenter satagit.' The *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, printed among the works of Hildebert of Le Mans by Migne (PL 171.1007-56), has also been attributed to William of Conches and Walter of Châtillon; cf. Holmberg's edition (n. 3 above), pp. 5-8 and É. Jeuneau, ed., *Guillaume de Conches, Glosae super Platonem* (Paris, 1965), pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Chibnall, ed., *Orderic Vitalis* 1.22. The obvious counterreply to this objection is simply that the commentary on Matthew in V need not have been composed at Saint-Évroul but merely circulated there and then made its way to southern Italy. Of course our commentary could have been transmitted to southern Italy via another French monastery, but the same difficulty with its 'non-monastic' aspect makes it difficult to find an irrefutable candidate.

known codex surely belonging in the Middle Ages to SS. Trinità is now elsewhere and, moreover, is written in an 'ordinary minuscule' which betrays Norman, not Beneventan, features.⁴⁸

* * *

Admittedly the arguments for both sides of the question are based on circumstantial evidence, and as such are inevitably hard to prove and so ultimately unsatisfactory. The palaeographical facts have the surest footing, and these indicate that the book which is now MS. 1 in the Biblioteca Comunale, Venosa was copied towards the end of the eleventh century on the fringe of the Beneventan zone, probably near Puglia. Likewise (but these are less sure) there are a few, brief indications in the contents of the text which suggest that the commentary may have been composed towards the end of the eleventh century. Whether the scribe and commentary are to be associated, individually or collectively, with the monastery of SS. Trinità, Venosa are difficult questions which illustrate what was stated at the beginning of this article: much still remains to be explored and learned about medieval manuscripts and Basilicata. It is to be hoped that this study of MS. 1, tentative though its conclusions are, will arouse interest in the problem and make at least a modest contribution to its discussion.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

⁴⁸ On the script of Monte Cassino 334 see Tristano, 'Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina', 107-109 and Houben, *Il "libro del capitolo"*, pp. 54-55. I have examined this codex *in situ* and, like Houben, find that it displays no Beneventan symptoms or influence. For other books once at SS. Trinità, Venosa, G. Crudo's description of the departure of the monks after the monastery's suppression in 1297 is interesting: '... i Monaci della rinomata Badia, senz'altro aspettare, frettolosamente l'abbandonarono, e si partirono dalla nostra città, parte di essi recandosi nelle Calabrie, e parte riducendosi nei Monasteri di Cava e Montecassino, seco loro portando dalla Venosina Badia, come le patrie tradizioni riferiscono, le cose più notabili per valore di materia ed eccellenza di arte, i preziosi documenti, oggetti e privilegi di questo nostro illustre Monastero, e tutto che poterono seco loro portare, fra cui, come tradizione vuole, moltissimi codici e manoscritti pregevolissimi, che altre Badie andarono a decorare...' (*La SS. Trinità di Venosa. Memorie storiche diplomatiche archeologiche* [Trani, 1899], p. 321). If this account is in any way accurate (and it must be read with obvious caution), is it likely that a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, with no illumination, would be reckoned among the treasured books of the monastery and specifically transported elsewhere?

BENEVENTAN FRAGMENTS AT ALTAMURA*

Thomas Forrest Kelly

THE Archivio Capitolare of the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in Altamura (province of Bari) has many records contained in *registri di amministrazione* ordered by the years they record and in many cases protected by parchment covers. Three of these *copertine* are fragments of liturgical manuscripts in Beneventan writing. The texts contained in the Beneventan fragments are of special interest for the liturgy of the Beneventan zone and will be analyzed and discussed below. It should be noted that two of the fragments have now been removed from the volumes they covered and are kept in a drawer in the Archivio Capitolare; shelf marks given here, therefore, are provisional. Herman F. Holbrook has generously undertaken the study and transcription of Fragment 1.

FRAGMENT 1

(Copertina del registro di amministrazione S. N. for 1563-64)

Herman F. Holbrook

Bound into the paper volume is a bifolium, originally the innermost of the quire, measuring 225 × 155 (170 × 95) mm., with 21 lines, and containing a tract on Septuagesima and calendric material. The color of the ink used for the text varies from light to dark brown. A large *S* partially infilled with red and preceded by a title in red signals the commencement of a new work on fol. 1r2; also edged or partially infilled with red are numerals and slightly smaller majuscules at the beginning of new sentences or clauses. The script displays the lozenges and shading characteristic of the general 'Cassinese' type of Beneventan (cf. pls. 7-10). Its overall aspect suggests a date of s. XI/XII as do such specific palaeographical features as the use of long final *r*, 2-sign for *tur*, and suprascript letters in abbreviations (e.g., *X* on fol. 2r5). An oblique stroke over *i* is used frequently to

In honor of Michel Huglo on his sixty-fifth birthday.

* These fragments first came to light during a visit to the Archivio Capitolare, Altamura in the summer of 1983. I am grateful to the archivist, don Oronzo Simone, for his kind assistance and for permission to publish the facsimiles, to dott. Giuseppe Pupillo of Altamura for much expert and technical help, and to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Academy in Rome for their support.

distinguish the letter rather than to mark accented syllables. Occasionally double parallel strokes indicate the suspension of several letters in what may be considered 'liturgical' words; cf. fols. 1r1, 3, 9 and 2v21 (*Sept<uagesime>*, *termi<nis>*, *Sexag<esima>*, *Termini<orum>* respectively). The 2-shaped inflection sign above *cur* (f. 1r8) is not answered by an interrogation mark at the end of the sentence. Other punctuation is limited to the point or comma preceded (or followed) by a single point except for what appears to be a single instance of the point surmounted by a hook (after *pascha* on fol. 1r8).

The anonymous tract, presently unidentified, concerning Septuagesima and various prepaschal fasting customs occupies fols. 1r-2r.¹ Another and in some respects textually better version is found in a manuscript with a Catalan provenance.² Our fragment commences with the statement that there are sixty-four days in the paschal season ('In Pascha sunt dies lxiiii'), by which presumably is meant the combined total for the periods of pre-Lent and Lent; this sentence appears to be the conclusion of another text, not preserved (?), which immediately preceded the tract on Septuagesima.³ Next, there occurs the title *Ratio Septuagesime* which is followed by the text itself.

Modern scholars, as well as their medieval counterparts, have often asked why the three Sundays preceding Lent are named Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima—respectively, the Seventieth, the Sixtieth, and the Fiftieth. There are fifty days from Quinquagesima up to, and including, Easter Sunday; but simple arithmetic quickly shows that there are neither sixty days from Sexagesima nor seventy from Septuagesima. It is generally assumed that these three Sundays were given their names merely by analogy with Quadragesima, the first Sunday in Lent, which falls on the fortieth day before the Sacred Triduum of Good Friday-Holy Saturday-Easter Sunday.⁴ The author of this document, however, at the beginning of his work, adopts a numerological explanation with the phrase *pro vii terminis numerorum* (l. 2).⁵ The text of the Altamura fragment is corrupt, and the strange

¹ Grateful acknowledgement is due to Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P. and Eric Palazzo for their investigation of possible incipits at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris. I have searched for this text in the published works of the ancient and medieval liturgical commentators named in the following surveys: Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge*, 2nd edition (Spoleto, 1975), pp. 10-14 ('Liturgistes'); Douglas L. Mosey, *Allegorical Liturgical Interpretation in the West from 800 A.D. to 1200 A.D.* (Diss. Toronto, 1985); Roger E. Reynolds, 'Liturgy, Treatises on' in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 7 (New York, 1986), pp. 624-33.

² Roger E. Reynolds has edited and commented on the version of this text found in a manuscript of the Hispanic Society of America; see pp. 481-83 below in the present volume of *Mediaeval Studies*.

³ This supposition is corroborated by the fact that, in the Catalan version of the text, the tract begins without the statement 'In Pascha sunt dies lxiiii'.

⁴ F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd rev. edition (London, 1983), p. 1259 ('Septuagesima').

⁵ References to the text are given by means of line numbers from the edition on pp. 470-71 below.

sequence of numbers next cited is intelligible only by comparison with the Catalan witness where it is clearly the number one, doubled seven times: i, ii, iii, viii, xvi, xxxii, lxiii.⁶ Hence the sixty-four days of the paschal season.

Having explained the names of these three Sundays before Lent (ll. 1-4), the author then attempts to set forth the historical origins of their observance. The pre-Lenten period arose, he claims, as the conflation of the several penitential customs which were characteristic of the four ancient patriarchal sees (ll. 4-21). At Jerusalem, the Lenten fast is begun on Septuagesima and maintained throughout the ensuing weeks until Easter, except on Sundays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. At Alexandria, the fast opens on Sexagesima and is maintained except on Sundays and Thursdays. In Antioch it begins on Quinquagesima and in Rome on Quadragesima, and in both places only Sunday is exempt from the penitential discipline.

Jacques Froger has traced the rise and spread throughout the West of these amplifications of Lenten observance, and he attributed the practices to popular devotion.⁷ Nevertheless, as the document under consideration here suggests, popular devotion in the West may have been informed by some consciousness of the variety and apparently greater rigour of the period of penitential fasting which preceded Easter in the East. Cassiodorus provides early evidence that such customs were known in the West.⁸ Furthermore, Alcuin explicitly connects the various Eastern customs with the establishment in the West of the three pre-Lenten Sundays, and he claims to have heard this explanation from certain teachers while he was at Rome.⁹ From Alcuin, the information passed into the works of subsequent liturgical commentators.¹⁰

It should be noted, however, that explanations other than historical abound in medieval liturgical commentary as well. Alcuin, in the work just mentioned, also adduces typological, mystical and numerological reasons for the origins and names of the pre-Lenten Sundays. Seventy is a number that may represent the seven weeks after which the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles at Pentecost, or the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Sexagesima is fitting because in six days God completed the work of creation, and because six is a number 'perfect in its parts' ($1 \times 2 \times 3 = 6$). Quinquagesima is the fiftieth day before Easter, and therefore it signifies the remission of all our sins and the justification of life in Christ.¹¹

⁶ See Reynolds' edition, p. 482.3 below.

⁷ Jacques Froger, 'Les anticipations du jeûne quadragésimal', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946) 207-34.

⁸ Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* 9.38.18-19 (CSEL 71.561).

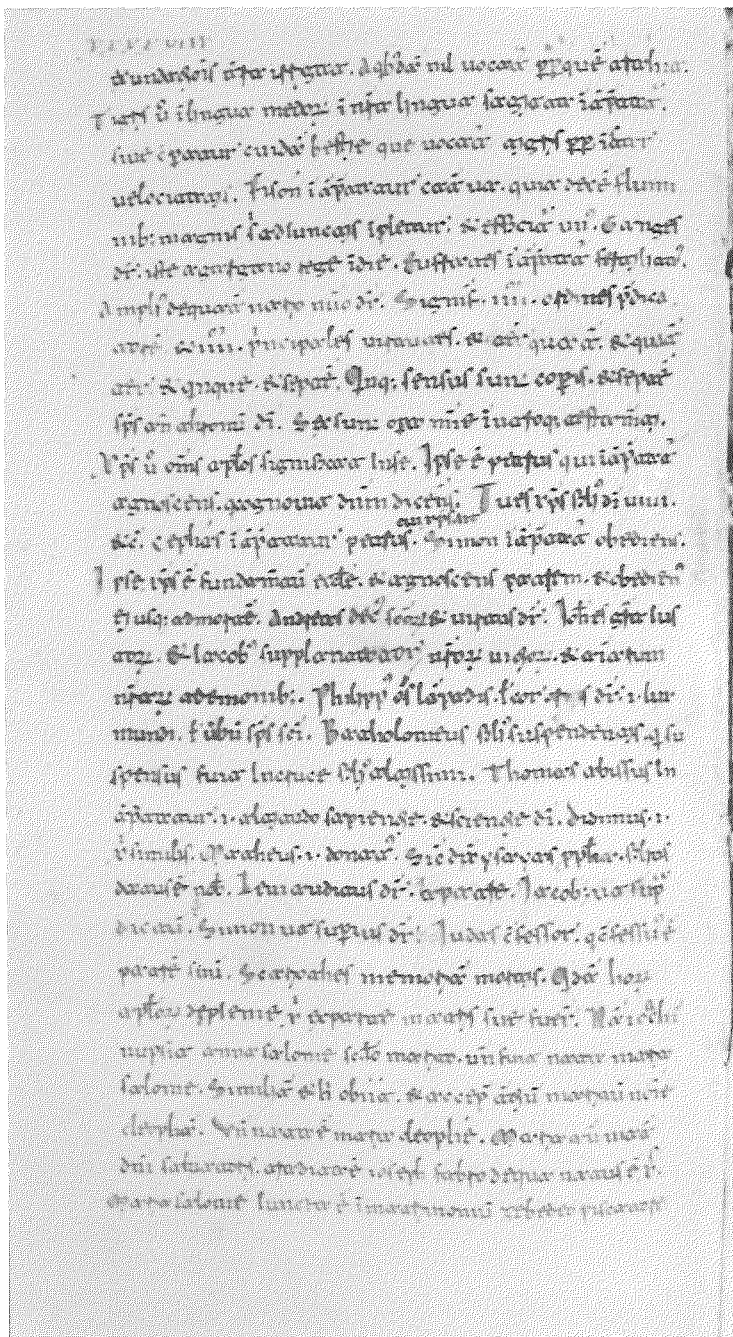
⁹ Alcuin, *Epistola 143 ad domnum regem de ratione Septuagesimae, Sexagesimae, et Quinquagesimae* (MGH *Epp.* 4 [Berlin, 1895], pp. 225-26).

¹⁰ e.g., Amalarius of Metz, 'Epistula ad Hilduinum abbatem de diebus ordinationis et quattuor temporum' in *Opera liturgica omnia* 3, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens (Studi e testi 140; Vatican City, 1950), pp. 343-44.

¹¹ Alcuin, *Ep.* 143 (MGH *Epp.* 4.226).

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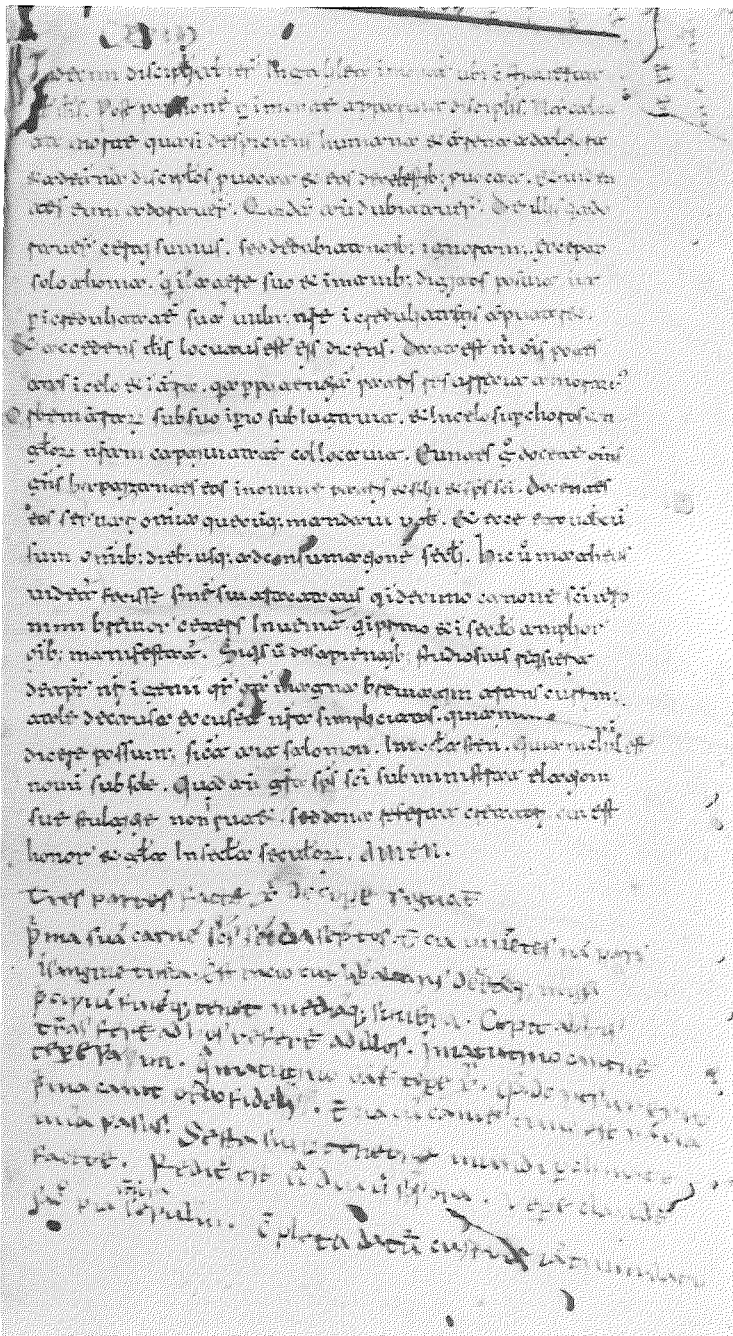
monstratur qd rps dñs & homo est. qui iustitia mor-
archamq; humane senebatur. Indurmatat
etia sua nulla necessitate pargebatur. Sed mra
sua que constare deo possit recur. sic ut idias pa-
sci deibo atq; no qm ad coep. ut hā necessitate
pascendi dispah cibo. i. deibo quod pedia de ote di.
Vestib; s; ē. qd sua pūbū homo sēptat sui coepis pda.
lax pūbū sui mltetū sui sēptat pūbū sui pūda-
mā. Sicut dñr ipalmo. Vbo dñi celi stmāz sunt. &c.
Tē assūptū eū diabolus. i. s. e. &c. Diabolus iāpāat
mā. t. deo sum. t. dñm a cor. &c. dñr diabol qñ habet
duos bofos. i. duos mōstus. Nā alia homines pūla-
dñm a. & quos nō pā allicē pēgaur. Scā mēuā
atm iēstī dñr p p sē sē. Cū mōz ā iāpāat
ē aēnāt unvāq; māt. Et statuit eā sup pūna
dñm aēly. Tāstīgā atmpl pignē elagē nē lu-
mā coep. quē hō undē hē pūna nā. Is sē-
gēstī diabolus iāstīgā dñm aēly. qā usū ē lu-
dñm aēly sūgēstīōnē iēstī lūcā nā. Sicut
fē pūna pēstīat. eū dñr. sēstīat bonū & malū.
Et ad lūcā. Sēstīat ē qā nō nātī sūst māda mā-
dāt. &c. Inoc vīcūlo pūstīat dñm aēly. Sicut
qā aēly hē aēly. & aēly ūb; pūstīat ipalmo dñm aēly.
qā dñm aēly ē cū suo māt anabuchodono sor. pēstī.
i. illi itī pūstīat. Mōstīat dñm dñm aēly. Inlūcā aēly
uēstī. pūstīat ē. nē aēly aēstī dñm. i. qā nūla pūstī
lūstī aēly. nūstīat pūstīat tēstīat. Inm aēly
sūstīat eū diabolus iēstīat & cēstīat uolē. Volē aēly
qā dñm sēstīat hūc mōstīat ē aēly ubi dñm
qā dñm sēstīat hūc mōstīat ē aēly ubi dñm



[illegible]

a. a. u. l. x. m. a. r. t. e. q. i. a. t. p. a. t. r. a. u. r. f. u. i. t. s. i. n. e. u. e. . i. s. i. n. t. u. t.
 c. o. r. p. o. r. e. m. i. a. s. T. e. a. n. t. i. l. l. u. s. . n. o. b. i. s. a. n. n. o. t. e. . I. l. l. y. r. u. p. o. q. u. i.
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 s. i. n. g. h. a. t. e. s. t. q. u. o. u. l. a. n. t. u. e. n. i. a. a. d. i. n. i. s. t. r. e. p. e. d. i. a. . I. m. p. l. e.
 u. a. p. d. i. c. t. e. s. u. s. t. i. t. u. t. g. e. n. u. s. i. l. l. y. g. e. n. u. s. a. p. p. a. r. u. i. t. d. i. c. i. a. . p. r. i. m. i. a. p. p. a.
 p. u. a. m. a. r. t. e. m. a. g. d. a. l. e. n. t. . s. e. d. i. c. t. u. e. e. d. u. a. b. i. n. u. l. t. i. b. i. u. o. r. i. p.
 d. i. c. a. i. e. s. t. i. n. t. e. d. i. c. t. u. s. . T. e. q. u. i. p. e. c. c. a. t. . s. e. d. l. o. c. u. i. g. n. o. r. a. m. .
 q. u. a. n. t. u. u. i. c. d. u. o. b. a. r. b. u. l. a. n. o. b. i. . i. a. s. t. e. l. l. i. t. i. n. a. u. l. . I. n. q. u. o. l. o. c. o. q. u. i. d.
 d. i. s. c. i. p. l. i. s. a. d. m. a. r. t. e. a. t. e. n. a. d. i. s. . I. l. l. y.

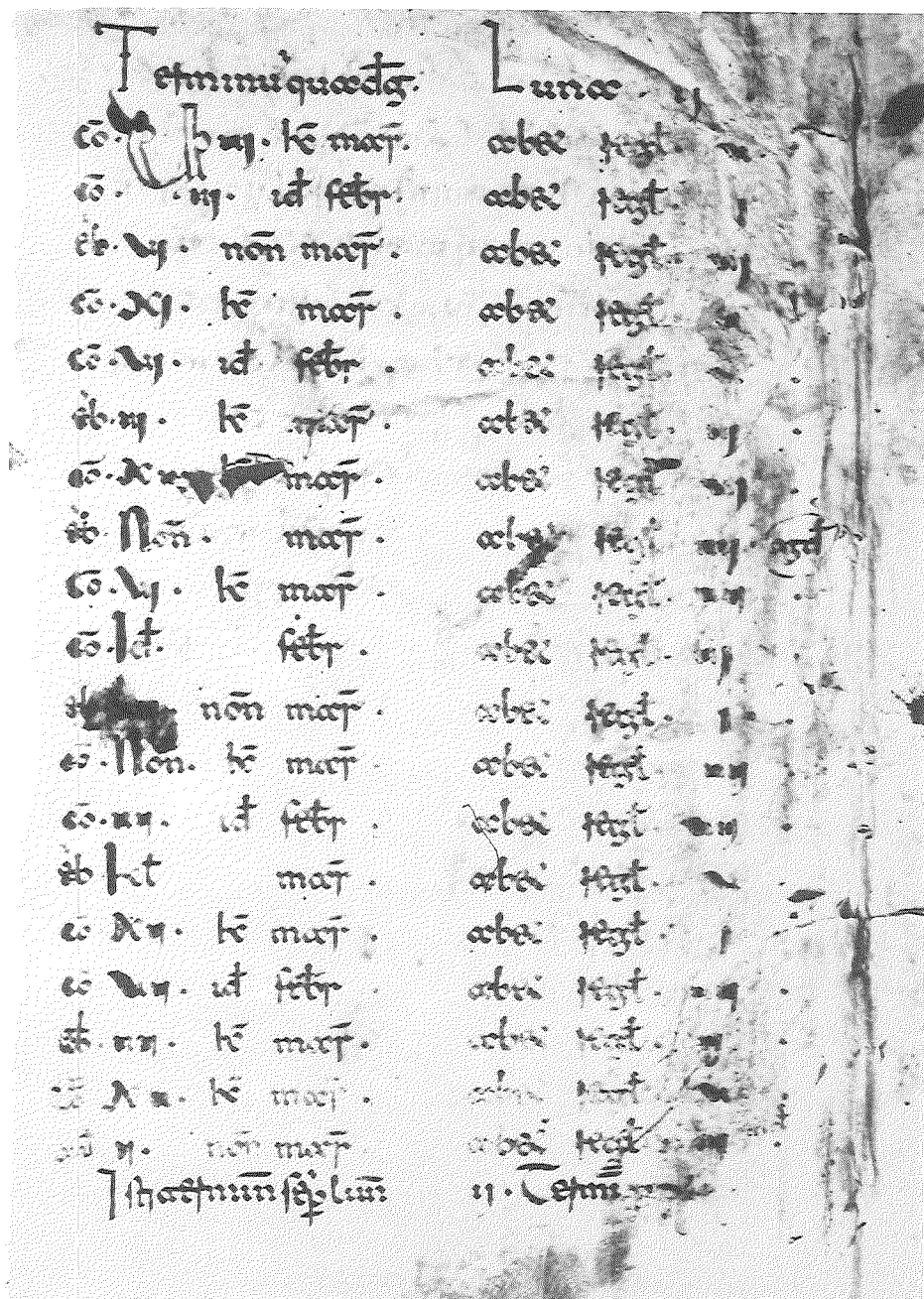
i. y. f. y. p. h. e. m. o. d. u. l. a. l. i. a. p. i. o. u. i. s. t. a. n.



1563-64 = i' qualche duplicato
 l'anno se ha. sanz dies l' a u' u' e' . R' a' s' s' e' .
 S' e' p' a' u' a' g' . n' o' p' i' n' e' b' d' o' m' a' d' i' b' u' s' .
 S' u' t' p' l' a' d' i' e' b' i' d' i' c' i' a' . s' e' d' p' u' n' a' e' t' n' u' m' .
 m' u' n' i' f' o' r' . l' d' e' s' t' . 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5 . 6 . 7 . 8 . 9 . 10 . 11 . 12 .
 13 . 14 . 15 . 16 . 17 . 18 . 19 . 20 . 21 . 22 . 23 . 24 . 25 . 26 . 27 . 28 . 29 . 30 . 31 .
 s' i' s' i' c' c' o' l' l' i' g' u' n' t' u' r' e' b' d' o' m' a' d' e' . n' o' s' u' m' m' i' l' i' s' . s' e' d' s' u' m' m' u' l' e' d' i' s' t' i' n' c' t' i' o' n' a' p' a' r' t' .
 b' i' a' d' o' d' i' c' t' u' m' . q' u' a' l' a' u' e' r' s' a' n' z' i' s' q' u' i' n' t' a' .
 p' a' r' i' c' h' e' . S' o' l' e' n' t' q' u' e' t' a' n' n' u' a' l' i' s' e' u' i' s' .
 s' e' p' t' . s' e' c' u' n' d' . q' u' a' r' t' . q' u' i' n' t' . s' i' s' t' e' q' u' o' d' a' g' .
 i' n' s' e' c' u' n' d' i' s' e' d' i' c' i' b' . c' e' t' a' s' a' t' t' e' m' p' t' i' b' . p' a' r' i' a' .
 l' e' n' t' q' u' i' b' u' s' u' t' q' u' i' s' . t' u' m' p' o' s' s' i' t' o' c' c' u' r' r' e' .
 t' e' . q' u' o' d' a' o' l' e' b' a' n' t' . u' d' e' b' a' t' h' a' e' c' o' n' t' e' s' t' .
 u' i' d' e' t' . s' i' p' o' t' u' l' a' n' t' r' e' s' p' o' n' s' i' o' n' i' s' s' e' t' d' o' m' i' n' i' .
 l' o' n' g' u' p' o' s' s' e' t' . c' u' m' s' a' c' i' s' t' i' a' l' i' s' i' s' .
 s' t' u' c' a' t' u' m' h' a' e' l' a' c' t' i' s' u' e' r' i' t' a' t' a' n' t' i' s' .
 e' i' s' t' e' . q' u' a' r' e' d' i' o' a' c' t' p' e' n' a' s' s' i' c' l' l' o' c' c' i' t' .
 e' b' a' r' i' s' s' e' . C' u' i' n' c' a' s' n' o' e' q' . l' e' g' e' n' t' i' b' .
 l' i' c' i' u' n' i' u' s' u' m' o' b' e' m' . u' n' i' o' r' s' e' c' t' a' e' o' f' d' i' .
 u' i' b' . e' s' s' e' . u' d' e' b' a' t' . u' i' d' e' l' i' c' e' t' . t' o' m' a' r' .
 r' o' n' . A' l' a' r' e' n' d' i' t' i' o' n' . h' i' e' t' u' s' o' l' y' m' a' r' .
 a' n' t' . s' i' c' a' n' a' l' u' o' c' e' n' e' . q' u' e' a' t' t' e' n' t' u' l' a' t' .

uno vocabulo sc̄ae sc̄tae nuncupat̄.
Idee naq; singule sc̄te. cu' una at̄
nē. catholicā s̄cnecone s̄de. dūsis
uacina officioꝝ lelunioꝝq; motibꝝ
unde sit. uachietusolymoz sc̄tae. Incho
& lelunui. c̄septuagesimae usq; ip̄as
chae. sublaas at̄bus dieb; de una quae
q; ebdomadae. best. die dominico. &
u. ff. & sc̄te. **A**l̄acenditnoꝝ u sc̄tae
Incho & lelunui. Al̄c̄agesimae usq;
Inp̄schae. c̄usetenat̄s de singulis eb
dom̄ die dom̄ic. & u. ff. **A**nathocēnae
quoq; sc̄tae. Incho & lelunui. c̄gn
quag usq; Inp̄schae. subat̄chens de
una quaeq; ebdomad̄. die dom̄ic.
ficiuq; f̄ocuin̄ & p̄omacēnae sc̄tae.
que acquad̄t̄ Incho & te consueua
lelunui. quaequae In hoc ap̄t̄ uac̄t̄s
uac̄nat̄s docat̄t̄s. singule puincie
& tegones diūfos sibi mot̄s ususp̄n̄.
puat̄quet̄; uolunat̄s duxet̄a

dieſ uero deſelunio iſta eſt taceſo. Adie
domic p eo quod ipſa die e dia e munduſ.
et ipſo die eſt annunſia ſaluator nſ
ab oſto uirginis marie. et ipſo die ſe
ſuſceſſo dñi nſ ihu x celebratur.
Quinque ſc p pſe qd in ipſo die lauiat dñſ
pedeſ diſcipuloꝝ. Et aſcendit ad corp; et
ſanguine ſui diſcipuliſ ſuiſ. ~~omniſ~~ die
eſt ſcia chriſma. et ipſo die ſaluator nſ
aſcendit ad celoſ. Sabb. p pſe uene
taceſo ſaſſeſne quateſ que pmiſſe ſciſ
in celoſ hieſt. Cu hoc u unu ſia
lelunio aſp; . nſ illy uocabuluſ diſtyn
guendo p didia. In aſſate lux taceſo
nſ . ſectaꝝ . manoteſtaꝝ . iſeſt .
ſepꝝ . ſectaꝝ . quinquageſ . quateſ . Pſo
hietuſolymoy ſecta . accēpato uocabu
lo ſepꝝ . ſimilitudo ſepꝝ ſectaꝝ
ſecta . ſepꝝ . nſ n ſepꝝ ſecta
ſecta . quinquageſ . et ſepꝝ ſecta .
uocabuſ annunſia quateſ .



10. Altamura, Archivio Capitolare,
Copertina del registro di amministrazione S. N.
for 1563-64 (fol. 2v).

[illegible]

Secunda angelus domini obsequium dicit lo dicant benedici
us by et mulierum et lo ad dicitur et lo et y. **De benedictione**
domine caro omni et bus et p. benedici. **La.**

[illegible]

♥ Tunc ad ipsum qui steterat luxare carnellos.
 & ppe sonatim aequat. Deitap ad sum. Ingeffere
 benedictio dñi. Cur fofis stas. ppeparu domum.
 & locum carnellos. & inatoduroa cum hofpi
 tium. nate dñi. nate dñi. nate dñi. nate dñi.
 & fñum. & aequam ad loquendum ppe carne
 lopum. & inofum qui uidefena eam eo. & ad
 pñauit est inconfiteau & pñuif. Quaria. Non
 comedem. dñe loquay fñmones meos. Tu in dñe.

100

¶ 1260 annus de cepet latus est. **V** fmar annus

100

Imprimatur Joannis R. ambulatorum in ams & 128.67

A Sprufus. y Bethaney. A duthum. y boudier. A d de sine son

Petit Inim. A. Delaport. Out. Part 17. F. n. 101. A. J. 1810. 1811.

U. Villalón: A Humiliated Slave 585-198.

duellum ducentos in os dedit. & erat illi.

Ite accendimus hierosolimam. & consuma

hunc autem omni que scripta sunt p. prophet. d. h.

homines. 2. et.

Exemptor ut prout dicitur de possessione sua dicitur.

9.80 millions d'euro, 9.84 millions de francs.

medicis, ut cum medicum sic dicantur?

...etiam quod dicitur in Substantia

✠ Et quia capitulum adhuc subest nullumque

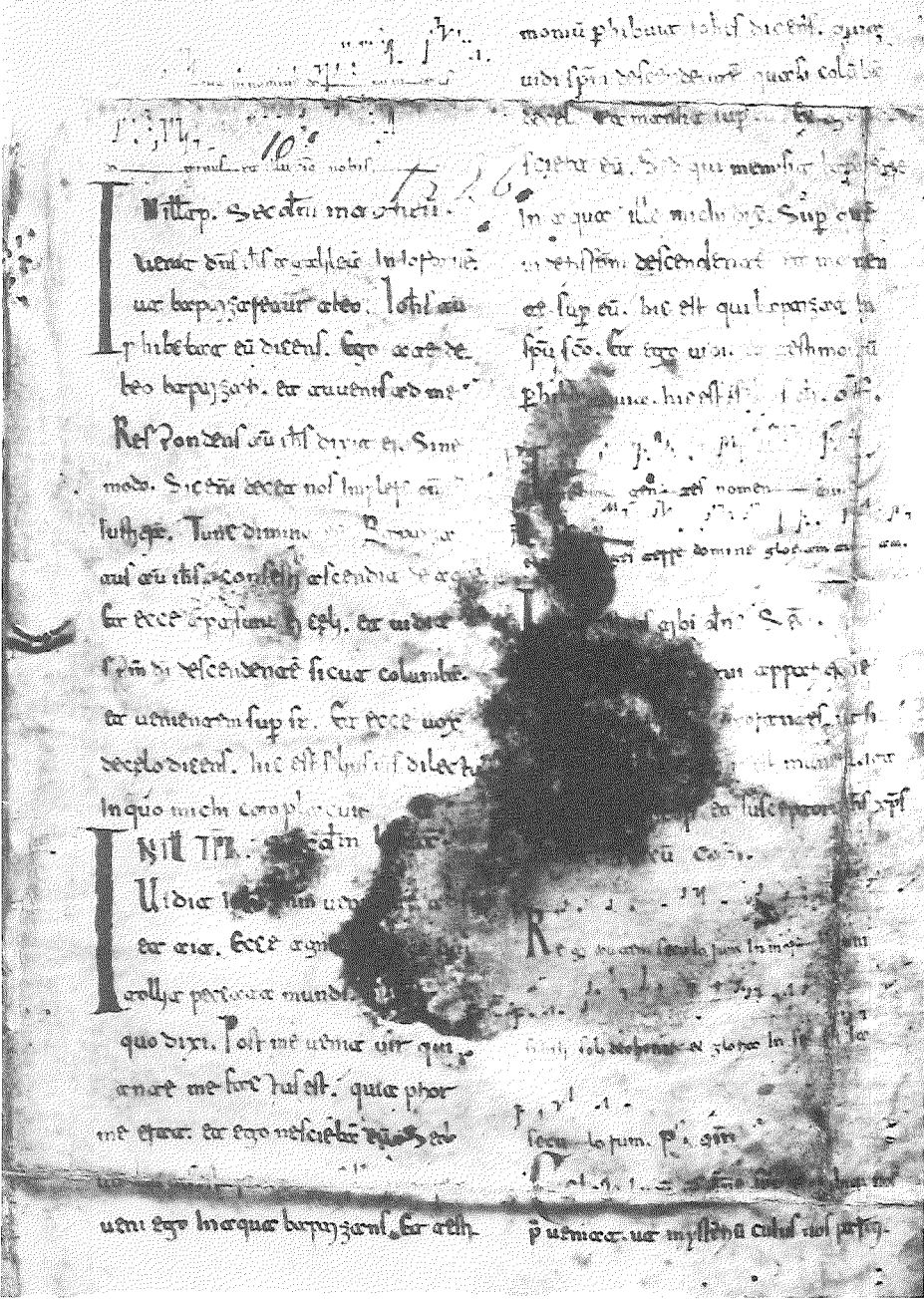
uobliena, car, = ala mellea i. uobla admi

peculum. Annot. reg. sculor. eccles. lani. xvij.

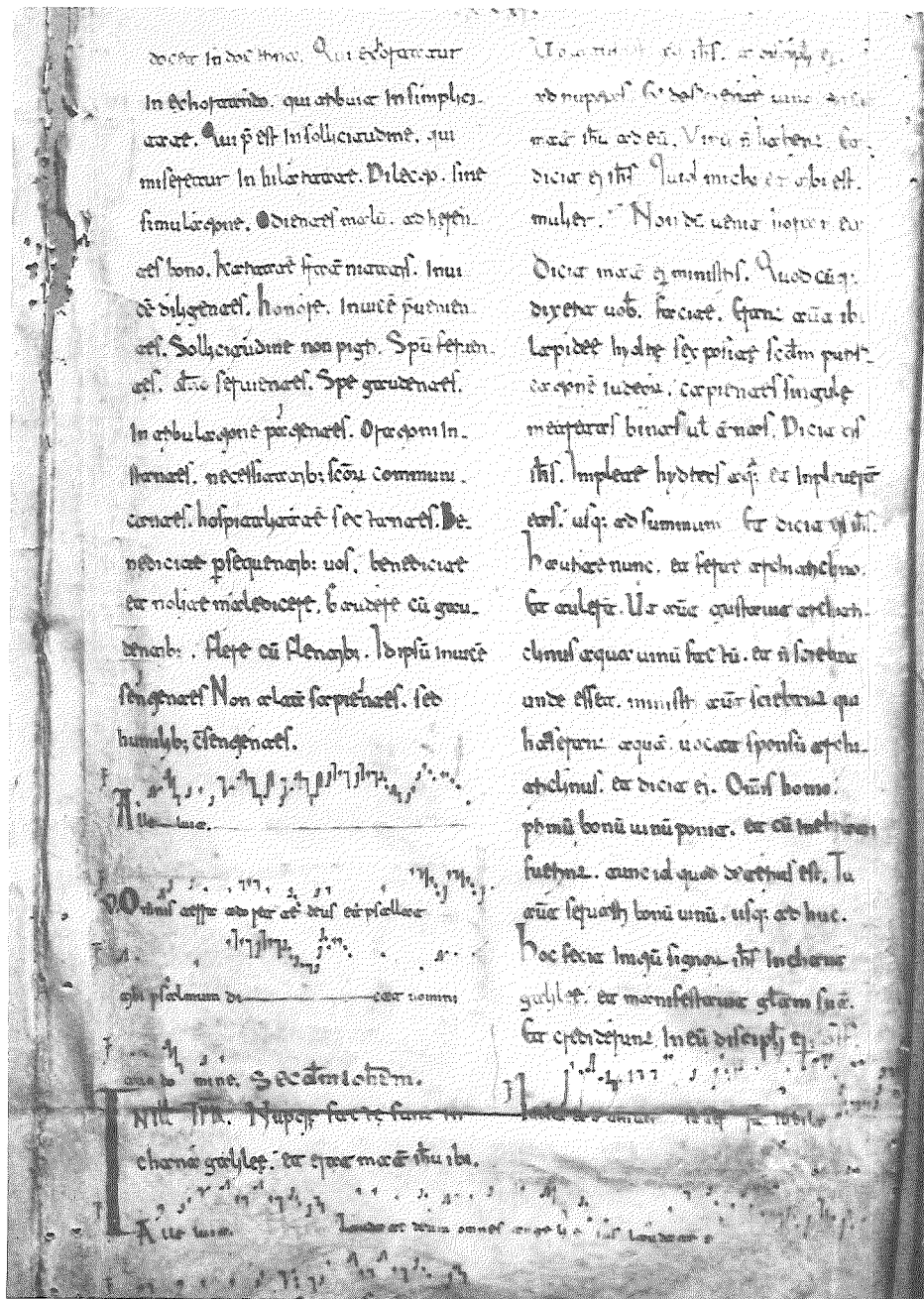
[illegible]

12. Altamura, Archivio Capitolare,
Copertina del registro di amministrazione n. 2

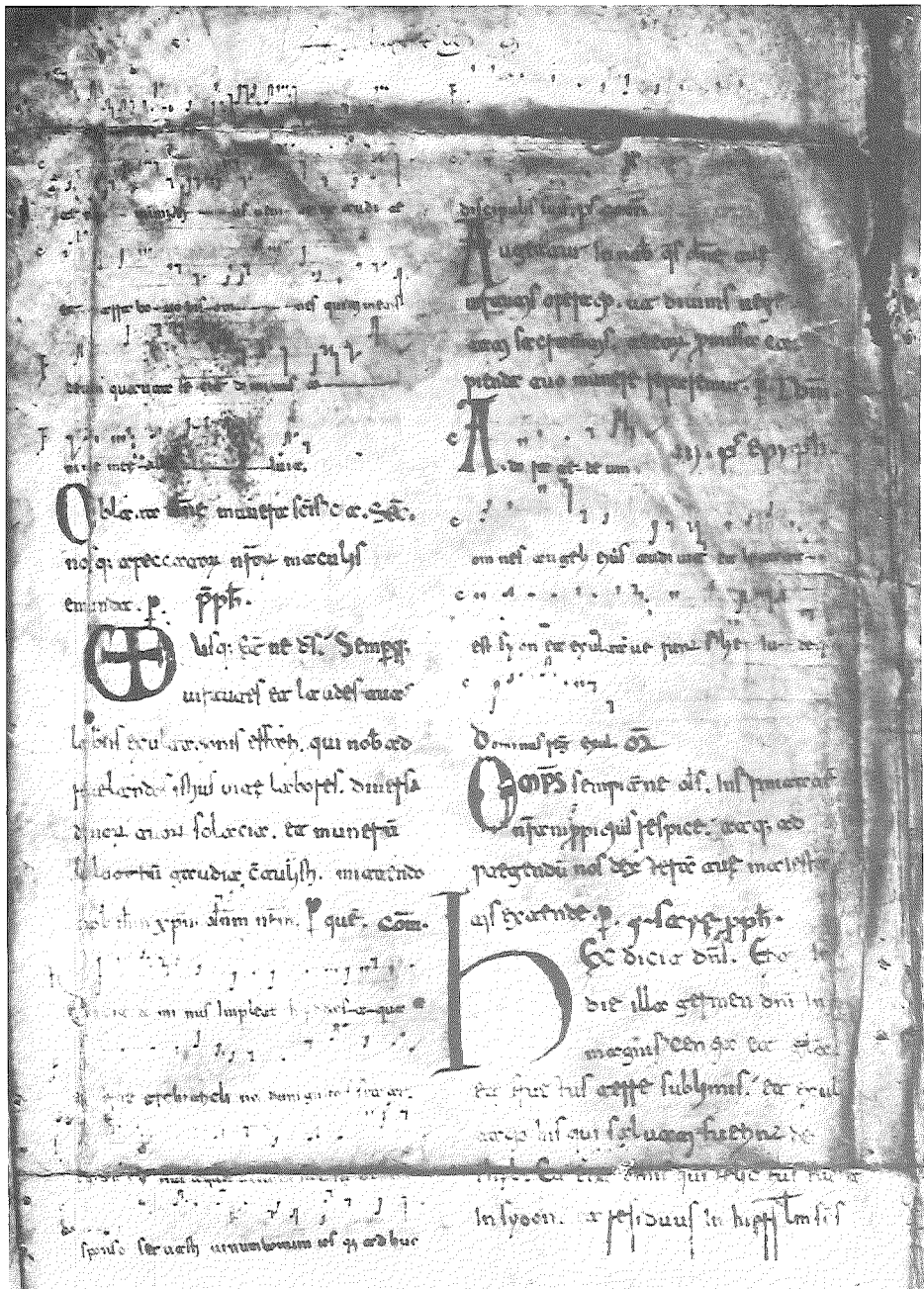
Copertina del registro di amministrazione 3
for 1521 (verso).



13. Altamura, Archivio Capitolare,
Copertina del registro di amministrazione 10
for 1526 (fol. xxxv).



15. Altamura, Archivio Capitolare,
Copertina del registro di amministrazione 10
for 1526 (fol. xxxi^r).



16. Altamura, Archivio Capitolare,
Copertina del registro di amministrazione 10
for 1526 (fol. xxxi^v).

Since the anonymous author of our exposition speaks of the Lenten fast as beginning at Rome on Quadragesima (ll. 19-20), it may at first appear that he is unfamiliar with the practice of beginning the Lenten fast on the Wednesday after Quinquagesima (later to be known as Ash Wednesday). Chavasse, however, has demonstrated that, while Septuagesima cannot be older than the mid-sixth century (and is perhaps more recent than that), the Wednesday after Quinquagesima was accorded liturgical observance at Rome by mid-fifth century although it was not initially regarded as the formal beginning of Lent.¹² Hence a commentator writing of Septuagesima must also have been aware of Ash Wednesday. The solution to the apparent difficulty may be that, when our author refers to Quadragesima, he means the season which opens with Ash Wednesday. The earliest documentary evidence for this usage is the Gelasian Sacramentary (Vatican Library Reg. lat. 316), which contains a brief ordo identifying the Wednesday as '*IV feria ... in capite quadragesimae* (I, xvi)'.¹³

A substantial proportion of our Beneventan text is occupied by the author's account of those days of the week which are exempt from the fast according to the various customs of the patriarchates (ll. 22-28). Sunday, naturally, is not a day appropriate for fasting because, on the first day of the week, God created the world, the Saviour was announced to the Virgin Mary, and the Lord rose from the dead. Thursday is exempt from the fast for, on Thursday, the Lord washed the feet of his disciples at the Last Supper and committed to them his body and blood; also on Thursday, the Church blesses the holy chrism, and the Saviour ascended into heaven. Saturday is devoted to the veneration of the everlasting rest the saints have been promised in the heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁴

This tract concludes by reiterating the point that the Sundays of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, and Quadragesima reflect the respective traditions of the four ancient patriarchal sees.

The verso of the second folio is occupied by a calendric table or lunar guide to the *Termini quadragesimales*, the beginning of Lent, and is derived, at least ultimately, from two such tables compiled by Rabanus Maurus in his *De computo*, written in A.D. 820.¹⁵ Our author, or perhaps some intermediate compiler, has

¹² Antoine Chavasse, 'Le Carême romain et les scrutins prébaptismaux avant le ix^e siècle', *Recherches de science religieuse* 35 (1948) 337-38.

¹³ Leo Cunibert Mohlberg-Leo Eizenhöfer-Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Liber sacramentorum romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, 3rd edition (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 4; Rome, 1981), p. 18. The text of this ordo is probably not as old as the mass texts of the Sacramentary (Chavasse, *ibid.*, 336).

¹⁴ Significance attributed to days of the week according to events of salvation history is common in medieval liturgical commentary. For an early example, pertinent to Sunday, see *Dies dominica* in Robert E. McNally, ed., *Scriptores Hiberniae minores* 1 (CCL 108B.173-86).

¹⁵ Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, ed. Wesley M. Stevens (CCM 44.303-304). Major works of Rabanus Maurus extant in Beneventan script are, for example, Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia

extracted from Rabanus' first table two columns of information: *Termini quadragesimales* and *Regulares*; from Rabanus' second table is drawn the column entitled *De communibus et embolismis annis*.

The logical juxtaposition of the text on Septuagesima and the calendric table suggests that the bifolium originally formed part of a computistical anthology. The presence of the calendric material in this form, if it is original to Rabanus Maurus, establishes that the compilation of such an anthology took place in the ninth century or later (after A.D. 820).

* * *

In transcribing the text given below, I have adopted modern principles of punctuation and capitalization while retaining the orthography of the manuscript. Erroneous or difficult readings are followed by (*sic*), (*ut vid.*) or (?).

- (f. 1r) In Pascha sunt dies lxiiij. Ratio Septuagesime. Septuagesima non pro vii ebdomadibus vel pro lx (*sic*) diebus dicitur sed pro vii terminis numerorum, id est i, ii, xii, vxii (*sic*), vi, xiiij, et sic colliguntur ut ebdomada non summulis sed summule dispartiantur per arbitrio (*sic*) dierum qui lxiiij sunt usque in Pascha. Solent (*sic*) queri a
 5 nonnullis cur Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, sive Quadragesima in sacris codicibus certis temporibus pretitulentur. Quibus ut quantum (?) possit occurrere quod volebant non debet hoc onerosum videri, si paulatim responsionis sermo modo (*ut vid.*) longum processerit, cum satis melium (*ut vid.*) sit fructum hoc (*sic*) laboris viam veritatis percurrere quam odio torpentis fallacie verba proferre. Cunctis namque legentibus libet
 10 (*sic*) universum orbem iiij aecclesias (*sic*) ordinibus esse distributam (*sic*), videlicet Romanorum, Alexandrinorum, Hierusolimitanorum et Anthiocaene; que generaliter (f. 1v) uno vocabulo sancta aecclesia nuncupatur. Hee namque singulae aecclesie cum unam tenent catholicam sanctione fidei diversis utuntur officiorum ieuniorumque moribus. Unde fit ut Hierusolimorum aecclesia inchoet ieunium a Septuagesima usque in Pascha,
 15 sublatis tribus diebus de unaquaque ebdomada, id est diem (*sic*) dominico et v feria et sabbato. Alexandrinorum vero aecclesia inchoet ieunium a Sexagesima usque in Pascha, auferentes (*sic*) de singulis ebdomadibus diem dominicum et v feriam. Anthiocaena quoque aecclesia inchoat ieunium a Quinquagesima usque in Pascha, subtrahens de unaquaque ebdomada diem dominicum sicuti faciunt (*sic*) et Romana ecclesia que a
 20 Quadragesima inchoare consuevit ieunium. Quamquam in hoc tempore variis utentes

5 quaestio in marg.

6 responsio in marg.

9 quaestio in marg.

132 *De origine rerum* and 133 *Commentarius in libros Regum*, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4955 *Commentarius in libros Regum* (listed in E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule 2*, 2nd edition prepared by Virginia Brown [Sussidi eruditi 34; Rome, 1980], pp. 70-71, 151). For another connection between the work of Rabanus Maurus and Beneventan script see Raymund Kottje, 'Beneventana-Fragmente liturgischer Bücher im Stadtarchiv Augsburg', *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985) 432-37.

doctrinis singule provincie et regiones diversos sibi mores usurpent prout queque voluntas duxerit. (f. 2r) Dies (*sic*) vero de ieiunio ista est ratio. A die dominico pro eo quod ipsa die conditus est mundus et ipso die est annuntiatus Salvator noster ab angelo Virginis (*sic*) Marie, et ipso die resurrectio Domini nostri Iesu Christi celebratur. Quinta feria propter
 25 quia in ipso die lavit Dominus pedes discipulorum et tradidit corpus et sanguinem suum discipulis suis, ut (?) ipso (?) die conficitur chrisma, et ipso die Salvator noster ascendit ad celos. Sabbato propter veneratio (*sic*) aeternae quietis que promissa est sanctis in celesti Hierusalem. Cum hoc vero unum sit ieiunii tempus, iiij illis vocabulis distinguendo prodidit antiquitatem (*sic*) iuxta morem iiij aecclesiarum memoratarum, idest Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Quadragesima. Pro Hierusolimorum aecclesia accepto vocabulo
 30 Septuagesima, similitudo (*sic*) et pro Alexandrinorum ecclesia Sexagesima, necnon et pro Anthiocena aecclesia Quinquagesima, et Romanorum aecclesia vocavit antiquitas Quadragesima.

(f. 2v)	Termini quadragesimales	Luna ij
Communis	vij Kal. Martii	abet regularem v
Communis	ij Idus Februarii	abet regularem j
Embolismus	vj Nonas Martii	abet regularem vj
5 Communis	xj Kal. Martii	abet regularem ij
Communis	vj Idus Februarii	abet regularem v
Embolismus	ij Kal. Martii	abet regularem iiij
Communis	xiiij Kal. Martii	abet regularem vj
Embolismus	Nonas Martii	abet regularem iiij
10 Communis	vj Kal. Martii	abet regularem vij
Communis	Idus Februarii	abet regularem ij
Embolismus	[] Nonas Martii	abet regularem j
Communis	Novem Kal. Martii	abet regularem iiij
Communis	iiij Idus Februarii	abet regularem vij
15 Embolismus	Kalendas Martii	abet regularem v
Communis	xij Kal. Martii	abet regularem j
Communis	vij Idus Februarii	abet regularem iiij
Embolismus	iiij Kal. Martii	abet regularem ij
Communis	xv Kal. Martii	abet regularem v
20 Embolismus	ij Nonas Martii	abet regularem ij
	Isti termini semper lunae	ij. Terminorum...

1 Termini *corr. s.s. ex Terminu* 9 ogdoas *in marg.*

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FRAGMENT 2

(Copertina del registro di amministrazione 3 for 1521)

One leaf from a noted breviary has been removed from the *registro* and is kept separately. Trimmed on three sides, the folio now measures 330 × 200 (250 × 125) mm., with 32 long lines. The scribe, using a rich brown ink with traces of black, has produced an expert twelfth-century specimen of the 'Bari-type' of Beneventan (cf. pls. 11-12). Indeed, the script displays most of the features of this regional adaptation:¹ its appearance is generally round; *s* and *f* rest on the base-line; two nearly equal curves make up large *e*; *i* in the *fi* ligature rests on or above the base-line, forming a broad curve which turns inward; the shoulder of medial *r* is straight. Contrary, however, to the 'Bari-type' canon is the final *r* which goes slightly below the line (1r9, 14 and 1v3, 9), and the copyist prefers, for omitted *m* and *est*, the 3-shaped *m* sign and *ē* to the line surmounted by a dot and ÷. Abbreviations comprise the Nomina Sacra, the usual Beneventan forms for *autem*, *eius*, etc., and both the 'old' and 'new' systems for forms of *omnis* (1r22 *om̄s*, 1r28 and 1v22 *om̄ia*; 1v18 *oipotentis*). Initial majuscule letters at the beginning of new sections are written in red and infilled or edged with green; somewhat smaller initial letters at the beginning of sentences are written in ink and then edged or infilled (wholly or partially) with red and/or green. A single point on the base-line serves for punctuation. Questions are marked with a sign resembling a modern check-mark; in two cases on the recto (ll. 11 and 12) the sign is placed over the interrogative word and final word in the sentence, while on the verso (l. 3) the check-mark appears over the interrogative word only.

The musical notation is not that of the Beneventan scribes of the region in the twelfth century or earlier, consisting instead of an early form of square notation with something of a French aspect.² It is diastematic relative to the scored line for the text, and uses a clef and custos.

¹ E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2 vols., 2nd edition prepared by Virginia Brown (Sussidi eruditi 33-34; Rome, 1980), 1.150.

² Beneventan musical notation appears rather frequently with ordinary minuscule, especially in codices of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some examples are: Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 606, fols. 150v-156r (*Paléographie musicale* 14 [Solesmes, 1931; rpt. Berne, 1971], pls. 34-43); Subiaco, Biblioteca del Protocenobio di Santa Scolastica xxii (24); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 10645, fols. 10-11, 12-15, 16-19, 20-21, 23a, 24-25, 26-27, 28-29, 38, 38*, 39, 40-41, 42-43, 44-45, 48-49, 65-67, 68. The reverse (Beneventan script with non-Beneventan notation) is much rarer; the only other example I know is Chieti, Biblioteca Capitolare 2, whose two initial fly-leaves are from an eleventh-century gradual in Beneventan script but with northern Italian notation (see *Paléographie musicale* 14, pls. 44-45). That scribes of different traditions should meet on the periphery of the Beneventan zone (Subiaco, Chieti) is not particularly surprising; nor is the survival of a Beneventan-derived musical notation after a change in writing style. The Altamura music-scribe, however, seems clearly to be a foreigner somehow transported (through Norman influence?) far from home.

The contents of this leaf concern the second and third nocturns of matins (according to the 'Roman' or 'secular' cursus) of Quinquagesima and are listed below, with italics denoting rubrics:

(recto)

1. [Lectio] *populi mei. ... spatiosus ad manendum. Tu autem domine.* [Gen 23:11-15, 24:22-25; a composite text with a gap in continuity³]

2. *℞ Vocavit angelus domini Abraham. ∇ Et benedicentur* [= CAO⁴ 7911]

3a. *Lectio. Inclinauit se homo et adoravit. ... locutus est mihi homo* [Gen 24:26-30; continued on verso]

(verso)

3b. *Venit ad virum. ... sermones meos. Tu autem domine.* [Gen 24:30-33]

4. *℞ Credidit Abraham deo. ∇ Fuit autem iustus* [= CAO 6346, used in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare VI 21 only, for Quinquagesima]

5. *a[ntiphona] Sponsus [ut e thalamo]. Ps Celi enarrant.* [= CAO 5011]

6. *a[ntiphona] Auxilium [nobis Salvator]. Ps Exaudiat.* [= CAO 1537]

7. *a[ntiphona] Rex sine fine. Ps Domine in virtute.* [= CAO 4652]

8. *v[e]r[sus] Exultare domine.* [= CAO 2758 or 2759]

9. *Pater noster. Et ne nos. Set.*

10. [Blessing of the lector] *Jube domne ben[edicere]. Evangelii documentis nos repleat virtus omnipotentis.*

11a. [*Lectio*] *Secundum Lucam. In illo tempore assumpsit Iesus duodecim discipulos. ... scripta sunt per prophetas de filio hominis. Et reliqua.* [Lc 18:31 ff.]

11b. *Redemptor noster providens. ... verba non caperent eos* [Gregory the Great, *Homiliae XL in evangelia* 1.2 (for Quinquagesima) (PL 76.1082B)]

That this leaf is a fragment of a Roman breviary can be deduced from the antiphon series cued on the verso, for these are drawn from a nine-part series of distichs. They are used in Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 33 (CVI) for Sundays after Epiphany; the Sunday nocturns have three antiphons each, and to each nocturn is added an alternative group (*Item aliae antiphonae*) from this series of distichs.⁵ The series is used, in the same order, in a number of Spanish manuscripts.⁶

The antiphons cited here are seventh, eighth and ninth in the series; evidently, therefore, they are used for the third nocturn of a secular office. A monastic third nocturn, of course, would have a single antiphon for canticles.

³ The text skips from Gen 23:15 ('... istud est pretium inter me et te; sed quantum est hoc? sepeli mortuum tuum') to Gen 24:22 ('Postquam ergo biberunt cameli, protulit vir in aures aureas...') in this fashion: '... hoc est pretium inter me et te. Set quantum cameli. protulit vir in aures....'

⁴ René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii* (=CAO), 6 vols. (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7-12; Rome, 1963-79).

⁵ See CAO 1, pp. 87, 89.

⁶ The texts are edited in Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 17 (Leipzig, 1894), p. 19. See Amédée Gastoué, 'Le chant gallican', *Revue du chant grégorien* 41 (1937) 104 and n. 4.

We can be certain that the feast in question is Quinquagesima, not only from the homily of Gregory the Great for that day which is read at the third nocturn but also from the liturgical assignment of the chant pieces in other manuscripts. One of the responsories (*Credidit Abraham deo*, no. 4 above) is known only from south Italy, where it is used for Quinquagesima in Benevento VI 21.⁷

FRAGMENT 3

(Copertina del registro di amministrazione 10 for 1526)

A bifolium from a noted missal has been removed from the *registro* and is kept separately. Present measurements are 380 × 310 (250 × 160) mm., with 2 columns of 27 lines, and the first folio is stained from moisture. Originally forming the central bifolium of a quire, the leaves exhibit at the top of each recto a late foliation in the form of Roman numerals 'XXX' and 'XXXI' (traces of 'XXXI' are seen on our pl. 15); there are a few marginal additions in later hands. The script is an elongated version of the 'Bari-type' of Beneventan (cf. pls. 13-16): height and length of ascenders and descenders is exaggerated; broken *c* is frequently used; *f* and *s* do not go below the base-line, nor does *i* in the *fi* ligature; final *r* is short; notable is the breadth of the curve in the *ct* and *sp* ligatures (e.g., fol. xxx^ra10, 15, 24). The usual abbreviations designate the Nomina Sacra, and those for various cases of *omnis* follow the 'old' system (fols. xxx^vb8 *omia*, xxxi^rb18 *omis*); however, the use of a horizontal stroke for omitted *m* rather than the line surmounted by a dot or the 3-shaped symbol, together with the occasional appearance of *aūt* (fol. xxxi^rb16, 21) instead of *aū* for *autem*, suggests that the scribe was writing in an area exposed to the influence of Caroline minuscule. Letters which begin a section are in red and occupy from two to four lines; those beginning new sentences within a section are smaller and also in red, with the text in a brownish-black ink. Medial stops are indicated by the point or point combined with hook, and final stops by the point alone. A point surmounted by an oblique line flagged on both ends (see fol. xxxi^rb5) terminates a question. Neumes are occasionally added above the texts of readings and the preface (e.g., fol. xxx^ra18).

The notation of the chant pieces is written with clefs on dry-point lines. Though the style of notation is essentially Beneventan, especially as regards the shapes and linking of neumes, it has an attenuated quality, rather like the script, which sets it apart from most later Beneventan notations. Missing here is the rich variety of Beneventan liquescent neumes, as is the quilisma, which generally disappears from Beneventan notation in the twelfth century. Thus the fragment is surely not earlier than the twelfth century.

⁷ See the references in CAO under the catalogue numbers listed.

Contents of the bifolium are as follows (*italics indicate rubrics*):

(fol. xxx^r)

1. [Alleluia. Benedictus qui] venit.
2. *Secundum Matheum*. In illo tempore venit dominus Iesus a Galileam (*sic*). ... in quo michi complacuit. [Mt 3:13-17]
3. *Secundum Lucam*. In illo tempore vidit Iohannes Iesum. ... hic est filius dei. [Jo 1:29-34]
4. *Off.* Timebunt gentes nomen tuum et omnes reges terre domine gloriam tuam.
5. *Sec.* Hostias tibi domine pro nati filii.
6. *Com.* Regi autem seculorum immortalis invisibili soli deo honor et gloria in secula seculorum.
- 7a. *Postcom.* Celesti lumine. [continued on verso]

(fol. xxx^v)

- 7b. [*Postcom.* concluded]
8. *Dom. II. post Epyphaniae. Intr.* Omnis terra.
9. *Or.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui celestia.
10. [*Lectio*] *Sapientiae*. Diligite iustitiam. ... habet vocis. [Sap 1:1-7]
11. *Gr.* Misit dominus.
- 12a. *Ad Romanos*. Fratres habentes donationes ... sive qui [Rom 12:6-7; continued on fol. xxxi^r]

(fol. xxxi^r)

- 12b. docet in doctrina. ... humilibus consentientes. [Rom 12:7-16]
- 13a. *All.* Omnis terra adoret te deus et psallat tibi; psalmum dicat nomini tuo domine.
- 13b. *All.* Laudate deum omnes angeli eius, laudate eum omnes virtutes eius. [added in lower margin by the same music-scribe]
14. *Secundum Iohannem*. In illo tempore nuptiae factae sunt. ... discipuli eius. [Jo 2:1-11]
- 15a. *Off.* Jubila deo.

(fol. xxxi^v)

- 15b. [*Off.* concluded]
16. *Sec.* Oblata domine munera sanctifica.
17. *Preph.* Vere dignum usque aeterne deus. Semperque virtutes.
18. *Com.* Dicit dominus implete hydrias.
19. *Postcom.* Augeatur in nobis.
20. *Dom. III. post Epyph.* [*Intr.*] Adorate deum.
21. *Or.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus infirmitatem nostram.
22. [*Lectio*] *Ysaye proph.* Haec dicit dominus. Erit in die illa germen. ... et residuus in Hierusalem sanctus [Is 4:2-3]

The missal contains parts of three masses for the season after Epiphany, and it has some noteworthy features. First, it uses three lections for the mass: Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel; this is a characteristic also seen in the archaic missal preserved in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare VI 33 (s. x/xi), where

readings from the prophets precede the Epistle for a number of Sundays after Pentecost. Klaus Gamber has suggested that this may represent an early Roman usage.⁸ Michel Huglo, however, has observed that these Old Testament lessons must have been included in the old Beneventan liturgy; they are in part drawn from pre-Vulgate texts, and one of the pre-Vulgate lessons from Jeremiah is found in the same manuscript in a Vulgate version among the Roman pericopes for Thursday of the fourth week of Lent.⁹

The surviving Old Testament lessons in this fragment are two: Sap 1:1-7 for the second Sunday after Epiphany and Is 4:2-? for the third Sunday after Epiphany. They display essentially Vulgate readings.

The missal in Benevento VI 33 has triple readings only for Sundays after Pentecost, not for the Epiphany season. The Altamura missal evidently provided a larger number of masses with three lessons: in its present form we cannot be sure that it did not contain Old Testament lessons for all Sundays. Still, using the evidence of Benevento VI 33, we can establish that there existed in south Italy a system of three lections at least for the 'green' Sundays of the liturgical year.

Except for this third lesson, the second and third masses of Altamura (for the second and third Sundays after Epiphany) are basically those of the Roman Missal prior to Vatican II. The surviving prayers for the masses at Altamura are found in later recensions of the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries,¹⁰ and the lessons

⁸ 'Die Sonntagsmessen nach Pfingsten im Cod. VI 33 von Benevent', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 74 (1960) 428-31. The entire manuscript is reproduced in facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* 20 (Berne-Frankfurt, 1983); it is edited (though texts and music are not given *in extenso*) by Sieghild Rehle, 'Missale Beneventanum (Codex VI 33 des Erzbischöflichen Archivs von Benevent)', *Sacris erudiri* 21 (1972-73) 323-405.

⁹ 'Fragments de Jérémie selon la Vetus Latina', *Vigiliae christianae* 8 (1954) 83-86.

¹⁰ There are no formularies for Sundays after Epiphany in the earlier sacramentary of Hadrian; see Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vols. (Spicilegium friburgense 16, 24, 28; Fribourg, 1971-82), 1.83-348 (Hadrianum from Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 164), and also Hans Lietzmann, ed., *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 3; Münster i. W., 1921). The Leonine Sacramentary of Verona likewise contains none of these prayers (Leo Cunibert Mohlberg-Leo Eizenhöfer-Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Sacramentarium Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])* [Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 1; Rome, 1956]). They are found, however, in the supplement to the sacramentary of Hadrian (Deshusses 1.382-83, nos. 349-605).

The Altamura prayers for the second and third Sundays are not found in the Gelasian Sacramentary in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 316 (Leo Cunibert Mohlberg-Leo Eizenhöfer-Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, 3rd edition [Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 4; Rome, 1981]), but they appear in the eighth-century Frankish Gelasian sacramentaries (Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall. No. 348)*, 3rd edition [Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 1.2; Münster i. W., 1971], pp. 18-19, 23, and see also A. Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus* [CCL 159; Turnhout, 1981], pp. 16, 22). A useful comparative table is found in J. Deshusses, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis: introductio, tabulae et indices* (CCL 159A; Turnhout, 1981), pp. 12-15.

and chants are standard except for the two Alleluias in the second mass, which are nevertheless widely known pieces.¹¹

In addition, the second mass includes the proper preface *Semperque virtutes*,¹² which is found in Gelasian sacramentaries¹³ and among the appended prefaces in the supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary.¹⁴

The first mass is more complex. As it is incomplete at its beginning we have no rubric labeling the feast; apparently it is a mass assembled for the octave of Epiphany.

This mass has two Gospel pericopes. It uses rare chant pieces, and its prayers are an assemblage of collects used elsewhere in various ways. Probably it too had an Old Testament lesson. The presence of two Gospel readings is unusual, perhaps unique; it seems to fuse two traditions in order to focus on the baptism of Christ. The pericopes, two accounts of the baptism written one after another, are two Gospels, and not a single composite reading, since they are labeled respectively *secundum Matheum* (Mt 3:13-17) and *secundum Lucam* (the passage is actually Jo 1:29-34) and each has the standard Gospel incipit *In illo tempore*.

The Matthew pericope, while rare elsewhere, is a regular feature of Beneventan books. It is used for the octave of Epiphany in Benevento VI 33, and for the same feast in the combined missal-breviary Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare V 19 and in the missals London, British Library Egerton 3511 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 576, all of the twelfth century.¹⁵

The more usual Gospel series does not normally include the Matthew reading at all, although the passage from John is found for the Wednesday after Epiphany

¹¹ The Alleluia *Omnis terra* appears in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare VI 34, fols. 37v-38r for the second Sunday after Epiphany; it is an adaptation of the Alleluia *Amavit eum* and is widely used in medieval manuscripts (see Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* [Munich, 1965], p. 147, no. 174). The Alleluia added in the lower margin, *Laudate deum* (adapted from the Alleluia *Excita domine*), is used in Benevento VI 34 for the feast of the Invention of the archangel Michael (8 May), but it is more widely found for the second Sunday after Epiphany; see Schlager, pp. 163-64, no. 205. This marginal addition, then, is designed to bring the Altamura missal into line with the more usual Roman practice.

¹² Edmond (Eugène) Moeller, ed., *Corpus praefationum*, 4 vols. (CCL 161A-D; Turnhout, 1980), no. 1439.

¹³ In Gellone (Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 17), St. Gall (Mohlberg, ed., *Das fränkische Sacramentarium*, p. 19) and elsewhere (see the table in Deshusses, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 13).

¹⁴ Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien* 1.500, no. 1528.

¹⁵ The same reading is used for the octave in an eleventh-century German Gospel-book, namely, Manchester, John Rylands University Library Lat. 159; see Walter Howard Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* 2 (Alcuin Club Collections 30; Oxford, 1934), p. 82. This manuscript also includes Gospels for the three ferias after Epiphany; the octave interrupts the series, which continues with 'Dies iii' (i.e., the second feria after Epiphany), whose Gospel is *Vidit Iohannes Iesum*, the second pericope of Altamura. In this series, then, the two Gospels occur in the same order as at Altamura, but the series itself in the Rylands codex is not in proper liturgical order.

in both the early Gospel series in Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale 10 and in the 'standard' series of London, British Library Harley 2788.¹⁶

This same Wednesday, however, is provided with another Gospel in an alternate arrangement attested by a number of sources; and this alternative Gospel is Mt 3:13-17 (the first of the two Altamura Gospels).¹⁷

The Altamura missal evidently fuses two traditions which use Gospels referring to the baptism: that of the south Italian manuscripts (Matthew) and the John pericope more usual elsewhere. It presents the two together for a feast that is evidently the octave of Epiphany (and not the Wednesday, for in that case the first Sunday would have to follow this mass). Both Gospels are present, but it seems unlikely that both were intended to be read; the scribe leaves the choice to the lector.¹⁸

The Collects for this mass, too, are a collection of 'wandering' prayers assembled for the octave at a stage later than the arrangement of Sundays after Epiphany (which are themselves later additions to the sacramentary).¹⁹ Though they came to be associated with the octave, they are originally separate prayers, to judge from some early sources. They are both used for Epiphany itself in the Reginensis Gelasian Sacramentary.²⁰

The Secret (*Hostias tibi domine pro nati filii*, no. 5 above) is used for the first Sunday in Gellone²¹ and in other Gelasian sacramentaries;²² while the Postcommunion (*Celesti lumine*) is used for the octave in the same manuscripts.²³ This latter prayer serves also for the vigil of Epiphany in several sources,²⁴ and as one of the prayers 'ad completum diebus festis' in the sacramentary of Hadrian.²⁵

¹⁶ Frere, *ibid.* 2.2, 30.

¹⁷ *ibid.* 2.119. The Matthew reading is used for the same Wednesday in the central Italian missal fragments of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 29164; see Klaus Gamber, 'Die mittelitalienisch-beneventanischen Plenarmissalien. Der Meßbuchtypus des Metropolitangebiets von Rom im 9./10. Jahrhundert', *Sacris erudiri* 9 (1957) 269-70.

¹⁸ The 'Martina' group of Gospels is characterized by its inclusion of readings for weekdays after Epiphany, and that series also brings the two Altamura Gospels into proximity. The Tuesday Gospel is Jo 1:29-34 (= Altamura no. 3), and Wednesday's Gospel is Mt 3:1-17, which includes the portion read at Altamura (see Frere, *ibid.* 2.91). But it seems unlikely that the Altamura double Gospel derives from this series since the texts would have to be shortened and their order reversed.

¹⁹ Some of the prayers for the second and third Sundays are also to be found among the 'general' prayers in earlier sacramentaries containing no feasts in the Epiphany cycle. *Augeatur* (Altamura no. 19) is used in the Reginensis Gelasian sacramentary (Mohlberg, ed., *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae*, p. 187, no. 1263) in a series of eleven postcommunion prayers for Sundays; and *Omnipotens sempiterna deus qui celestia* (Altamura no. 9) is one of many 'orationes cottidianae' in the sacramentary of Hadrian (Lietzmann, ed., *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, p. 63, no. 97.2 and Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien* 1.325, no. 922).

²⁰ Mohlberg, *ibid.*, p. 15.

²¹ Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 15.

²² Deshusses, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 12.

²³ Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, p. 16; Deshusses, *ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁴ Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien* 1.689.

²⁵ Deshusses, *ibid.* 1.209; Lietzmann, ed., *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, p. 63.

Fairly early on, however, these two prayers were adopted into a new mass for the octave of Epiphany, as is evident from their use in the Gelasian sacramentaries of St. Gall and Angoulême,²⁶ and in the additions to the Gregorian Sacramentary of Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 162-163.²⁷

Hence the development of the octave as a feast celebrating the baptism of Christ is a somewhat later phenomenon, but the focus is clear by the earlier ninth century when Amalarius speaks about it:

Sicut certavit scola cantorum in epiphania frequentare adventum magorum, simili modo certat in octavis epiphaniae frequentare baptismum Christi, quasi ipsa die baptizatus esset.²⁸

Although their melodies are Gregorian in style, the chants of the Altamura mass are generally absent from the earliest Gregorian repertory.²⁹ They are not unknown, however, in south Italian graduals and missals. In Benevento VI 33 (fol. 8v) the Alleluia *Benedictus qui venit*³⁰ appears in the mass for the octave of Epiphany which begins with the Introit *In columbe specie*; the mass is incomplete owing to a lacuna, and so we cannot verify the presence of the Offertory and Communion of Altamura. However, the twelfth-century gradual Benevento VI 35 contains a full set of chants for the octave which match the surviving Altamura mass.³¹

This mass, then, is a uniquely south Italian formulary for the octave of Epiphany, a mass of relatively late development, in which the fusion of tradition is visible in the double Gospel and the local character attested by the regional chant.

American Academy in Rome.

²⁶ Mohlberg, ed., *Das fränkische Sacramentarium*, p. 17; Deshusses, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, pp. 12-13 (table).

²⁷ Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien* 1.689.

²⁸ *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* 25 in Jean Michel Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia* 3 (Studi e testi 140; Vatican City, 1950), p. 61.

²⁹ They are not found in the six Graduals edited by René-Jean Hesbert in *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935; rpt. Rome, 1985), none of which contains a mass for the octave of Epiphany.

³⁰ The Alleluia, based on the widely used *Dies sanctificatus*, is an adaptation hitherto known only in Benevento VI 33 and VI 35; see Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, pp. 78-81, no. 27.

³¹ Int. *In columbe*; Gr. *Benedictus deus Israel*; ¶ *Suscipiant*; All. ¶ *Benedictus qui venit*; Of. *Timebunt gentes*; Co. *Regi autem seculorum* (fols. 7v-8r). The Offertory in Benevento VI 35 varies from Altamura in the placement of the word *domine* (*Timebunt gentes nomen tuum domine et omnes reges terre gloriam tuam*); but the music is the same in both pieces, though for part of its length adapted to different syllables. Beneventan manuscripts do not agree completely with Altamura for this mass: Benevento V 19 includes a mass for the octave which differs from Altamura in its Alleluia (*Hodie baptizatus*); the Beneventan missals Egerton 3511 and Ottob. lat. 576 repeat the Epiphany chants (Int. *Ecce advenit*), and use a different Collect (*Deus cuius unigenitus*). Other Beneventan Graduals either have no mass for the octave (Benevento VI 34) or are lacking their Epiphany sections (Benevento VI 38, VI 39, VI 40).

SOUTH ITALIAN *LITURGICA* AND *CANONISTICA*
IN CATALONIA
(NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA MS. HC 380/819)*

Roger E. Reynolds

FOR the past few years a remarkable codex in the library of the Hispanic Society of America in Manhattan has caught the attention of medievalists in a variety of fields. Written in the eleventh century and kept at least into the last century at Santa Maria del Estany, a house of canons regular southwest of Vic noted for its Romanesque cloister, the codex was briefly described there by Jaime Villaneuva.¹ By the first decade of this century the manuscript had found its way to the Leipzig antiquarian Karl W. Hiersemann,² from whom it was acquired by the Hispanic Society of America and given its present shelf mark.

Recently the contents of MS. HC 380/819 were catalogued by Charles B. Faulhaber,³ and since then several items in the codex have attracted scholars. The text of the Council of Troyes (878) has been the special concern of Hubert Mordek, who, shortly before the appearance of Faulhaber's catalogue, had published an edition of the text of that council but without benefit of the Hispanic Society witness.⁴ Peter Brommer noted several of his Carolingian *capitula episcoporum* in this manuscript, dated it to the beginning of the twelfth century, and located its *Schriftheimat* perhaps in England.⁵ For its *ordo canonicorum* Luc

* I am grateful to the Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America for permission to publish material from this manuscript, whose existence was kindly brought to my attention a decade ago by J. N. Hillgarth, my colleague and member of the Society.

¹ *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. 7: *Viage a la iglesia de Vique año 1806* (Valencia, 1821), pp. 234-36.

² See Roger E. Reynolds, 'The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, and Hybrid' in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York, 1985), p. 150 n. 34.

³ *Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America: Religious, Legal, Scientific, Historical, and Literary Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (New York, 1983), 1.8 f., 19 f., 23 f., 38 f., 79, 87, 119-21, 131-34, 138-41 and 2, pls. 1 and 2.

⁴ Hubert Mordek and Gerhard Schmitz, 'Papst Johannes VIII. und das Konzil von Troyes (878)' in *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Löwe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Hauck and Hubert Mordek (Cologne-Vienna, 1978), pp. 179-225.

⁵ *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer (MGH *Leges, capitula episcoporum* 1; Munich, 1984), especially p. 86.

Jocqué of the Corpus Christianorum has begun a study of the last folios of the manuscript (which may not originally have been a part of it). Miquel dels Sants Gros Pujol, director of the Museu Episcopal in Vic, has been concerned with the place of the codex in the history of his diocese.

Other parts of the manuscript, particularly the texts regarding Hilary of Poitiers,⁶ deserve the attention of scholars, but there is one section that should be of special interest to students of south Italian texts. This part (fols. 106r-109v) may well have included the first item of what Villaneuva, on his visit to Santa Maria del Estany, described as 'Fragmentos de consueta antigua de este monasterio'⁷—a reference noted by Charles Dereine in his catalogue of rules of canons regular in Spain.⁸ Written by a scribe Faulhaber designates as Hand A, the four leaves follow the texts on Hilary of Poitiers and precede the *ordo canonicorum*. In his description Faulhaber specified only four texts in this section, and for only one did he provide parallel texts or sources.⁹ There are, however, seven distinct liturgical and canonical pieces, of which several are closely related to texts used in southern Italy and written in Beneventan script. These seven texts will be discussed and edited below, where the orthography of the manuscript will be maintained and modern punctuation and paragraphs will be introduced. The use of (*sic*) denotes erroneous or difficult readings.

I

The first text deals with the liturgical season of Septuagesima, the rationale for the word, and its origins. That this was a topic of concern as early as the ninth and tenth centuries where Beneventan was written is illustrated by the renowned Monte Cassino calendric and computistic manuscript, whose provenance is Benevento itself, namely, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 641.¹⁰ On fol. 82r of this tenth-century codex, there is a text on Septuagesima entitled *Ratio Septuagesimae et Sexagesimae et Quinquagesimae et Quadragessimae* which incorporates a snippet of Alcuin's well-known *Epistula* 143 on Septuagesima¹¹ and is followed on fols.

⁶ It may be of significance that east of Santa Maria del Estany and southeast of Vic there is still the medieval town of Sant Hilari Sacalm, which bears the name of the Poitevin saint; see Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1983), p. 5.

⁷ Villaneuva, *Viage literario*, p. 236.

⁸ 'Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers', *Scriptorium* 5 (1951) 109, item 12.

⁹ *Medieval Manuscripts* 1.141, item 138, citing the Ordinal of Christ and material provided by the author of the present article, who also provided bibliographical information for item 137.

¹⁰ On this codex see E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2 vols., 2nd edition prepared by Virginia Brown (Sussidi eruditi 33-34; Rome, 1980), 2.122.

¹¹ MGH *Epp.* 4 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 224-27.

82v-83v by Charlemagne's letter to Alcuin on the matter.¹² Another tract on Septuagesima written in Beneventan script has now been discovered at Altamura by Thomas Forrest Kelly and is published on pp. 466-71 above by Herman F. Holbrook.¹³ It is a version of this tract which is also found in the Catalan manuscript.

If the Altamura and Catalan versions are compared, several differences emerge. First, the Catalan text is divided into three sections by rubrics. The first part, like the Altamura version, discusses why the term Septuagesima signifies not seven weeks or seventy days but sixty-four days (ll. 1-5). While the Altamura text with its corrupt listing of numbers is beyond meaning, the Catalan version is comprehensible. Septuagesima is comprised of sixty-four days because, if the number one is doubled seven times, the total is sixty-four (the number of days from Septuagesima Sunday through Easter Sunday); moreover, if one looks to the seven groupings of this larger number, the reason for the term Septuagesima is clear. The second portion of the Catalan text (ll. 6-33), entitled *Alia ratio Septuagesimae*, is basically like that of the Altamura version, but it has been abbreviated slightly by the omission of the difficult passage before the historical explanation of the origins of the pre-Lenten weeks. Prefaced also by *Alia ratio*, the third section in the Catalan text (ll. 34-37) explains that there are nine weeks of seven days from Septuagesima to Easter ($9 \times 7 = 63$ days), and it is because each week of that period consists of seven days that Septuagesima is so called.

(f. 106r)

QUARE DICTA SIT SEPTUAGESIMA

Septuagesima namque non pro septem ebdomadibus vel pro septuaginta diebus dicitur sed pro septem terminis numerorum, id est, i, ii, iii, viii, xvi, xxxii, lxiiii, et sic colliguntur ut ebdomadae non in summulis sed summule dispertiantur in ebdomadibus per arbitrium
5 dierum qui lxiiii sunt usque in Pascha.

ALIA RATIO SEPTUAGESIMAE

Solet quaeri a nonnullis cur Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, seu Quadragesima in sacris codicibus certis nominibus pretitulentur. De quibus certa ratio haec est. Cunctis namque legentibus liquet universum orbem quattuor aecclesiarum ordinibus esse
10 distributum, videlicet Romanorum, Alexandrinorum, Iherosolimorum, et Antioecenorum; quae generaliter uno vocabulo sancta aecclesia catholica nuncupantur. Hae namque singulae aecclesiae cum unam teneant catholicam fidem diversis utuntur officiorum ieiuniorumque moribus. Unde fit ut Iherosolimorum aecclesia inchoet ieiunium a Septuagesima usque in Pascha, sublatis tribus diebus de unaquaque ebdomada, id est, primo die dominico

¹² *Ep.* 144 (MGH *Epp.* 4.228-30, from this codex).

¹³ Altamura, Archivio Capitolare, Copertina del registro di amministrazione S. N. for 1563-64.

- 15 et quinta feria et sabbato. (f. 106v) Alexandrinorum vero aecclesia inchoat ieiunium a Sexagesima usque in Pascha auferentes (*sic*) de singulis ebdomadibus diem dominicum et quintam feriam. Antiocena quoque aecclesia inchoat ieiunium a Quinquagesima consummatque in Pascha, subtrahens de unaquaque ebdomada diem dominicum sicuti facit et Romana aecclesia quae a Quadragesima inchoare ieiunium consuevit. Ququam hoc
- 20 tempore variis utentes doctrinis singulae provinciae et regiones diversos sibi mores usurpent prout quemque voluntas duxerit. Una enim est aecclesia sed diversae consuetudines. Dierum vero quos auferunt de ieiunio ista est ratio. Diem dominicum pro eo quod ipso die conditus est mundus et ipso die resurrectio Domini nostri Iesu Christi celebratur, et ipso die est annuncius Salvator noster ab angelo virgini Mariae. Quintam feriam
- 25 propterea quia in ipso die lavit Dominus noster pedes discipulorum suorum et tradidit corpus et sanguinem suum discipulis, et in ipso die conficitur chrisma, et in ipso die Salvator noster ascendit ad caelos. Sabbatum propter venerationem aeternae quietis quae promissa est sanctis in caelesti Iherusalem. Cum vero unum sit ieiunii tempus, quatuor illud vocabulis distinguendis providit antiquitas iuxta mores quatuor aecclesiarum me-
- 30 moratarum, id est, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Quadragesima. Pro Iherosolimorum aecclesia accepit vocabulum Septuagesima, similiter pro Alexandrinorum aecclesia Sexagesima, necnon et pro Antiocena aecclesia Quinquagesima, et pro Romana aecclesia vocavit antiquitas Quadragesima.

ALIA RATIO

- 35 Septuagesima dicta novem per septem quia a Septuagesima usque in Pascha novem ebdomadae sunt, et per unamquamque ebdomadam sunt septem dies; pro hoc est dicta Septuagesima.

II

The second text in ms. HC 380/819, a long and fanciful commentary on the Mass whose origins go back to the early Carolingian period, was developed and widely diffused in southern Italian manuscripts from the tenth to the twelfth century. It begins with a pseudonymous correspondence between Pope Damasus and Jerome dealing with the time Mass should be celebrated, into which a pseudo-canon from the first Council of Nicea has been incorporated. This pseudonymous correspondence can be found as early as the ninth century in canon law and liturgical manuscripts. By the tenth century the correspondence had been augmented in southern Italy with explanations of practices in the celebration of the Mass, and by at least the tenth and eleventh centuries the augmented tract had found its way into the south Italian canonical *Collection in Nine Books*¹⁴ and *Collection in Five Books*;¹⁵ the eleventh-century copies of both works are written

¹⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1349, fols. 81r-82v. On this codex see Roger E. Reynolds, 'A South Italian Ordination Allocution', *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985) 441.

¹⁵ On this collection and some of its sources and derivatives, see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Law, Canon: to Gratian' in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 7 (New York, 1986), pp. 406-409.

in Beneventan script or have Beneventan-script symptoms.¹⁶ The *Collection in Five Books*, as it became the canonical vademecum for clerics and monks in southern and central Italy in the eleventh century,¹⁷ was the vehicle for the wide diffusion of our tract on the Mass. There are at least ten distinct versions of the text, and it can be found in at least thirty-three manuscripts, fifteen of which are either written in Beneventan script or have Beneventan-script symptoms.¹⁸

At first the appearance of this south Italian tract in a Catalan manuscript might seem curious, but it should be noted that two other versions of the text can be found in Catalan manuscripts of the twelfth century. A short form with the pseudonymous correspondence between Damasus and Jerome expanded only slightly is entered in the so-called *Pontifical of San Ramón* (Tarragona, Biblioteca Provincial 26, fol. 224r), a manuscript containing the canonical *Liber Tarraconensis* and a south Italian pontifical text.¹⁹ A long version, but one quite unlike that in the Hispanic Society manuscript, appears in Tortosa, Biblioteca Capitular 122, fols. 42v-43v. This latter codex is important not only for the Mass commentary but also for the fact that its texts in Carolingian script are written over texts in Beneventan that have been erased.²⁰ In other words, the Tortosa manuscript is evidence of the transfer to Catalonia of texts written in the Beneventan script of southern Italy.²¹

¹⁶ See Roger E. Reynolds, 'Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984) 454 n. 27. A single leaf perhaps from a manuscript of the *Collection in Five Books*, containing the glossed text of 1.212-219, 220-224, is fol. 50 in the miscellany Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana R 32. This folio, measuring 269 × 190 mm., was written in eleventh-century Farfese script, but is likely derived from a Beneventan-script ancestor.

¹⁷ Carlo Guido Mor, 'La reazione al *Decretum Burchardi* in Italia avanti la riforma gregoriana', *Studi gregoriani* 1 (1947) 201.

¹⁸ See Roger E. Reynolds, 'An Early Medieval Mass Fantasy: The Correspondence of Pope Damasus and St. Jerome on a Nicene Canon' in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: St. John's College, Cambridge, 23-27 July 1984*, ed. Peter Linehan (Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. C, Subsidia; Vatican City, in press).

¹⁹ On the manuscript see Roger E. Reynolds, 'The *De officiis vii graduum*: Its Origins and Early Medieval Development', *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) 148 n. 130. This form is also appended to a manuscript of the *Collection in Four Books* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3187, fols. 131v-132v), a text kindly brought to my attention by Professor Robert Somerville.

²⁰ On this manuscript see Virginia Brown, 'A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)', *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) 272, and Loew-Brown, *The Beneventan Script* 2.139. To fol. 48r this is a Beneventan-script palimpsest of the tenth or eleventh century. Traces of Beneventan script appear on fols. 7r, 21r, 22r-v, 25r, 27r, 28v, 30v, 35r, 37r, 39r, 41r, 42r-v, 43r, 44r. Fols. 41r-47v are an inserted quire of large folded folios originally written in Beneventan script in double columns of 90 mm. running sideways to the present overlying text.

²¹ South Italian iconographic motifs in Catalonia have often been pointed out by art historians, who compare one version of the depiction of *Mater Ecclesia* in the Beneventan-script Exultet rolls with the fresco from San Quirze de Pedret; on which see *Exultet-Rolle: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe in Originalgrösse des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 9820 der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Kommentarband*, ed. Herbert Douteil and Felix Vongrey (Codices e vaticanis selecti 35; Graz, 1975), p. 82 n. 114 and pl. 28.

The details of the version of the pseudonymous correspondence between Damasus and Jerome and the expanded commentary on the Mass in the Catalan manuscript have been treated elsewhere,²² but it should be noted that the version here is close to one in the *Collection in Five Books*, where it is used as an introduction to canons on the Eucharist.²³ Our compiler, however, has abbreviated the text, not unlike the earlier tract on Septuagesima. For example, in the section dealing with the trinitarian significance of the priest, he repeats the explanation for the term *sacerdos* ('Pater *sa*-, et Filius *-cer*-, et Spiritus sanctus *-dos*') but omits the explanation for presbyter found in most versions ('Pater *pres*-, Filius *-bi*-, Spiritus sanctus *-ter*'). Whether the compiler was following a model which omitted the curious second comparison or was simply reflecting his own understanding is uncertain, but the same type of omission occurs in an early eleventh-century codex with Beneventan interrogation signs, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arch. S. Pietro H 58, where the scribe presented on fol. 46v the explanation of *sa-cer-dos*, but after writing 'Pater' left a large blank space.²⁴

Although in ms. HC 380/819 the text is presented as a single paragraph, it has been divided here so as to emphasize the structure of the sometimes obscure commentary, consisting of: the pseudonymous correspondence between Damasus and Jerome (ll. 1-20); explanations as to why the Mass should not be said after the third hour, why the priest is to celebrate with two other persons, why he should wear seven vestments (ll. 21-42); the seven 'sententiae' of the Trinity or the trinities in (1) the lights at Mass with their wax, wick, and flame, (2) the incense with its odor and fire, (3) the bread, wine, and water, (4) the *tersanctus*, (5) the term *sa-cer-dos*, (6) the chalice, oblation, and covering on the altar, (7) the threefold *Agnus Dei* (ll. 43-67); and the concluding paragraph (ll. 68-71).

(f. 106v) INCIPIT EPISTULA DAMASI PAPAE DIRECTA IHERONIMO PRESBITERO, QUALITER VEL QUIBUSMODIS SACERDOS SACRIFICARE DEBEAT

Dum quadam die resideret sanctissimus papa Damasus in sede beati Petri apostoli intentio orta est in tota aecclesia Romana de sacrificio qua hora liceat sacerdoti sacrificium

²² See Reynolds, 'Early Medieval Mass Fantasy', and 'A South Italian Liturgico-Canonical Mass Commentary', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988) (forthcoming).

²³ M. Fornasari, ed., *Collectio canonum in v libris (Lib. I-III)* 3.212 (pp. 413-15) (CCM 6; Turnhout, 1970). On the use of this text to begin the section of canons on the Mass, see Reynolds, 'Early Medieval Mass Fantasy', n. 22.

²⁴ Beneventan interrogation signs can be found on fol. 46r of the Mass commentary. On this manuscript see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Excerpta from the Collectio Hibernensis in Three Vatican Manuscripts', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* N.S. 5 (1975) 4-9; and the literature since this date (n. 25 below). The Mass commentary in the Vatican codex (fol. 45v), although closer to the one in the *Collection in Five Books*, bears a rubric that is nearer the Catalan text: 'Incipit epistula sancti Damasi papae Hieronimo presbitero Hierusolimis transmissa: Quomodo sacerdos debet sacrificaret'.

5 offerre, et non inveniebat. Tunc misit epistulas suas ad beatissimum Iheronimum (f. 107r) presbiterum Iherosolimis ita:

Damasus papa Iheronimo presbitero in Domino aeternam salutem. Dirigimus vestrae fraternitati quia intentio orta est in tota aecclesia Romana de sacrificio qua hora liceat sacrificari et non invenimus exinde finem. Dirigat nobis sanctitas vestra quae omnia

10 scrutatur quomodo exinde agamus.

Iheronimae (*sic*). Pater sanctissime, veritas enim in vobis nulla est absconsa. Recordamini concilii Niceni ubi trecenti fuerunt decem et octo patres sancti quomodo fixum et constitutum est ab eis: siquis die dominico resurrectionis post horam terciam ausus fuerit canere missam, anathematizetur; aliis diebus a tertia usque ad horam nonam si presumpse-

15 rit, similiter anathematizetur; aliis vero horis licitum est sacrificare.

Cumque relecta fuisset epistula, invenerunt in concilio scriptum a trecentis decem et octo patribus sanctis qui inflammati fuerunt de Spiritu sancto, quomodo in Nicena sancti coram Constantino magnifico et catholico ac sanctissimo imperatore scripserunt et constituerunt ut siquis die dominico sacrificare post horam terciam ausus fuerit aut canere

20 missam, in dampnatione anathematizetur.

Pro eo quod Spiritus sanctus hora tertia descendit ad apostolos, ideo non licet post horam terciam die dominico nec sacrificare nec ieiunare nec ullam abstinenciam habere. De aliis vero diebus a media hora tertia usque ad aliam mediam horam terciam in media hora octava similiter anathematizetur. Pro eo quod ista hora Christus in passione in

25 patibulo crucis stetit pro nostra salute, ideoque si ista hora praesumpserit sacrificare, angeli non recipiunt sacrificium ad offerendum maiestati. Ergo quid prodest sacrificium illud?

Et quando sacrificaverit sacerdos, non praesumat solus sacrificare quia Christus quando in sacrificium pro totius mundi salute imolari se permisit, duo latrones in cruce fuerunt cum eo. Ergo si solus sacrificaverit sacerdos, cui dicit Dominus vobiscum? Certe melius est

30 dicere (f. 107v) Dominus mecum, et ipse respondeat Et cum spiritu meo. Ecce satis blasphematur si duos vel tres non habet ministros. Et si habet, sana fide potest dicere Dominus vobiscum, et nos optamus ut sit Dominus cum spiritu tuo. Quia si solus sacrificat videtur Pater esse solus, Filium nec Spiritum sanctum in Trinitate non esse. Si vero cum uno ministro sacrificaverit ergo cui dicit Dominus vobiscum? Melius est ei dicere Dominus

35 tecum vel nobiscum. Absit. Si cum duobus ministris sacrificat videtur esse perfecta Trinitas. Ergo qui sacrificat habeat secum duos ministros. Sicut Dominus dicit in evangelio, Ubi duo vel tres steterint in nomine meo in medio eorum sum (Mt 18:20). Et in omni loco tria testimonia apud Deum firmata sunt. Et si plus sunt, ecce quam melius sunt apud Deum et hominem.

40 Et habeat sacerdos secum quando sacrificat lineam et cingulum et amictum et orarium et planetam et in manu teneat mapulam et sudarium trilineum in honore sanctae Trinitatis propter sacrificium ponendum super altare.

Ecce una sententia sanctae Trinitatis. Et in nullo permittimus sine lumine accenso sacrificare quia qui sine lumine accenso sacrificaverit videtur esse sacrificium cecum. Absit

45 hoc, et non permittat Deus ut fiat sacrificium caecum apud Christianos quia si lumen accensum habet, perfecta Trinitas ibi videtur habere virtutem quia oleum et cerae aut papiri flamma Trinitatem significant.

Ecce alia sententia sanctae Trinitatis. Et inde lumen pro vice Christi ponitur. Omnis sacerdos lumen habeat quando sacrificat quia ipse Dominus dixit Ego sum lux mundi (Jo 8:12). Et habeat incensum quia quando angeli Sathanae ceciderunt de caelo in terram in foetore ceciderunt. Cum vero odorem incensi facit sacerdos ad altarem, praesentialiter fugit diabolus et ille odor per angelos ante Deum ascendit et incensum et odor et ignis Trinitatem (f. 108r) significant.

Et quando offert sacerdos Domino in altari, non solum offert panem quia si solus panis ponatur videtur Pater non habere Filium. Si panis et vinum ponatur, videtur Pater esse cum Filio et non habere Spiritum sanctum. Si panem et vinum et aquam adunatum ponitur (*sic*) videtur esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum.

Unde dicimus Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus tribus vicibus in honore sanctae Trinitatis. Et si solum ignem habet ad sacrificandum videtur Patrem non habere Filium quia lumen accensum Trinitatem significat.

Qui sacrificat, non in sordibus adulterii sed mundus ab omni iniquatione adulterii sacrificet quia sacerdos Trinitas interpretatur: Pater *sa-*, et Filius *-cer-*, et Spiritus sanctus *-dos*. Ecce sacerdos et presbiter Trinitas intelligi potest.

Ergo trilece posita in altari et desuper calicem cum oblatione aetiam et operimento super calicem similiter sancta Trinitas figuratur.

Et dicimus ter Agnus Dei propter sanctam Trinitatem.

Ecce septem sententiae sanctae Trinitatis in honore septiformis Spiritus sancti gratiae.

Ergo non presumat sacerdos aliud facere quando sacrificat nisi quomodo supradiximus ut illuminet se et animas Christianorum. Et si aliter facere praesumpserit nec sibi lumen nec aliis Christianis praestat. Sed ille caecus est et alios in cecitatem post se trahit. Audi Christum dicentem Si caecus caecum duxerit ambo in foveam cadunt (Mt 15:14, Lc 6:39).

III

In the south Italian canonical *Collection in Five Books* and some of its sources and derivatives the long Mass commentary is followed by a series of canons, many of which reflect concerns in that tract. So it is in our Catalan manuscript that three of the same canons follow the commentary, but without a break or rubrics. Surprisingly, this grouping finds a close parallel in the already-mentioned early eleventh-century codex, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arch. S. Pietro H 58, written in Farfese script perhaps in Rome itself, but containing south Italian texts and Beneventan-script interrogation signs.²⁵ In ms. Arch. S. Pietro H

²⁵ This manuscript has been dated to the early eleventh century by Professor Bernhard Bischoff; on which see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Unity and Diversity in Carolingian Canon Law Collections: The Case of the *Collectio Hibernensis* and Its Derivatives' in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D. C., 1983), p. 135 n. 220, and Bernhard Bischoff, 'Eine karolingische "Vita pastoralis": "Sedulius, Carmen alpha"', *Deutsches Archiv* 37 (1981) 559. Since the *Collection in Five Books*, as it presently exists in its three more or less complete manuscripts, is to be dated after 1014 (because of the canons of Henry II), the texts in the San Pietro manuscript paralleling those in the *Collection in Five Books* may have come

58 (fol. 47r) the three canons follow the Mass commentary, but the second and third have rubrics. The first canon, corresponding to the *Collection in Five Books* 3.213,²⁶ deals with a topic in the longer tract: the reason for the mixture of water and wine in the Eucharist (ll. 1-4). The explanation (that the wine is the blood of Christ and the water his faithful people [cf. Apoc 17:15]) goes back at least to the time of Cyprian and was repeated in medieval liturgical commentaries, conciliar enactments, and canonical collections.²⁷ The second canon, corresponding to the *Collection in Five Books* 3.214,²⁸ deals with the purity required of the host, wine, and water (ll. 5-7). This canon, also found in the *Collection in Nine Books*,²⁹ justifies purity of the oblations with a reference to terms in the Mass Canon. The third text, corresponding to the *Collection in Five Books* 3.226³⁰ and drawn ultimately from the Council of Rome under Pope Zachary (c. 743),³¹ prohibits bishops, priests, and deacons from bearing a staff or wearing a head covering at Mass (ll. 8-11).

from an older source and not the *Collection* itself; see Reynolds, 'Excerpta', 5 n. 28, 6 n. 34. On the Farfese script in the San Pietro codex see Bischoff, p. 559. That codices in Farfese script often bear traces of their Beneventan archetypes is illustrated, for example, in one of the manuscripts of the *Collection in Five Books* itself, namely, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1339, on which see Loew-Brown, *The Beneventan Script* 1.179 f. On the Roman origins of the San Pietro codex see Pierre Salmon, 'Un "Libellus officialis" du xi^e siècle', *Revue bénédictine* 87 (1977) 257-88 and 'Un témoin de la vie chrétienne dans une église de Rome au xi^e siècle: le Liber officialis de la Basilique des Saints-Apôtres', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 33 (1979) 65-73, and Raymund Kottje, *Die Bußbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 8; Berlin-New York, 1980), pp. 65-69.

²⁶ Fornasari, *Collectio*, pp. 415 f.

²⁷ See Roger E. Reynolds, 'Mass, Liturgy of the' in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 8 (New York, 1987), p. 190; and W. Hartel, ed., *Cyprianus Caecilio fratri s.* [Ep. 63], c. 13 (CSEL 3.1; Vienna, 1868), pp. 71 f. For an example of a liturgical commentary with the Cyprianic passage, see Amalaris, *Liber officialis* 3.19.27-29 (*Amalaris episcopi Opera liturgica omnia* 2, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens [Studi e testi 139; Vatican City, 1948], pp. 319 f.); and for conciliar enactments and canonical collections reflecting the Cyprianic passage see Wilfried Hartmann, *Das Konzil von Worms 868: Überlieferung und Bedeutung* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, 105; Göttingen, 1977), pp. 47, 127 f. (to which add the *Paenitentiale Vallicellianum* II, c. 50.1 [Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana E 62, fol. 284r]).

²⁸ Fornasari, *Collectio*, p. 416.

²⁹ Fornasari, *ibid.*, cites the source as *Paenit. iudic.* 32, ed. Schmitz (2.249), but the text in question is drawn from the penitential book of the *Collection in Nine Books* 9.122 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1349, fol. 215r; also found in the *Paenitentiale Vallicellianum* II, c. 50.2 [Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana E 62, fol. 284r]). On the penitentials in this collection see Franz Bernd Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense und der sogen. Excarpus Cummeani* (Regensburg, 1975), p. 181, and Franz Kerff, 'Das Paenitentiale Pseudo-Gregorii III. Ein Zeugnis karolingischer Reformbestrebungen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kan. Abt. 69 (1983) 53-56. On the reception of the *Capitula iudiciorum* in this codex see Letha Mahadevan, 'Überlieferung und Verbreitung des Bußbuchs "Capitula iudiciorum"', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, kan. Abt. 72 (1986) 45, 71-73.

³⁰ Fornasari, *ibid.*, pp. 425 f.

³¹ *Concilium romanum* (a. 743) 13, ed. Albert Werminghoff (MGH *Leges conc.* 1; Hanover-Leipzig, 1946), p. 18.

(f. 108r) In calice Domini non debet offerri vinum solum. Si solum vinum offertur, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis. Si aqua pura offeratur, sola plebs incipit esse sine Christo. Quando in vino miscetur et invicem copulantur, sacramentum spirituale perficiunt.

- 5 Hostiam puram et perfectam offerri liceat absque sordidatione; clarissimum vinum cum aqua mixtum prout debeat sine turbido aut aceto vel quassato aut fece, sed, quomodo legitur, hostiam puram et immaculatam et illibatam.

Ut nullus episcopus, presbiter aut diaconus ad caelebrandum missarum sollempnia (f. 108v) praesumat cum baculo introire aut velato capite ad altare Dei assistere, quoniam
10 et Paulus apostolus prohibet viros velato capite orare in ecclesia. Et si temere presumpserint, comunione priventur.

III

Immediately after the canons corresponding to the *Collection in Five Books* 3.212-214, 226, the Hispanic Society manuscript contains a series of texts which are not as specifically related to south Italy as the preceding material. The first is a version of the preface to the *Regula canonicorum* of Chrodegang of Metz.³² It is certainly not surprising to discover such a text in a manuscript from a house of canons regular, but strangely our version is closer to one used in England in the eleventh century and translated into Old English than to the more common versions.³³ How this version of the text reached Catalonia is not clear, but it is not beyond the realm of possibility that, like many English and Norman texts, it was once found in Beneventan territories³⁴ and was carried to Catalonia with other texts. In fact, there was at one time a manuscript in a Roman library with only the preface of the *Regula*, which Werminghoff compared to that in the English copies.³⁵ In any event, the text with its reference to the 318 fathers of the first

³² On the versions and editions of the *Regula* see Gaston Hocquard, 'La règle de Saint Chrodegang, état de quelques questions' in *Saint Chrodegang: communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort* (Metz, 1967), pp. 58-61.

³³ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191, pp. 1 f., on which see: N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 74 f.; Arthur S. Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original* (EETS 150; London, 1916), p. 1; and Brigitte Langefeld, 'A Third Old English Translation of Part of Gregory's *Dialogues*, This Time Embedded in the Rule of Chrodegang', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986) 197, especially the literature cited in n. 2.

³⁴ See Roger E. Reynolds, 'The "Isidorian" *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 288 f.; Richard F. Gyug, *An Edition of Leningrad ms. BAN f. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor* (Diss. Toronto, 1983), passim, and Virginia Brown, 'A New Commentary on Matthew', above, pp. 000-00. On the use of Insular material in Catalan liturgical books of the eleventh century, see Reynolds, 'Ordination Rite', 141.

³⁵ Albert Werminghoff, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Councils im Jahre 816', *Neues Archiv* 27 (1902) 647. For examples of Roman manuscripts with sections of the *Regula* of Chrodegang see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Isidore's Texts on the Clerical Grades in an Early Medieval Roman Manuscript', *Classical Folia* 29 (1975) 97, and the bibliography in n. 38 below.

Council of Nicea does find a resonance in the long Mass commentary with its pseudo-canon attributed to the same 318 fathers.

Italics are used in the transcription below when the reading differs from the text printed in EETS 150 (cited in n. 33 above).

(f. 108v) Si trecentorum decem et octo reliquorumque sanctorum patrum canonum auctoritas inviolata semper et *episcopos* atque *clericos* secundum rectitudinis normam viverent, superfluum videretur a nobis exiguis super hanc rem tam *ordinatam dispositum* aliquod novi retractare aut dicere. Quid aliud agendum nobis est qui in tam gravi *crimine*
 5 venimus nisi in quantum possumus si non quantum debemus ad rectitudinis lineam, Deo inspirante, clerum nostrum reducamus? Igitur divino fulti auxilio egrediamus parvum decretulum facere per quod clerus se ab illicitis choerceat et ociosa deponat, mala diu longequae usurpata derelinquat. Sic emendemus in melius illius videlicet amore qui suo sancto et precioso sanguine nos redemit. *Vigilanti* ergo studio institutionis formam
 10 colligere studeamus in qua plane contineatur qualiter prelati vivere et subiectos regere et in Dei servitio constringere et bene operantes hoc ad meliora provocare, protervos et negligentes debeant corrigere vel corripere, quantinus formula hac vivendi inspecta et Deo sibi adiutorium prebente humiliter suscepta et efficaciter impleta, cum bonorum operum lampadibus *veniente* sponso apparere atque ad eius thalamum ingredi mereantur quia nec
 15 infelix potest iudicari cui continget qualemcumque partem in *paradiso* habere. Sed illis ibidem sors datur qui in quantum possunt per vitae meritum in hoc huius temporis curriculo dum licet currere *festinant*.

V

Following the preface to the *Regula* of Chrodegang with no break is an *Ordo officii* on fol. 108v divided into two sections by the rubric *Ordo Romanus*.³⁶ In the first section, there is an instruction regarding prayer upon rising from bed, and the reference to the Trinity echoes the trinitarian concerns of the long Mass tract. Then, beside the rubric, there is a series of instructions for the office of a group of clergy living under a prior.³⁷ Like the long Mass commentary and appended canons with their connection to the Vatican codex Arch. S. Pietro H 58 with its Beneventan symptoms, these instructions for the office, both before and after the rubric *Ordo Romanus*, have their connection with Roman and Beneventan codices. At least four of the sections of the text in the Catalan manuscript are reflected in

³⁶ On manuscripts in Vic with *Ordines Romani* see Roger E. Reynolds, "The Ordination of Clerics in Toledo and Castile after the Reconquista according to the "Romano-Catalan Rite" in *II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozarabes: IX. centenario de la Reconquista de Toledo, 1085-1985*, ed. Ramon González Ruiz (Toledo, forthcoming), nn. 40, 44.

³⁷ On priors at Santa Maria del Estany, see Villaneuva, *Viage literario*, pp. 234-36, and Francisco Miquel Rosell, *Liber feudorum maior. Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* 1 (Barcelona, 1945), p. 477.

two eleventh-century liturgico-canonical codices, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1351 (a manuscript written for a community of Roman canons regular) and Vat. lat. 4885 (a manuscript which may have been written for a Roman community of canons regular at San Lorenzo in Damaso and is related to MS. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 646, with its Beneventan notations).³⁸ The four sections in the Catalan manuscript also reflected in the Vatican codices are: ll. 1-6 'Cum autem de lecto ... valeamus. Per'; l. 13 'Et nulli liceat cooperto capite'; ll. 19-26 'In secunda feria ... sub una Gloria'; and ll. 29-32 'In quadragesimis namque diebus ... tribus diebus in ebdomada'.³⁹ Of special interest is the third section, ll. 19-26, where Pss 21-25 have been assigned in these eleventh-century Catalan and Roman texts not to Sunday Prime⁴⁰ but to the second through sixth ferias, something that according to the traditional understanding of the history of the office happened during the sixteenth century in the reform of Pius v.⁴¹ In any event, themes found in the tracts on Septuagesima and the Mass appear in our *Ordo officii*: the Trinity, Sundays and the fifth feria, Quadragesima (although here both the Lent of St. Martin from Martinmas to Christmas and the major Lent before Easter are noted), the deacon and subdeacon as associates with the celebrant of the Mass, and the Mass itself.

(f. 108v) Cum autem de lecto surgit, tunc dicit In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti tribus vicibus. Postea Ego dormivi (Ps 3:6) et somnum caepi, et psalmum totum Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi voce mea (Ps 3:5), totum cum Gloria. Postea hec oratio: Gratias tibi agimus Domine Deus omnipotens qui nos de transacto noctis spacio ad matutinas
 5 horas perducere dignatus es. Quesumus indones nobis hunc diem sine peccato transire quantinus ad vesperum tibi omnipotenti Deo placere valeamus. Per.

³⁸ On these manuscripts see: Werminghoff, 'Beschlüsse', 640-44; Ch. Dereine, 'Le problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes d'Anselm de Lucques à Gratien', *Studi gregoriani* 3 (1948) 293 f. and 'La prétendue règle de Grégoire VII pour chanoines réguliers', *Revue bénédictine* 71 (1961) 110 n. 1, 118; and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, *Medioevo canonico* (Publicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 3rd Ser., Scienze storiche 12; Milan, 1970), pp. 78-101, and especially pp. 81 (on Egger's suggestion that Vat. lat. 4885 was written for a canonical community at San Lorenzo in Damaso), 88 (items 66 f. and 71 on fols. 145v, 148r and 150r of Vat. lat. 4885), and 97 f. (items 65 f. and 70 on fols. 74v and 78v of Vat. lat. 1351). On the connection between Vat. lat. 4885 and Vat. Barb. lat. 646 see Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* 4 (Studi e testi 267; Vatican City, 1971), p. 115, item 354, and Loew-Brown, *The Beneventan Script* 2.162. Both Vat. lat. 1351 and 4885 have Beneventan interrogation signs.

³⁹ Mansi 14.302, 305, 307.

⁴⁰ See Roger E. Reynolds, 'Divine Office' in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 4 (New York, 1984), p. 227.

⁴¹ Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, vol. 2: *L'anno liturgico. Il breviario*, 2nd edition (Milan-Genoa, 1955), p. 652, noting that on these ferias Pss 23, 24, 25, 22, and 21 respectively were used. I am grateful to Mr. Jonathan Black for this reference.

ORDO ROMANUS

In dominicis et in illis diebus festis quando novem lectiones fatiunt novem responsa contentent. Finito responso in dominicis et in omnibus diebus festis contentent Te Deum
 10 laudamus. Finito autem dicat prior versus ad ipsum diem pertinens (f. 109r) et Deus in adiutorium (Ps 69:2) et contentent matutinales laudes sicut supradictum est. Postea dicatur Prima, Deus in nomine tuo (Ps 53:3), Beati immaculati (Ps 118:1), Retribue (Ps 118:17), Quicumque vult. Et nulli liceat cooperto capite Fides catholica canere ob honorem sanctae Trinitatis et numquam praetermittatur confessio. Expleta vero Prima, tunc dicant matutina-
 15 les laudes in honore sanctae Trinitatis.

In dominicis et in omnibus festivitibus non dicantur (*sic*) matutinas defunctorum neque missam neque vesperam. Sed in omni hora sive noctis sive diei unum pro eorum animabus absolutione psalmum canitet cum Requiem aeternam absque oratione et post psalmum dicit Requiescant in pace. R. In nomine Christi. Amen. In secunda feria ad
 20 Primam post hymnum Deus Deus noster respice in me (Ps 21:2), et Deus in nomine tuo (Ps 53:3) sub una Gloria. In tertia feria Dominus reget me (Ps 22:1) et Deus in nomine tuo (Ps 53:3) sub una Gloria. In quarta feria Domini est terra (Ps 23:1) et Deus in nomine (Ps 53:3) sub una Gloria. In quinta feria Ad te Domine levavi (Ps 24:1) et Deus in nomine (Ps 53:3) sub una Gloria. In sexta feria Iudica me Domine (Ps 25:1) et Deus in nomine
 25 tuo (Ps 53:3) sub una Gloria. In sabbato Confitemini Domino (Ps 117:1) et Deus in nomine tuo (Ps 53:3) sub una Gloria. Et omnibus diebus Beati immaculati (Ps 118:1) et In quo corrigit (Ps 118:9) sub una Gloria. Et Retribue (Ps 118:17) cum Adhesit pavimento (Ps 118:25) sub una Gloria et semper Quicumque vult.

In quadragesimis namque diebus quod est a festivitate sancti Martini usque in natale
 30 Domini omni die letaniam cantet ad Primam et post confessionem dicant septem psalmos speciales et postea surgat ebdomodarius et dicat orationem. Similiter a capite ieiunii usque in Pascha. In aliis cotidianis diebus tribus diebus in ebdomada similiter letaniam faciant et post orationem benedicatur populus et recedant. Tunc incipiantur matutinales laudes in honore omnium sanctorum. Finito de omnibus sanctis mox incipiantur (*sic*) Pro defunctis
 35 in qua parte aecclesiae volueris. Finito Pro defunctis incipiatur missa pro defunctis ita ut diaconus et subdiaconus ministrant et omnes fratres conveniant ad missam qui infra ecclesiam sunt praeter infirmos et qui inobedientia sunt directi. Prior vero ad missam officium ita dicendo Requiem eternam.

VI

On the verso side of what may have been the last folio of the original codex, there is entered under the rubric *De septem gradibus aecclesiae* an Ordinal of Christ, a text appropriate to a house of canons regular with its variety of clerics.⁴²

⁴² See, e.g., *Bernhardi cardinalis et lateranensis ecclesiae prioris Ordo officiorum ecclesiae lateranensis*, ed. Ludwig Fischer (Munich-Freising, 1916), p. 36. In the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*, ed. and trans. G. Constable and B. Smith (Oxford, 1972), pp. 10-13, 60, which defends the canons regular, there is an Ordinal of Christ, and it is argued that canons might be ordained to the lower as well as the higher grades. For additional uses of the

In the south Italian *Collection in Nine Books* and *Collection in Five Books*, their sources and derivatives, a form of the same Ordinal of Christ appears and, because of its characteristics, it has been called the Italo-Hibernian Chronological Ordinal of Christ.⁴³ The form in the Catalan text, however, is of the common Hibernian Chronological variety, widely spread throughout Europe from the seventh and eighth centuries onwards.⁴⁴ A form of this version is entered in Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria 228, fol. 136v (s. x, origin southern France/northern Italy? or Catalonia?),⁴⁵ but again there are differences which make it unlikely that the Barcelona text was the model for the text under consideration. In fact, the readings closest to ours appear in a group of related florilegal manuscripts, several of which were written in southern France.⁴⁶ Unlike the text in those manuscripts, however, the rubric and introduction here are slightly different, the individual grades lack specific numbers, and the verse for the *sacerdos* is slightly longer. Perhaps the most unusual thing about our text is that Christ is said to have been the exorcist when he cast out six, not seven, demons from Mary Magdalene, an error due perhaps to a misreading of a Roman numeral in the scribe's exemplar.

(f. 109v)

DE SEPTEM GRADIBUS AECCLESIAE

Quomodo implevit Christus septem gradus.

Lector fuit quando apperuit librum Esayae propheta et dixit Spiritus Domini super me.

Exorcista fuit quando eiecit sex demones de Maria Magdalena.

5 Subdiaconus fuit quando fecit de aqua vinum in Cana Galileae.

Diaconus fuit quando lavit pedes discipulorum suorum.

Ordinals of Christ in the context of rules for canons regular, see Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7; Berlin-New York, 1978), pp. 134 f. It is interesting that from the ninth century onwards there were canons in the cathedral at Vic who lived under the *Regula* of the Council of Aachen (816) or the *Institutio canonicorum* (for manuscripts in Vic see Reynolds, '*Epistula ad Leudefredum*', 254 n. 3) and that in the *Regula* there are descriptions of the lower orders, including exorcists of whom several may have been signatories to the cartularies of Vic edited by Eduard Junyent i Subirà, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic, segles IX-XI* (Vic, 1980), p. 21. For the influence of Vic on Estany see Freedman, *Diocese of Vic*, p. 41.

⁴³ Reynolds, *Ordinals*, pp. 91-93, to which add the text edited in Reynolds, 'South Italian Ordination Allocution', 443.

⁴⁴ Reynolds, *Ordinals*, pp. 58-75.

⁴⁵ On this manuscript see Reynolds, 'Ordination Rite', 150 f. n. 34, and literature therein, and Susan A. Keefe, 'Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts' in *Carolingian Essays*, p. 219. I am grateful to Professor Keefe and Dr. Gyug for obtaining a copy of this text for me in Barcelona.

⁴⁶ For these manuscripts, on which I am preparing an extensive study, see Reynolds, *Ordinals*, p. 70 n. 9 (1)-(6). Professor Bernhard Bischoff has kindly informed me that Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 614A was written in southern France in the tenth century, and that New York, Columbia University, Butler Library Plimpton 58 was written in the second third of the ninth century in southern France and contains Spanish symptoms.

Sacerdos fuit quando accepit panem, benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis.

Istos quinque gradus ante passionem suam implevit.

Hostiarius fuit quando dixit Tollite portas, principes vestras.

10 Episcopus fuit quando levavit manu (*sic*) super discipulos suos et benedixit eos.

VII

Directly beneath the Ordinal of Christ, a hand slightly later than the one designated as A by Faulhaber has copied on fol. 109v a letter of Pope Victor II (1055-57) to Bishop Guislabertus of Barcelona (1035-*c.*1062). In the text, which unfortunately breaks off in mid-sentence, the pope refers to an 'ovis' or simple lamb of Guislabertus' flock who has, according to reports, spent a year in exile and is the bearer of the letter. Since the person is not named, his identity is uncertain, but he is probably someone connected with the excommunication hurled by Victor II against Count Ramón Berenguer, Almodis, and Archbishop Guifredus of Narbonne, an excommunication reiterated at the Council of Toulouse in 1056 and mentioned by the Countess Ermessenda in her *Sacramentale* of 1057.⁴⁷

In our text the pope places this person under the care of Guislabertus and assigns a severe penance, whose provisions again echo themes found in the liturgico-canonical texts in the three preceding folios. First, for seven years the penitent is to observe two Quadragesimas outside the major Easter Lent, one preceding the feast of John the Baptist and the other Advent, in which he is to have only bread and water three days a week. On other days he is to dine once on Lenten-type foods. Outside these Lents, he is to have bread and water for two days a week, and twice a week he is to abstain from fats and meats, although he is allowed them on Sundays, the fifth feria or Thursday, days of remission, and if sick. Beyond the seven years the penitent is to have only bread and water on Fridays and must abstain from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Moreover, for three years he is not to enter church except during the Paschal season or to take communion, unless in danger of death.

(f. 109v) Victor episcopus servus servorum Dei G. Barchinonensi episcopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Hanc tuae (*sic*) ovem post annale exilium, ut asserit, tuae dilectione (*sic*) curandam remittimus quatinus in patria degens penitentiam subscriptam testimonio tuo et compatriotarum suorum peragat, scilicet septem annis ita ut duas quadragesimas excepta maiori
5 singulis annis fatiat, unam ante nativitatem sancti Iohannis, alteram ante nativitatem Christi, tribus diebus in septimana pane et aqua tantum. Ceteris vero diebus semel

⁴⁷ On these excommunications see Rosell, *Liber feudorum*, pp. 225 f., and S. Sobrequès i Vival, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona: biografies catalanes* (Sèrie històrica 2; Barcelona, 1961), p. 64.

reffiens quadragesimalibus cibus utatur. Reliquo autem tempore duas ferias in ebdomada
habeat in pane et aqua. Ceteris autem bis refitiat sine sagina et carne, quae tamen sibi
10 concessimus die dominica et quinta feria et diebus remissionis aut forte suae aegrotationis.
Expletis quoque septem annis diebus vitae suae sextam feriam in pane et aqua habeat,
quarta et sabbato a carne abstineat. Ecclesiam tuae dioceseos excepto pascali tempore non
intret triennio, communione (*sic*) peracta penitentia percipiat nisi forte periculum mortis
imineat. Porro tua cura viderit qualitatem hominis et facultatem et secundum mensuras eius
15 peni ...

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

THE DECISION TO MARRY IN THIRTEENTH- AND EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY NORFOLK*

Elaine Clark

TODAY the more that is said about changing attitudes toward the family the greater seems the interest in learning how marriage was viewed in the past. Recent studies of the customs and the conflicts that defined marriage in pre-industrial England provide a case in point.¹ Inquiry usually begins with issues of law,

* For bibliographical references and other assistance, I wish to thank Drs. Robert C. Palmer, Anne R. DeWindt, and Elizabeth Crowell.

The marriage cases discussed in this article are for the most part from court rolls on deposit at the Norfolk Record Office (NRO) in Norwich. The Holkham Hall material for western Norfolk is on microfilm at the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library of the University of Michigan. Supplementary material has been cited from the court records on deposit at the Essex Record Office (ERO) in Chelmsford, at Cambridge University Library (CUL), and at the British Library (BL) in London.

Court rolls and their archival references are as follows:

Baynards in Haddestone: NRO XXIV/I
Bressingham: NRO R 192 B-D
Cashio: BL Add. ms. 40626
Castle Acre: Holkham Papers Bundle 1 nos. 1-7
Fulmodestone: Holkham Papers Bundle 1 nos. 1-2
Gressenhall: NRO ING 2-3, 6, 9, 19-32
Hindolveston: NRO 4814-16, 4870
Horsham St. Faith: NRO 19495-19507, 12475
Ingatestone: ERO D/DP M1-3
North Elmham: NRO 4667
Salle: NRO 2605/1-5
Wells: Holkham Papers Bundle 2 nos. 2-3
Winslow: CUL ms. Dd.7.22.

When citing this material I have preserved the orthography, capitalization and punctuation of the document.

¹ J. M. Bennett, *Gender, Family and Community: A Comparative Study of the English Peasantry, 1287-1349* (Diss. Toronto, 1981); C. Donahue, 'The Canon Law on the Formation of Marriage and Social Practice in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Family History* 8 (1983) 144-58; R. H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1974); R. C. Palmer, 'Contexts of Marriage in Medieval England: Evidence from the King's Court circa 1300', *Speculum* 59 (1984) 41-67; Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980); E. Searle, 'Seignorial Control of Women's Marriage: The Antecedents and Function of Merchet in England', *Past & Present* 82 (1979) 3-43; R. M. Smith, 'Some Reflections on the Evidence for the Origins of the "European Marriage Pattern" in England' in *The Sociology of the Family. New Directions for Britain*, ed. C. Harris (Keele, 1979), pp. 80-91; S. S. Walker, 'Free Consent and the Marriage of Feudal Wards

particularly canon law, and its emphasis on marriage as a contractual union involving both parties' consent. Discussion then broadens to include problems of economic need and social rank which together influenced not only the marriage of the young but also the remarriage of the widowed. Within this context questions of social control invariably come under review, especially queries concerning the power of wealthy patrons, whether kinsmen or feudal lords, to arrange the marriages of dependents. Questions about the less affluent are correspondingly few. As a result we know comparatively little about marital decision-making at the village level. Indeed, we may ask if English law permitted manorial lords to coerce their tenants to marry. We may ask, too, if familial concerns, if local custom or communal norms, restricted personal choice. In other words, who actually participated in decision-making? Did issues of lordship, family, and villein rank affect the freedom to choose?

To consider the matter this article follows two parallel lines of inquiry. The first involves themes that are intentionally broad, namely, the pressures that economic need and social or tenurial relationships imposed on the decision to marry. The second focuses narrowly on place and time to ask how peasants defended a range of personal interests against the intrusions of lordship and custom. Both lines of inquiry are amply supported by evidence drawn from manor courts.² Their records are notable particularly for the detail they contain by mid-thirteenth century when demographic growth, market expansion, and rising prices encouraged manorial lords to give attention to even the most routine aspects of estate administration. During the same years lawyers worked to clarify their definitions of villeinage for a society in which legal formulations of tenure and status had practical implications for lords as well as peasants.³ In their world fine gradations in rank often reflected sharp differences in influence and prestige. As a result it is not surprising to find that the conduct of dependent tenants regularly concerned the courts of manorial lords.

Customary tenants had to appear in court to pay for licenses to marry, to report land transfers and to receive permission to take up an inheritance. These same tenants used the court to adjudicate disputed dowries, to enroll property arrangements for widows, occasionally to have a record made of premarital contracts. In this way villagers circumvented the problem of keeping personal documents and had family agreements, wills, even genealogical information, publicly read in court

in Medieval England', *The Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982) 123-34. A detailed bibliography has been compiled by M. M. Sheehan, *Family and Marriage in Medieval Europe: A Working Bibliography* (Vancouver, 1976).

² For a complete discussion of manor courts, see J. A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Mediaeval English Village* (Studies and Texts 8; Toronto, 1964).

³ P. R. Hyams, *Kings, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England: The Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York, 1980).

and entered into the official record. This is not to imply that all court rolls disclose idiosyncratic details of family life. Few actually do. Yet many contain much of the best evidence we have to document shifting patterns of authority and to trace the involvement of the older generation in the marital decisions of the young.

Intergenerational relationships, along with questions of marriage, remain well documented in manor courts held in Norfolk during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Of particular interest are the courts of the priors of Horsham St. Faith. The village of Horsham, on the outskirts of Norwich, was the site of the monastery of St. Faith, founded in the early twelfth century and a cell of the abbey of Conches in France.⁴ Of equal interest are the records of the manor of Salle, also near Norwich and held by the DeMauteby family in the fourteenth century.⁵ Together the records of Salle and Horsham St. Faith cover the years 1265-1330 and can be supplemented by material from the court records of Norwich Cathedral Priory and of the Earls Warenne at Holkham in western Norfolk.⁶

By any measure these records all show that a tenant's decision to marry was hardly a private matter. Even so, we need not assume that clandestine marriages were accordingly rare. There is reason to suppose that in Norfolk, as elsewhere, independently minded peasants negotiated private agreements similar to those described in the transcripts of church tribunals.⁷ In view of such records it is useful to keep in mind that Norfolk's manor courts were more concerned with the public aspects of marital choices than with their informal dimensions. The emphasis is not without importance. Manor courts publicized the decision to marry, and on this account their records lend perspective to one of the principal concerns in recent historical literature, that is, the question of elucidating the links between individual lives and collective behavior.⁸ The problem here becomes one of understanding how men and women reacted to a similar range of opportunities and constraints, then of asking what principles ultimately governed their decisions and marital behavior.

⁴ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum*..., 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30), 3.635-40.

⁵ F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols. (London, 1805-10), 8.269-76.

⁶ For references to the records of Norwich Cathedral Priory, see W. Hudson, 'The Prior of Norwich's Manor of Hindolveston', *Norfolk Archaeology* 20 (1921) 179-214; E. Stone, 'Profit-and-loss Accountancy at Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 12 (1962) 24-48; B. Dodwell, 'Holdings and Inheritance in Medieval East Anglia', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 20 (1967) 53-66.

⁷ M. M. Sheehan, 'The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth-Century England: Evidence of an Ely Register', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971) 228-63.

⁸ For a full discussion, see P. Bourdieu, 'Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction' in *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisation*, ed. R. Foster and O. Ranum (Baltimore, 1976), pp. 117-44.

Given this concern, it seems best to look first at the distribution of power in village society and the structure of authority, particularly the lord's rights over his customary tenants. Although there were many ways in which the lords of manors attempted to regulate peasants, among the most common was the obligation imposed on tenants to purchase seigneurial license to marry.⁹ At the lord's insistence neither bridal couples nor their families concealed a marriage with impunity.¹⁰ Nor did the jurors of a manor court escape accountability if they failed to inform the lord of a villein's marriage.¹¹ Even free men and women, when they held customary land, had to purchase permission to marry on account of their tenement.¹² As a result marriage fines came to be discharged in a variety of ways. First, we see fathers and occasionally mothers appearing in court to render payment so that sons and daughters might marry without further penalty. We see secondly, and more frequently, brides and grooms coming separately into court to discharge the fine on their own. Thirdly, we see couples jointly undertake payment. It is not always easy to know why one course of payment was preferred to another. Yet we can discern an inclination on the part of land-wealthy fathers to purchase permission for their children to marry whomever they would rather than suffer a spouse selected at the lord's discretion.¹³ At the same time we can also note the lord's determination to use his right to collect marriage fines as an occasion to inform prospective tenants of the duties incumbent on landholding. In such cases the court's interest focused on men marrying women with land, since the lord meant these grooms to swear fealty, to pay for permission to 'enter his villeinage' and, in effect, 'to become his man'.¹⁴

⁹ For a detailed discussion, see J. M. Bennett, 'Medieval Peasant Marriage: An Examination of Marriage License Fines in the *Liber Gersumarum*' in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. J. A. Rafis (Papers in Mediaeval Studies 2; Toronto, 1981), pp. 193-245.

¹⁰ NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 15 April 1313: 'Preceptum est summonere Beatricam Viel quod sit ad proximam curiam ad respondendum domino, eo quod se maritavit sine licencia, sub pena amissionis tenementi [quod] pater suus tenet ad terminum vite.' By way of comparison, see ERO D/DP M2 Ingatestone court of 13 January 1336: '(misericordia dimidia marca) Johannes le Raan dat domine de fine eo quod sponsavit Emmam Paty customarium domine sine licencia et pro Willemo Hammond, Mauricio Hammond et Johanne Paty avunculis predicte Emme qui concela-verunt dictum maritagium.'

¹¹ CUL Dd.7.22 Winslow court of 1 November 1329.

¹² NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith courts of 12 March 1323 and 6 May 1323; NRO 2605/2 Salle court of 4 April 1343.

¹³ NRO 19496 Horsham St. Faith court of 12 March 1268: 'Memorandum quod Walter Hering fecit pacem priori ut posset filiam suam scilicet Matildam maritare quando et ubi viderit melius expedire et dat xiiij s.'; court of 29 June 1267: 'Walterus Bercarius fecit pacem ut maritaret filiam suam quando voluerit et dedit x s.'

¹⁴ NRO 19496 Horsham St. Faith court of 18 October 1268: 'Memorandum quod Petrus Swyft devenit hominem prioris ... et dat domino xij d. ut maritaret Agnetam Cappe nativam prioris.' Also see NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith courts of 21 December 1321 and 25 March 1322 at which courts the groom agrees 'quod erit obediens domino et ballivis suis'.

As one would expect, this regulation of land and marriage gave added definition to the inherent imbalance in the relationship of lord and peasant. There can be little doubt how difficult it would have been for any peasant to defy for long a lord intent on asserting his will. Seigneurial power and prestige were unmistakable. Whenever the lord's needs were at issue, any degree of compulsion might be brought to bear if he so wished. To be sure, the balance of forces between lord and peasant varied over time. But by the late thirteenth century the pressure of population growth, along with the land-labor ratio, enhanced the exercise of seigneurial authority. A lord, when he actually bargained with tenants, did so from a position of strength. This was a stance clearly enjoyed by the prior of Norwich on his Norfolk estates. The records he kept are replete with examples of negotiation and hard bargaining, perhaps none more telling than a case from his court at North Elmham.¹⁵ There, in May 1308, he granted twenty-four acres of customary land to a local man and his wife on condition that within eighteen months they marry off one of their two daughters to a bondsman of the prior. Once duly wed the girl and her husband were to hold the twenty-four acres. However, if the marriage failed to take place, not only would the land revert to the prior but the parents would owe him forty shillings. At his insistence an 'obligatory writing' was drawn up to secure their promise to pay.

This suggestive case is easily amplified once we turn to Horsham St. Faith where the manor's lord, the prior of St. Faith, also ordered tenants to marry.¹⁶ Between 1284 and 1290 the lord's steward summoned nineteen men and twenty-nine women into court and informed them of the spouses chosen for them. The task of selection was the work of a group of village men drawn from established landholding families and variously called the jurors or the 'soke'. Although the exact procedure by which they matched brides and grooms remains unclear, the records show that the mandate to marry involved four steps:

- (1) the steward, usually at a court held near Easter, named the tenants, both male and female, the lord wanted married;
- (2) soon after Easter he again issued his orders to marry;
- (3) by the end of June the jurymen selected partners for the unmarried, and the court directed them to wed within the month 'if the church permits';
- (4) as the harvest ended, the court demanded an accounting of the marriages actually made.

The unmarried suffered fines sometimes of three to six pence but more often of one shilling, a sum roughly equivalent to a laborer's wage for twelve days' work.¹⁷

¹⁵ NRO 4467 North Elmham court of 6 May 1308.

¹⁶ See Appendix, p. 513 below.

¹⁷ E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (London, 1978), p. 163.

Yet payment failed to void the order to marry. If a villager refused a particular spouse, the jurors simply selected another. Admittedly, the directives issued by jurors at the insistence of the lord generated no corporate protest. But this is not to say that individual discontent remained unexpressed. In 1291, a Horsham mother was fined six pence because she had 'impeded the marriage' of her daughter to a man selected by the jurors; the girl was fined three pence for refusing to marry as was her intended groom.¹⁸ He had first been told to find a spouse in 1289, but rejected two potential brides, finally paying three shillings in 1292 for license to marry whomsoever he would whether within the village or without. The delaying tactics he employed may have masked a personal aversion to the partners named for him or, perhaps, resentment at seigneurial intervention. But no matter how we account for his reaction, it was one shared by others. Most tenants, it seems, paid fines instead of marrying the spouses selected for them.¹⁹ Moreover, on the nearby manor of Salle a number of tenants also preferred to pay fines rather than marry. Between 1327 and 1345, thirty-nine men and eighteen women were annually fined on average three to four times because he or she had no spouse.²⁰ What all this undoubtedly suggests is that despite the seigneurial mandate to marry, tenants at Salle and at Horsham still had the option of a veto, albeit one they exercised on payment of a fine to the lord's court.

It need not be supposed that such cases, distinct as they may seem, are peculiar to Norfolk. There are instances elsewhere of lords either directing tenants to marry or finding husbands for widows to ensure the performance of labor services and the payment of manorial dues.²¹ The point to be kept in mind is that the lords of Horsham and Salle exercised considerable control over the marriages of heirs and heiresses as well as of the widowed. This we know because almost one quarter of the 105 villagers ordered to marry can be identified: 13 were heirs; 6 were heiresses (2 of whom had been pregnant outside of marriage); 4 were widows; 1 was a widower. Even though landholding gave these men and women distinct advantages, tenure itself involved corresponding obligations. These are best understood within the context of customary land-law which tended to subordinate a tenant to

¹⁸ NRO 19503 Horsham St. Faith court of 1 November 1291.

¹⁹ These fines ranged from 3 to 12*d*. For example, see NRO 19500 Horsham St. Faith court of 2 February 1285: 'Hubertus Colberd dat priori xij*d*. ad hoc ut non desponset Matildam Jolle et ut sine femina per annum integrum si velit.' For orders to marry see Appendix, pp. 512-13 below.

²⁰ The fines ranged from 3 to 4*d*. Once yearly, usually at a court held in the summer, a tenant might be cited, 'quia non habet uxorem'; or: 'quia non habet virum'. Occasionally the fine was pardoned because of a tenant's poverty; or because a tenant had the lord's license to be ordained; or the tenant was found to be 'liber'. For references see Appendix, parts 7-9.

²¹ Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p. 136; H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor. A Study of Peasant Conditions, 1150-1400* (Cambridge, 1937; rpt. 1971), pp. 243-45; R. H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), p. 108.

his lord to such a degree that the regulation of property and marriage remained a seignorial prerogative. In other words, a lord might order his dependent tenants to marry unless they purchased from him license to marry whom and when they would.²² Their other option was to bargain for permission to remain without a spouse for as long as it seemed best to them.²³

Social and legal historians have long maintained that chroniclers and other contemporary writers viewed the seignorial control of marriage as standard and customary.²⁴ Yet it is far from certain that any lord's authority was meant to supersede that of a living father.²⁵ At Horsham, certainly by the turn of the thirteenth century, the lord's interest primarily centered on orphaned or fatherless heirs. Their status came to his attention whenever the management of land was at issue. The most complicated question involved the guardianship of heirs until they reached the legal age of fifteen. Arrangements for their custody entailed a court order whereupon the guardian, usually a mother, received permission to hold the heir's land in return for payment of a fine to the lord. His permission, however, was conditional. Guardians had to agree to support wards in food and clothing, to maintain their land 'honestly and well', wasting nothing, felling no trees, keeping dwellings fully repaired and, finally, reserving the ward's marriage to the lord. In this way he ensured a future source of revenue since heirs and heiresses, when they eventually married, had to purchase seignorial consent to their choice of a spouse. Nevertheless, it still appears that the long-term benefits which landholding gave heirs offset the costs they incurred in purchasing the right to make marital decisions on their own.

For this reason seignorial regulation must not be exaggerated. Nor should it be viewed in isolation. There is reason to believe that the community itself had a comparable interest in the marriage of its members. For instance at Horsham if a tenant chose a wife from beyond the villeinage, he had to assure the court that she

²² NRO 19496 Horsham St. Faith court of 6 December 1270: 'Memorandum quod Matilda Pitcoc dedit domino dimidiam marcam pro pace habenda de se maritare tamdiu quam voluerit et quando se voluerit maritare quod possit se maritare ubicumque se viderit melius expedire in homagio prioris...'

²³ NRO 19496 Horsham St. Faith court of 11 November 1268: 'Memorandum quod Walterus filius Reginaldi le Ro et heres fecit pacem cum domino suo pro relevio dicti patris sui ... et dat domino decem solidos pro dicto relevio in pace habenda et tam longe quam voluerit esse sine uxore et pro uxore capienda quodcumque voluerit et ubicumque se viderit melius expedire.'

²⁴ F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898; rpt. 1968), 2.318-29; G. Duby, trans. E. Forster, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France* (Baltimore, 1978), pp. 96-105.

²⁵ See, for instance, BL Add. ms. 40626 Cashio court of 20 November 1333: 'Item presentant quod Matilda filia Henrici le Reve maritavit se sine licencia domini. Ideo in misericordia. Et quia dicta Matilda maritata fuit contra voluntatem dicti Henrici ideo cellarius pardonavit eidem Henrico misericordiam.'

would conduct herself properly among his neighbors.²⁶ When a woman married an outsider, the man had to appear in court and pledge not to remove any of his wife's goods and chattels from the lord's jurisdiction.²⁷ In neither case did the lord or his court prohibit marriage off the manor. Yet during 1318 at Horsham it was the lord's tenants who agreed among themselves not to permit any woman living outside the village to claim an inheritance.²⁸ The restriction represented the 'custom of the vill' and by it the community seemingly meant to conserve local resources whether comprised of arable land or moveable chattels. In fact, property rights were so clearly defined at Horsham that a woman with land rarely took her husband's surname at marriage. She simply continued to be identified by her maiden name.

Of course on any Norfolk manor a tenant's property rights, along with the decision to marry, might come under communal review. This often was the case when courts settled inheritance claims. Jurors attempted to contain family conflict by prescribing settlements based on manorial custom. Although customs varied from place to place, most assured some form of support for surviving spouses. A few examples will make this clear. At Salle partible inheritance governed the descent of customary tenements, and brothers were viewed as 'one heir'. All the same, they had to accord the use of land to widowed parents. Both mothers and fathers had title for life to fully one half of the tenements held by a departed spouse.²⁹ A related, albeit different, custom prevailed at Horsham. Widowers might remain on their late wives' land even if children and heirs had attained legal age.³⁰ Widows enjoyed the corresponding privilege of holding their husbands' tenements for life.³¹ Naturally, such rules enhanced the authority of the older generation. No parents automatically lost control of land when they were widowed. It was only at both parents' death that children might claim full possession of their legacy. But even then disputed claims could lead siblings into conflict.

While it may seem that partible inheritance would alleviate any problem, the practice at Horsham was restricted to holdings larger than twelve acres.³² And this acreage only descended to two sons no matter how many children had survived their parents' death.³³ When smaller holdings were at issue, the eldest son inherited

²⁶ NRO 19500 Horsham St. Faith court of 30 November 1284: 'Symon Rammay dat priori dimidiam marcā ut possit ducere Estrildam le Ro in uxorem et quod uxor ejus se habebit erga vicinos sicuti habere debet. Plegii Hubertus Blokere, Willelmus Holcoc.'

²⁷ NRO 19499 Horsham St. Faith court held in 1276 (day illegible).

²⁸ NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 2 February 1318.

²⁹ NRO 2605/1 Salle courts of 6 October 1327, 25 July 1328, and 18 March 1331.

³⁰ NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 24 February 1325.

³¹ NRO 19500 Horsham St. Faith court of 23 November 1282.

³² NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 6 October 1323.

³³ NRO 19500 Horsham St. Faith court of 19 May 1285.

the land.³⁴ Yet in both instances customary expectations brought matters of fraternal responsibility into discussion. A jury of 1268 tells us that a man who inherits six acres of land and has brothers ought to support them as he is able.³⁵ In the following year we learn that two brothers must help a younger one to the best of their ability.³⁶ So insistent were juries on the equitable treatment of 'younger sons' that some still received fraternal aid after they had married.³⁷ Yet an identical custom concerning sisters is not mentioned even though at Horsham, as at Salle, the daughters of a family only became heiresses when they had no brothers.

Nevertheless, we will overestimate the dictates of custom if we fail to appreciate how men and women decided issues of economic security on their own. Peasants always faced the problem of allocating scarce resources among a number of claimants. Over the course of time many households managed to accommodate their needs by planning defensive strategies to counter the pressures that impinged on the conduct of family life. The strategies in question were often contractual in nature because the heads of households meant to retain sufficient authority to safeguard their own security. To minimize risk they entered into formal negotiations to facilitate the commitment of resources to dependent kin. The subsequent settlements constituted a kind of donation *inter vivos*. They allowed tenants to circumvent custom and dispose of land howsoever they wished as long as they had the authorization of the lord. This they obtained by reporting property settlements in manor courts and there paying a fine to the lord. The fee, in retrospect, may appear to have been well spent since it accorded tenants a permanent, legal record of what was initially a family matter decided among kin.

Many of these settlements reflected the decision to marry and, in an important sense, can also be said to have influenced that decision. The reason is that marriage remained closely associated with the transfer of property rights.³⁸ Land generally comprised a peasant's principal asset and, at a time of acute shortages, it provided one measure of economic independence. In fact parents could exercise considerable power simply by withholding land and resources from adult children. To be sure, wage labor, service in husbandry, and craft specialization provided a range of opportunities to the younger generation; so, too, did arrangements for subleasing and sharecropping. Nonetheless, by the turn of the thirteenth century the scarcity of landed resources put a growing strain on young and old alike. The mutuality of their needs made it practical for marital decisions to coincide with intergenerational agreements concerning land.

³⁴ NRO 19495 Horsham St. Faith court of 18 October 1268.

³⁵ NRO 19495 Horsham St. Faith court of 18 October 1268.

³⁶ NRO 19495 Horsham St. Faith court of 25 April 1269.

³⁷ NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 30 November 1312.

³⁸ For further discussion, see G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), pp. 133-76; Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, pp. 80-108.

The substance of these agreements, their terms and complexity are best viewed along three lines:

(1) The simplest settlement was a two-party agreement that involved a parent and child in the fictitious exchange of small parcels of land.³⁹ The arrangement entailed a father's transfer of land to a son or daughter and the resurrender of that land to the father. In other words, children expressly forfeited the use of the land in question but only for the duration of the father's life; they now had the written understanding that upon his death the property would revert to them. As a result the father retained usufruct of the land, although he could not permanently alienate it to another. He could neither sell the land, mortgage it, nor lease it for a term beyond his life. The children, for their part, gained a permanent stake in the landed resources of the village, a stake explicitly protected against future claims by a brother, a sister, or a stepparent. In consequence of the arrangement some adult children planned to marry. They made their decision quite clear in that they negotiated future landrights with a parent and, at the same time or soon thereafter, paid a fee to the lord for license to marry.⁴⁰ Even though the dates at which these sons and daughters eventually married remain unrecorded, it seems that they considered themselves free to do so whenever they wished. For them the selection of a spouse apparently was a matter of individual choice.

(2) Yet there were also property settlements that bespoke of arranged marriages, that is, marriages linked to parental support and consent. The settlements entailed the collective decisions of parents as well as of brides and grooms. The complexity of their needs generated equally intricate settlements; but all linked marital decisions to the management and control of land. In this way the settlements prolonged the influence of aging landholders over children of marriageable age. The influence was largely benign although it had the effect of emphasizing the dependency of the landless young. A good example comes from Baynards in Haddestone where, during 1288, a young woman was amerced ten shillings for license to marry; immediately thereafter her father surrendered to her and her future spouse seven acres of arable, two more of meadow and a messuage.⁴¹ The father claimed the profits of this land for life but promised that when he died both his daughter and son-in-law, along with their children, would have not only the land but two horses, one ox and a plow. In the meantime he would support the couple at least until they harvested crops of their own from his land. Parental involvement of this kind was not uncommon in the marriage settlements reported in Norfolk's courts. We find other examples at Horsham, Salle, Bressingham, Fulmodestone and Hindolveston.⁴² It seems,

³⁹ These exchanges are noted by Hudson, 'The Prior of Norwich's Manor', 179-214. Between 1309 and 1326 there are 119 land transfers among kin, and in about half 'the transferor was to hold the tenement as long as he lived.'

⁴⁰ For example, NRO 2605/2 Salle court of 23 April 1341: Roger Chanon surrendered one acre and one-half rod of land to his son, Alexander. 'Et super hoc Alexander reconcessit predictam terram predicto Rogero ad terminum vite sue ita quod post decessum predicti Rogeri predicta terra revertat predicto Alexandro et heredibus suis tenendis ad voluntatem domini per servicia etc., et predictus Alexander dat domino tam de fine quam pro licencia se maritandi ut supra (vjs.).'

⁴¹ NRO WLS XXIV/I Baynards in Haddestone court of 18 October 1288.

⁴² NRO 19496 Horsham St. Faith court of 13 January 1270; NRO 2605/2 Salle court of 6 May

on this evidence, that parental self-interest as well as customary expectations of familial aid affected the married life of some of the young who did not have to delay marriage until the death of older tenants made land available. Fathers settled property on adult children and their spouses but deliberately retained control of the land in question. Thus at Horsham, during 1319, a father made over one third of nine acres and of two messuages to his daughter and her groom; they, in turn, agreed to pay an entry fine of ten shillings to the manor's lord and also to resurrender the land to the girl's father; for themselves they simply retained the use of two acres of arable.⁴³ The father agreed to discharge all rents as well as manorial services and claimed the right to fell any trees growing on his land. In Norfolk this sort of agreement was of long standing, and as early as 1258 at Taversham we read of a father 'covenanting' to surrender a messuage and nine acres of land to his son who then agreed to resurrender all but half of the messuage if he and his new wife found it impossible to live with the older man.⁴⁴

(3) Their contract brings into focus a third kind of intergenerational settlement, one wherein the retirement of the old expressly facilitated the marriage of the young. In these cases widowed or infirm parents transferred land to children so that they would have the means to marry and also to support the elderly in food, clothing and lodging for life.⁴⁵ The exchange was undeniably complex. At one level it assured sons and daughters, as well as their spouses, of an inheritance; but at another, the transfer burdened land with a personal obligation. In other words the tenancy of the young remained contingent on their support of the old. As a result parents could oust children for failure to abide by the bargain. While not every contract mandated coresidence, all involved the sharing of resources. And it was the use of these resources that the elderly carefully planned. They often stipulated how land was to be cropped and what portion of the yield they expected. When the farmstead had animals, parents ordered them kept at the expense of their children. To them parents assigned the upkeep of houses and cottages, the repair of fences and boundaries, also the performance of customary services and the payment of manorial dues. In every case aging tenants attempted to limit the extent of their own dependency by restricting the discretionary control of the newly married over the disposition of the resources which they had acquired from the old.

To sum up: there seems no doubt that rules of tenure and contract gave definition to the strategies implemented by kin to facilitate marriage and to regulate

1346; NRO 4814-15 Hindolveston courts of 30 November 1260 and 18 October 1263; NRO R 192 B-D Bressingham court of 25 March 1344; Holkham Papers Bundle 1 no. 2 Fulmodestone court of 1 November 1348.

⁴³ NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 1 January 1319. The daughter is amerced 40*d.* for license to marry.

⁴⁴ NRO 4815 Taverham court of 1 August 1258: 'Convenit inter Willelmum ad Exitum Ville et Willelmum filium suum quod Willelmus venit in curia et reddit in manu domini unum messuagium et ix acras terre. Et Willelmus filius Willelmi venit et fecit finem pro relevio et pro licencia in uxorem ducendi Godam filiam Roberti Kanyard per j marcam. Et concessit dicto Willelmo patri suo medietatem mesuagii et totam terre quoad vixerit si simul habitare non possunt.'

⁴⁵ For a fuller discussion and archival references see E. Clark, 'Some Aspects of Social Security in Medieval England', *Journal of Family History* 7 (1982) 307-20.

the use of landed resources. At issue was the pressure on the peasant household to accommodate itself to the marital needs of the young while still retaining sufficient autonomy to ensure the security and the survival of the old. As a result calculated self-interest, along with negotiation and careful compromise, figured into familial decision-making.

Still it must not be imagined that the older generation alone created or restricted the opportunity to marry. Intragenerational settlements of property allowed brothers to arrange the marriages of sisters, and sisters to depend on brothers for support.⁴⁶ One of the most interesting of these cases to survive is a contract recorded at Hindolveston in 1261 when Adam Reeve leased his entire tenement to Ralph Malesmuthe for a term of three years.⁴⁷ Although the tenement included 'houses, appurtenances and the dower land' of Reeve's widowed mother, he himself established the conditions for the lease. Malesmuthe was to live with Reeve, to cultivate his land and share the crops equally at harvest, to provide food and drink, shoes, stockings, and yearly one robe on the first of November. If the two men found it impossible to coreside, Malesmuthe must further provide eight bushels of barley at ten-week intervals. Reeve then arranged the marriage of his sister: should Malesmuthe marry the girl within three years, Reeve would give them 3*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in five annual installments. In villages like Hindolveston, where primogeniture was in effect, an arranged marriage seems not to have involved derogation. Without familial support a girl surely would have had to labor long and hard to earn her own dowry. Indeed, Norfolk's inheritance customs all seem to have been such that a girl with brothers found her marriage prospects partially defined by customary rules governing the descent of land. It was practical, then, for her to look to a brother for access to resources. A case at Gressenhall in 1300 shows two sisters reaching a settlement based on the arable land their brother alone had inherited.⁴⁸ To obtain a portion of the land, the sisters offered to give him twenty-four bushels of barley every October for as long as he lived. The brother agreed to the exchange, and the sisters pledged not to marry without his consent.

This kind of bargaining between brothers and sisters is found elsewhere, as are negotiations for an heir to provide at least partial support to unmarried siblings.⁴⁹ The legal and sociological interest of such cases lies in the evidence they afford of familial ties defined by contract rather than by custom or status alone. Adult

⁴⁶ Holkham Papers Bundle 1 no. 6 Castle Acre court of 1 August 1275; NRO 19496 Horsham St. Faith court of 13 January 1270.

⁴⁷ NRO 4814 Hindolveston court of 2 February 1261.

⁴⁸ NRO ING 12 Gressenhall court of 25 April 1300.

⁴⁹ For a case from Salle detailing the habitation rights of unmarried sisters see Appendix, part 10. For other bargains made between siblings see NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith courts of 6 October 1313, 6 October 1315, 25 January 1316, 18 October 1318, 30 June 1319, 4 April 1326; NRO ING 26, 39 Gressenhall courts of 13 January 1305 and 6 January 1314.

children and their spouses were not automatically absorbed into extended kin groups.⁵⁰ Instead it appears that marital strategies were highly personalized in form and essentially economic in purpose. The strategies reflected the resource constraints facing any given household and may be judged one of the more important links in the series of decisions that peasants made sequentially over time. Young and old together regularly confronted hard questions about their consumption needs, about seigneurial exactions, the allocation of labor, even migration.⁵¹ Within such a context marital strategies assumed 'life-cycle dimensions'.⁵² This was particularly evident whenever widowed peasants considered the issue of remarriage.

As is well known, the conduct of widows was a matter of considerable interest both to their families and to manorial administrators. Moreover, there were seigneurial lords who believed that the successful management of a widow's land could be enhanced if she had a husband. By obliging her to marry, the lord reaffirmed his control of customary holdings and also secured a source of potential revenue. Any widow wanting a free hand in deciding her future had to purchase the lord's permission. The decisions a widow made usually depended on her age and economic needs. The old and infirm simply transferred all their holdings to one of their children in return for the promise of support for life.⁵³ Younger or childless widows utilized land to a slightly different end by planning property settlements to solve temporary needs for labor. In doing so, widows arranged short-term leases, negotiated sharecropping agreements, and also bargained for their keep.⁵⁴ In this instance a woman surrendered the use of her holding to a neighbor, requested her lodging and food, then stipulated that the contract was to remain in force only until she chose 'to marry or to live alone'.⁵⁵ In much the same spirit widowed mothers appeared in court to pay fines for license to live without a husband for as long as they wished.⁵⁶ Simply put, the women purchased the 'freedom to choose' along with the time to consider the potential needs of children and the competing claims of second husbands. To forestall conflict a widow would

⁵⁰ Smith, 'Some Reflections', 95.

⁵¹ NRO 19499 Horsham St. Faith court held in 1276 (day illegible); Holkham Papers Bundle 1 no. 2 Fulmodestone court of 12 March 1347; Holkham Papers Bundle 1 no. 7 court of 13 December 1300.

⁵² For a detailed discussion of this point see G. S. Becker, 'A Theory of Marriage: Part Two', *Journal of Political Economy (Supplement)* 82 (1974) S21-23.

⁵³ NRO 4814 Hindolveston court of 2 February 1258; NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith court of 25 July 1314.

⁵⁴ NRO 19505 Horsham St. Faith courts of 29 September 1316 and 13 May 1317.

⁵⁵ NRO ING 76 Gressenhall court of 14 September 1356: '... et si dicta Agnes virum cepit vel solum vivere voluerit.'

⁵⁶ NRO 19500 Horsham St. Faith court of 5 February 1287.

apportion land to her children before she remarried.⁵⁷ Although the actual possession of this land by a son or daughter remained contingent on the mother's death, the pre-mortem surrender meant that stepfathers could not bar stepchildren from a holding in land. The tactic was also employed by widowers in order to protect the children of a first marriage.⁵⁸

These widows and widowers understood the realities of choice in a world where premature death was hardly unusual. In fact, at Horsham between 1312 and 1326, the court's clerk drew attention to the age of heirs at the time of a parent's death. About thirty-two percent of deceased parents in thirty-seven recorded cases left an heir, usually a son but sometimes a daughter, under fifteen years of age. Marriage fines also draw attention to parental deaths, for at Horsham between 1266 and 1293 at least twenty-nine percent of the sixty-five grooms paying merchet had no living father. Needless to say figures such as these remain merely indicative rather than precise. They omit reference to the propertyless and laboring poor, of whose marital prospects it is difficult to be absolutely sure. Nevertheless certain points can be made, if not for all peasants, at least for many.

To begin with, the evidence we have shows that tenant marriage was far more complex than a casual understanding between two lovers. Marriage involved economic expectations; it required difficult choices concerning the allocation of scarce resources and prompted customary tenants to be pragmatic and farsighted. They looked for spouses to enhance economic well-being so that a gain would be had from marrying compared to remaining single; in other words a calculated assessment of both personal and economic needs seemed a sound basis for choosing a partner.⁵⁹ Even so, the prospect of marriage also brought into question

⁵⁷ NRO 19500 Horsham St. Faith court of 2 February 1285. For more detail see ERO D/DP M3 Ingatestone court of 8 July 1292 (Margeria de la Strete, widow, pays merchet in order to marry Simon de la Felde, free man, and enters into an agreement with her son): 'Convenit inter predictam Margeriam et Ricardum filium suum quod ipsa Margeria habebit omnia aysiamenta sua ad braciandam et escam suam reparandam et alia necessaria facienda in illa domo que vocatur coquina in quam prius fecit escam suam et braciavit et quod habebit dictas duas acras terre in Hottescrofte et dictum pratum quod vocatur Blacchemede ad terminum vite sue. Et predictus Ricardus post decessum predictae Margerie matris sue habebit illas tres acras terre quos tenet de tenemento Roberti le Carter una cum tota alia predicta terra sibi et suis in perpetuum. Et predicta Margeria seminabit totam terram predicti Ricardi a festo Sancti Michaelis anno predicto usque ad idem festum proximo sequens et tunc habebit duas partes dicti bladi et predictus Richardus terciam partem.'

⁵⁸ NRO 19498 Horsham St. Faith court of 25 April 1275.

⁵⁹ For example NRO ING 19 Gressenhall court of 8 July 1298: 'Alexander Wymer attachiatus ad respondendum Vincentio Buncheswell de placito transgressionis, qui dicit quod Alexander Wymer, die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Gregorii pape anno regni regis Edwardi xxvj, in villa de Estrudham venit et fecit venire cum hominibus ignotis et aliis scilicet male dicentibus inter amicos et proximos dicti Vincenti cum enormiis verbis eum scandalitavit, et fecit eum amittere ad valenciam xx marcarum versus Mariam de Hecham, quam Mariam maritasse debuit, ob quam causam quia dictus Alexander dicit dicte Marie et amicis suis quod dictus Vincentius non seminavit terram suam nec arratavit tempore bono nec fuit cultor bonus, per quod amisit amorem dicte Marie et maritagium ad grave dampnum dicti Vincentii xls. Petit quod inquiretur.'

the need to balance the consumption levels of successive generations. Decisions had to be made by the head of the household whether to reallocate land and resources among children and their spouses or to withhold the immediate use of land from potential claimants. Indeed it seems that parentless heirs and, perhaps, the widowed enjoyed more real autonomy when they married than did peasants forced to rely on aging fathers or older brothers for access to resources. This is not to say that peasants skilled at a craft or a trade could not earn their own way. Nor is it to imply that seigneurial regulation of the widowed and the orphaned was of little account.

All customary tenants remained subject to pressures emanating from a wider feudal world. Any number of court rolls can make this clear but few more persuasively than those which show how the exercise of lordship forced peasants to decisions. It was, after all, within manor courts that lords and peasants confronted each other with their own needs and priorities. From the lord's point of view the encounter summed up the way in which he chose to exercise seigneurial rights over individuals and to benefit from the imposition of servile dues. Dependent tenants, on the other hand, meant to safeguard their own interests. To be sure, many villeins came into court to pay marriage fines at the lord's insistence but, just as importantly, some men and women paid the fine so that they could marry when it seemed best to them. In other words customary tenants appeared in court not only when they decided to marry but also when they chose to delay marriage. Thus the very factors of dependent status and customary tenure which ensured the seigneurial control of land and marriage also required dependent tenants to assert their own preferences and defend their self-interests. In doing so, peasants drew attention to the problem of accommodating marital needs to economic constraints imposed by limitations in the availability of land and resources. The rules of contract furnished a practical way of dealing with the problem. Neither the dictates of custom nor the claims of kinship could annul a contractual settlement of property once lawfully made and reported in a manor court.

Although it can be argued that manor courts will necessarily emphasize these very matters of contract and property, there should be no minimizing the web of customary constraints that impinged on the decision to marry during years when lordship was strong and manorial obligations at their heaviest. At Salle local jurymen levied fines against the unmarried; and at Horsham, jurors directed the single and the widowed to find partners or, failing this, to take a spouse of the jury's own choosing. Through such directives manor courts informed dependent tenants of the lord's will. He alone had the authority to review and ultimately sanction the marital decisions of his tenants. In fact we will misunderstand both the complexity of village society and the conduct of peasant decision-making if we assume that issues of political power and villeinage were more important in theory than in

practice. At Horsham during 1381 a number of tenants chose to protest the burdens of villeinage by burning all the court rolls and custumals they could find. In this way they publicized their intent to break with the past. To the lord the protest was 'detestable' and he ordered all his tenants to swear fealty and purchase his grace.⁶⁰ Nevertheless by the 1380s his authority appeared somewhat diminished. Manor courts no longer penalized the unmarried or identified married women by their maiden names; nor did the lord evince any observable interest in attempting to coerce peasants to marry. Dependent tenants still had to pay merchet, but none suffered amercement for failing to find a spouse. There is, then, reason to conclude that the demands of lordship had sufficiently altered by the later fourteenth century to permit men and women a greater degree of autonomy when they married.⁶¹

Consequently one may see this article ending where it began, with a focus on the parameters of choice in villages where peasants had to reckon with the authority and decisions of powerful lords. In such a setting the conduct of tenurial relationships partially affected the options open to the widowed and the marriageable young. Yet of equal, if not greater importance, were subtle shifts in the relationships of superiors to inferiors, of land to labor, of the older generation to the younger. All these ties variously reflected and informed the decision to marry. All, too, suggest that the realities of choice in English society can be better understood when viewed in relation to the customs and changing political traditions of a countryside where peasants indeed had a well-defined sense of their own capacity to make decisions and plan for the future.

APPENDIX

A Selection of Manor-Court Cases concerning Marriage

1. Court at Horsham 10 April 1289

Item (juratores) dicunt quod notum esset quod Matilda ad Molendinum habuisset virum.

Item dicunt idem de Avicia Fabro.

Item dicunt de Avelina Kady.

De Matilda Pitcoc dicunt idem.

⁶⁰ NRO 19507 Horsham St. Faith court of 14 September 1381. This court is identified as being held 'after the detestable uprising of the common people'. The lord takes all bond land into his hands 'because the rolls of the court and the custumals had been burned by the lord's villeins and by the tenants of his bond land.' The lord then orders that his tenants must pay fines to get back the land. Subsequently 89 tenants (66 men, 23 women) appear in court to pay fines ranging from 1*d.* to 10*s.*

⁶¹ See, in particular, the conclusions of Sheehan, 'The Formation and Stability of Marriage', 263.

De Alicia Jacob dicunt idem.
 De Simone le Ro idem.
 De Waltero Bishop idem.
 De Simone Crobert idem.
 Item de Galfrido Segelyn idem.
 Matilda filia H. Wattis [idem].

2. Court at Horsham 3 May 1290

Willelmus Sturmy habet respectum de licencia ducendi Margaretam Lauke in uxorem usque proximam curiam.

Simon Fiche habet respectum de licencia ducendi in uxorem Sibillam ad Molendinum.

Rogerus Rust habet licenciam ducendi uxorem suam citra proximam curiam.

Galfridus Segelyn habet licenciam ducendi Golam Pokoc in uxorem citra proximam curiam.

Willelmus Faber habet respectum ducendi Agnetem Ruddok in uxorem usque proximam curiam.

Johannes Cole habet respectum ducendi Agnetem Schut in uxorem.

Robertus Bulwur habet respectum ducendi Margaretam Cocum in uxorem suam usque proximam curiam.

Eligendum quod Walterus Bissop debet ducere Margaretam filiam Walteri Olekoc in uxorem et preceptum est summonere illam contra proximam curiam.

3. Court at Horsham 30 June 1290

Preceptum est attachiare Margaretam filiam W. Lauke. Plegii Munde Bishop, Rogerus Rust quia non venit ad recipiendum W. Sturmy in virum.

Preceptum attachiare est Willelmum Fabrum juniorem ut veniat recipere Agnetem Ruddoc in uxorem.

Simon le Ro habet diem ad ducendum Sibillam Molendinariam citra proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii W. le (ms. faded) et Walterus Molendinarius.

Willelmus Sturmy habet diem de eodem de Margareta Lauke. Plegius Simon Ramay. Si ecclesia permittat.

Johannes Cole habet diem ad ducendum Madde Cuc in uxorem si ecclesia permittat. Plegii S. Ramay, W. Cuc.

Robertus Bulur habet diem ut ducat Margaretam filiam Roberti Coci in uxorem usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii H. ad Portam, R. Rust.

Simon Crobert habet diem ut ducat Agnetem Viel in uxorem usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii R. Kempe, Johannes Pitcoc.

Robertus Bolle habet diem ut ducat uxorem scilicet Aliciam Fabrum usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii R. Colbert, H. Bosse.

Walterus Bishop habet diem ut ducat M. Cole in uxorem usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii W. Cole et H. Blok.

Galfridus Segelin habet diem ut ducat uxorem Golam Pococ usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii Galfridi Willelmus Holcoc, Simon Ramay.

Freisel habet diem ad ducendum Matildam dil Fermeria in uxorem usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii R. Bulwur et W. Pyam.

Rogerus Rust habet diem ad sponsandum Madde Yve in uxorem usque ad proximam curiam si ecclesia permittat. Plegii W. Molendinarius, R. Coc.

Radulphus Lauk filius et heres Willelmi Lauk defuncti recepit medietatem tenementi dicti Willelmi habendam hereditarie. Et tota soca elegit ei uxorem Aviciam Sturmy et dabit priori pro voluntate sua quam ducat ut supra. Plegii W. Hering, Hubertus ad Portam. Plegius dicte Avicie Walterus Molendinarius.

4. Court at Horsham 21 September 1290

(i.j.s.) Avicia Faber quia non cepit virum sicut ei preceptum fuit. Plegii Walterus Bercarius, Willelmus ad Molendinum.

(i.j.s.) Willelmus Sturmy quia non duxit Margaretam Lauk in uxorem sicut ei preceptum fuit. Plegii Willelmus Pyam, Radulphus Dendeney. Et habet respectum usque proximam curiam.

(xij.d.) Simon Fiche quia non duxit in uxorem Sibillam ad Molendinum. Plegii Walterus Molendinarius, Willelmus ad Molendinum.

(xij.d.) Simon Groberd quia non duxit Agnetem Viel in uxorem. Plegii Willelmus Olweyder, Petrus de Branford.

(respectum) Rogerus Rust habet licenciam ducendi uxorem citra proximam curiam.

(respectum) Galfridus Seglyn quia non duxit in uxorem Godam Pokoc. Et preceptum est ut ducat eam citra proximam curiam.

Inquisitio.

Willelmus Faber eligendus ducere Agnetem Ruddok in uxorem.

Johannes Cole eligendus ducere Agnetem in uxorem.

Robertus Bulur eligendus ducere Margaretam Dody in uxorem.

5. Court at Horsham 1 November 1291

(respectum) iij.d. de Avicia Fabro quia contempsit capere Robertum Bolle in virum.

(condonatur quia pauper) de Waltero Bishop quia non duxit Madde Colle.

xijd. de Roberto Bulwur quia non duxit Mabilam Mey.

6. Court at Horsham (ms. torn) 1292

iiid. de Simone Ro quia non ducit Aviciam Sturmy. Et dicta Avicia pro eodem. Plegius Simonis Walterus Heryng. Plegius Avicie Willelmus Pyam.

iiid. de Symone Crobert quia non duxit Agnetem Viel. Plegii Willelmus Faber, Hubertus Blocard.

Preceptum est tote soke eligere Johanni Cole uxorem. Et postea eligerunt Aviciam Heryng esse uxorem ejus. Et preceptus est ducere eam in uxorem.

iiid. Avicia Fabro quia contempsit capere Robertum Bole in maritum suum. Plegius Martinus Vyel.

iiid. Waltero Biscop quia non duxit Margeriam Colle et preceptum est ei ducere dictam Margeriam. Plegius Willelmus Biscop.

iiid. Galfrido Segelyn quia non duxit Golam Pokoc. Plegius Willelmus atte Mille.

iiid. de Roberto Bulwur quia non duxit Mabiliam le Mey.

7. Court at Salle 25 July 1328

Salle

Finis *vjd.* de Ricardo Thurkyld quia non habet uxorem.

Finis *iiijd.* de Willelmo atte Stile pro eodem.

Finis *iiijd.* de Alicia atte Stile quia non habet maritum.

Finis *iiijd.* de Johanne Nacke quia non habet uxorem.

Finis *ixd.* de Willelmo Cole pro eodem.

Dallyngge

Finis (condonatur quia pauper) de Rogero Dogge quia non habet uxorem.

Finis *iiijd.* de Agnete filia Cunstance quia non habet virum.

Finis *iijd.* de Adamo atte Dam quia non habet uxorem.

Dulton

Finis *ijs.* Willelmus atte Heyze quia non habet uxorem [et] de Radulpho fratre suo pro eodem.

Finis *iiijd.* de Radulpho atte Falgate pro eodem.

Thuringhe

Finis *vjd.* de Johanne Mayew quia non habet uxorem.

Finis *iiijd.* de Ade Mayew pro eodem.

Finis *iijd.* de Edmundo Mayew pro eodem.

iiij.d. de Nicholao Yaketh pro eodem.

vjd. de Johanna filia Thome Nicholai quia non habet virum [et] de Johanne sorore sua pro eodem.

8. Court at Salle 1 August 1329

Finis vs. *vjd.* Willelmus filius Thome atte Stile (*xij.d.*) quia non habet uxorem. Alicia filia Thome atte Stile (*xij.d.*) quia non habet virum. Johannes Nacke (*vjd.*) quia non habet uxorem. Willelmus Cock (*vjd.*) pro eodem. Adam atte Dam (*iiij.d.*), Rogerus Doche (*iiij.d.*), Agnes Miller (*xij.d.*), Willelmus atte Grene (*vjd.*) quia non habent uxores.

Finis *ijs.* Adam Mayew (*xij.d.*); Edmundus Mayew (*vjd.*) quia non habent uxores. Johanna Nichol (*iiij.d.*) et Johanna Nicol (*iiij.d.*) quia non habent viros.

Finis vs. *iiij.d.* Willelmus atte Heyze (*xviiij.d.*), Radulphus atte Heyze (*xl.d.*) et Radulphus atte Falgate (*vjd.*) quia non habent uxores.

Finis (vacata quia habet licenciam domini ordinari) de Hamone filio Luce le Lonerd quia non habet uxorem.

9. Court at Salle 8 September 1338

Finis *xd.* de Johanne Baldwyne quia non duxit uxorem infra annum.

Finis *iiij.d.* de Willelmo Blodleter pro eodem.

Finis *iiij.d.* de Sarra Baldwyne quia non maritavit se infra annum.

Finis *iiij.d.* de Alicia Ulf pro eodem.

Fins *iiij.d.* de Rogero Dodge quia non duxit uxorem infra annum.

Finis *iiij.d.* de Edmundo atte Brigge quia non duxit uxorem infra annum.

Finis *vjd.* de Willelmo filio Roberti Odonis pro eodem.

10. Court at Salle 6 May 1346

Johannes filius Luce le Lonerd venit in curiam et sursum reddit in manus domini totum illud mesuagium suum quod quondam fuit Luce le Lonerd in Salle cum quodam pictello ex parte austrina dicti mesuagij adjacentis ac etiam quatuor acras et dimidiam terre in quodam inclausura vocata Swowescroft et quatuor acras terre et pasture apud Rodiker cum pertinenciis in Salle. Et dominus reconcessit predictum messuagium cum pictello et predictas octo acras et dimidiam terre et pasture predicto Johanni filio Luce ad terminum vite sue. Et post decessum predicti Johannis filii Luce predictum messuagium cum pictello et predictae octo acre et dimidia terre et pasture integre remaneant Johanni filio Rogeri Lanerok senioris et Agnete filie predicti Johannis filii Luce et heredibus de corporibus eorundem exeuntibus. Et si contingat quod predicti Johannes filius Rogeri Lanerok et Agnes obierint sine heredibus de corporibus eorundem exeuntibus tunc predictum mesuagium cum pictello et predictae octo acre et dimidia terre et pasture integre remaneant

rectis heredibus predicti Johannis filii Luce tenendis ad voluntatem domini per servicia et consuetudines etc. salvo jure cuiuslibet etc. Et ulterius predicti Johannes filius Luce, Johannes filius Rogeri Lanerok et Agnes concedunt pro se hic in curia adinveniendis Emme, Johanne et Houlyne filiis predicti Johannis filii Luce sufficiens hospitium infra mesuagium predictum quousque maritentur etc. et etiam adinveniendis eisdem Emme, Johanne et Houlyne pasturam sufficientem pro una vacca a festo Inventionis Sancte Crucis usque festum Sancti Petri ad vincula annuatim quousque quelibet (qualibet ms.) earundem per se maritetur etc. et etiam adinveniendis eisdem focalum per tempus predictum ad cibum et potum earundem sufficienter faciendum etc. Et dant domino tam de fine quam pro predicta Agnete maritandi ut supra etc. [xxs.].

University of Michigan, Dearborn.

NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE DATE OF THOMAS AQUINAS' *LECTURA* ON MATTHEW*

Michael Arges

SCHOLARLY opinion has varied widely on the date of Thomas Aquinas' *Lectura* on the gospel of Matthew. Arguments have been given for dates as early as Thomas' first assignment as a Paris master (1256-59) and as late as his second Parisian regency (1269-72). Even those scholars discounting the earlier dates leave considerable room for uncertainty; for example, in her recent study of gospel expositions in the Paris schools, Beryl Smalley suggests the dates 1263-72.¹ I shall present here new evidence concerning Thomas' interpretation of the visible missions of the Holy Spirit, which, combined with a reexamination of previous arguments, points to a much more precise date for the *Lectura* on Matthew.

It has long been held that Thomas gave the *Lectura* in Paris, because mention is made of Paris and of various French regions and dialects.² Interpretations of the circumstances of Thomas' scholarly activity and the style of the *Lectura* have led some scholars to conclude that the commentary dates from the first, rather than the second, Paris regency. Some of these arguments falter because they presume a more detailed knowledge of the production of scholastic works than can now be established.³ Also needing reevaluation is the argument that the *Lectura* on

* This article is derived from a section of my Licentiate thesis, *The Visible Missions of the Holy Spirit in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985). Abbreviated titles of Thomas' biblical commentaries are taken from the Leonine edition (vol. 26) of the *Expositio super Job ad litteram* (Rome, 1965), p. 329.

¹ Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools c. 1100-c. 1280* (London-Ronceverte, West Va., 1985), pp. 257-58.

² The Marietti edition of the *Lectura* includes several local references: Thomas Aquinas, *Super evangelium s. Matthaei lectura* 9:1 lect. 1 (Cai, n.743), 26:73 lect. 7 (n.2296). See: James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Work* (Garden City, N. Y., 1974), p. 121 (and also the reprint [Washington, D. C., 1983], where he observes in the corrigenda and addenda on p. 468 that 'It now seems likely that the *Super Matthaemum* of Thomas was not written or delivered at Paris during his first regency...'); Palémon Glorieux, 'Essai sur les commentaires scripturaires de saint Thomas et leur chronologie', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17 (1950) 248; Paul Synave, 'Le catalogue officiel des œuvres de s. Thomas d'Aquin. Critique—origine—valeur', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 3 (1928) 39.

³ For example, based on his calculations of the average number of pages composed by Thomas in a year, Pierre Mandonnet estimates that Thomas would not have had time to exposit both the

Matthew represents an earlier, more imperfect structure and composition than the *Lectura* on John, because the former tends toward briefer, terser analysis with a greater use of allegory.⁴ However, many of the differences between these gospel commentaries may reflect the differing structure and content of the two gospels themselves. Comparison of Thomas' treatment of some parallel passages suggests that he is no less willing to employ allegory in his commentary on the gospel of John.⁵ Smalley's recent study indicates that allegory in Thomas' exegesis should not be regarded as an imperfection.⁶

Palémon Glorieux argues more persuasively for a date in the first Parisian regency, noting that, in the *Lectura* on Matthew, Thomas attributes the *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* of Gennadius to St. Augustine, as he does in the *Scriptum* on the Sentences, but that he avoids this incorrect attribution in such later works as the *Summa theologiae* and Quodlibets 3 and 12.⁷ This indicates that Thomas lectured on Matthew before completing the *prima pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, c. 1268, and therefore before his second regency in Paris.⁸ Convinced of its Parisian origin, Glorieux concludes that the *Lectura* must date from Thomas' first regency in Paris. We shall see that Thomas' citations of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* actually point to a date of 1263 or before for the *Lectura*, and that Glorieux's observation supports my argument that the *Lectura* was given during the period between the Parisian regencies.

I. T. Eschmann has constructed an especially influential argument for a date *after* the first Parisian regency based on five quotations of Aristotle's *Politics* in the

gospels of John and Matthew during his second Paris regency ('Chronologie des écrits scripturaires de saint Thomas d'Aquin', *Revue thomiste* 33 [1928] 119). I. T. Eschmann criticizes such calculations as constituting a "scholastic" determinism' ('A Catalogue of St. Thomas's Works' in Étienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas* [New York, 1956], pp. 390-93). There may be no fixed relationship between the proceedings in class and the final written form of lectures: it is not known whether all of the students' questions and master's comments are included in the written version.

Glorieux, *ibid.*, finds chronological significance in the fact that Thomas' chief secretary in his later years, Reginald of Piperno, is absent as a copyist in the *Lectura* on Matthew. However, Thomas appears to have used several secretaries at once, and one of the secretaries for the *Lectura* on Matthew, Peter of Andria, is also listed as copyist for the *Collationes de decem praeceptis*, a work of 1273 (Weisheipl, *ibid.*, pp. 371, 402-403).

⁴ Mandonnet, *ibid.*, 121-22; Glorieux, *ibid.*, 248; Paul Synave, 'Les commentaires scripturaires de saint Thomas d'Aquin', *La vie spirituelle ascétique et mystique* 8 (1923) 461.

⁵ Jesus' long, often abstract theological discourses in the gospel of John may call for more extended, less allegorical interpretation than do the brief 'aphoristic' sayings, parables, and genealogies employed in the synoptic gospels. See Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville-New York, 1975), pp. 200-201. Compare Aquinas, *Lectura super Mt* 3:16 lect. 2 (Cai, n.300), 26:7 lect. 1 (n.2131) with Thomas Aquinas, *Super evangelium s. Joannis lectura* 1:32 lect. 14.4 (Cai, n.272), 12:3 lect. 1.4 (n.1599).

⁶ Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools*, pp. 265-66.

⁷ Glorieux, 'Commentaires', 249. See Aquinas, *Lectura super Mt* 6:11 lect. 3 (Cai, n. 592).

⁸ Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 361. See Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1.62.1 arg. 1.

Lectura. Citing studies which indicate that there is 'no trace' of knowledge of Aristotle's *Politics* before book 3 of the *Summa contra gentiles* (c. 1260), Eschmann finds it unlikely that the lectures on Matthew were produced during the first regency in Paris.⁹ He points to *De veritate* 25.4, where Thomas fails to cite Aristotle's *Politics*. This omission suggests that Thomas is not yet familiar with the *Politics*, and consequently that the lectures on Matthew are to be dated after the *De veritate* (c. 1260).¹⁰ Eschmann challenges the assumption that the lectures on Matthew were necessarily given in Paris; he conjectures that the references to Paris and France in the *Lectura* could be interpolations by one of the reporters of the *Lectura*.¹¹ This leaves open the possibility of a date in the middle portion of Thomas' career between the two Parisian regencies.

H.-V. Shooner offers arguments which tend to support a date as late as the second regency for the *Lectura*. Observing that the *Lectura* employs new sources also present in the *Catena aurea* on Matthew, Shooner infers that the *Catena* predates the *Lectura*.¹² However, the possibility remains that the *Lectura* was produced first; there is no reason to assume that Thomas could not have explored new sources in the preparation of his lectures on scripture. Even Shooner's own evidence suggests a possible argument for the *Lectura* being earlier in date than the

⁹ I. T. Eschmann, 'The Quotations of Aristotle's *Politics* in St. Thomas' *Lectura Super Mathaeum*', *Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1956) 233, 239. Two citations from the *Politics* are listed in Charles H. Lohr, *St. Thomas Aquinas, Scriptum super sentiis: An Index of Authorities Cited* (Avebury, 1980), p. 190; however, one of these references is vague and the other is probably not original. An explicit reference to the *Politics* in Thomas Aquinas, 4 *Sent.* 19.1.1 quaestiuncula 3 ad 4, ed. M. F. Moos (Paris, 1947), p. 976 is absent from three early witnesses: London, Lambeth Palace Library 58, fol. 120v (s. XIII); Cambridge, Trinity College 382 (B.16.6), fol. 101v (s. XIV); and *Scriptum in quantum librum sententiarum* (Venice, 1481) (unfoliated).

¹⁰ Eschmann, *ibid.*, 239. *De veritate* 25.4, 'Utrum sensualis obediat rationi', omits mention of the distinction, drawn from Aristotle's *Politics*, between a 'principatus despoticus' and a 'principatus politicus vel regalis'. Eschmann argues that once Thomas knew this distinction, he almost invariably used it in discussions of the soul's relation to the human organism. Indeed, Eschmann insists that he knows of no later work of Thomas which fails to use this Aristotelian distinction in similar contexts.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 233-34, 240. A newly discovered version of a portion of the *Lectura* on Matthew, found in Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität B V 12, may represent part of the *reportatio* of Peter of Andria, traditionally one of the reporters of the *Lectura*, since two of the other three manuscripts (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Faesul. 98 and Santa Croce 28 dext. 7) list Leodegar of Besançon, a secular master of Paris, as the reporter. In the portion of the Basel manuscript which varies from the traditional three manuscripts, we find only one of the passages used to prove that the lectures were given in Paris, and it omits the reference to Paris included in the other manuscripts. This suggests to Eschmann that such local references may have been added by Leodegar.

¹² H.-V. Shooner, review of Eschmann, 'Quotations of Aristotle's *Politics*', in *Bulletin thomiste* 10 (1957-59) 153-57, no. 269. Among the new sources shared by the *Catena* and *Lectura* are the texts discovered by Thomas in the *Collectio casinensis* concerning the councils of Chalcedon and Ephesus.

Catena.¹³ Shooner further supports his conclusion that the *Lectura* on Matthew was a late work of St. Thomas by arguing that one of Thomas' secretaries, Peter of Andria, revised his own *reportatio* of the *Lectura* in 1273 or after, and that it seems unlikely that Peter would have waited several years before doing the revision.¹⁴ However, one can imagine possible reasons for a delay in the revision and publication of lecture notes.¹⁵ Also requiring further substantiation is Shooner's criticism of the argument by Glorieux concerning the citation of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* in the *Lectura* on Matthew.¹⁶

Most recently, Karlfried Froehlich has uncovered further evidence in his study of papal primacy in medieval exegesis.¹⁷ A passage from the *Lectura* on Matthew closely resembles a text from a spurious work of Cyril of Alexandria. This work apparently first came to Thomas' attention in 1263, as part of the *Libellus de fide Trinitatis*. Froehlich therefore argues for 1263 or later as the date of the *Lectura*.¹⁸

¹³ *ibid.*, 154-55. Shooner notes that a quotation from Cyril is cited incorrectly in the *Lectura* as a work of St. Ignatius but correctly in the parallel passage of the *Catena*. Shooner's explanation that this represents an error by the reporter is probably correct, but the inconsistency may also reflect Thomas' own clarification of his knowledge of sources.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 155-57. In Basel B V 12, the version of the *Lectura* on Matthew attributed to Peter of Andria as reporter, Shooner notes some passages which strongly resemble parallel texts from two series of sermons dated 1273: Thomas' *Collationes de decem praeceptis*, apparently reported by Peter, and *Collationes in Pater noster*. Since these parallels are absent from other manuscripts of the *Lectura*, Shooner concludes that they are the result of Peter's introduction of the later *Collationes* texts into his version of the *Lectura* as part of his reworking of his notes.

¹⁵ For example, Peter may not have originally intended to publish his notes on Thomas' lectures on Matthew, but did so at the request of friends or the stationer on the occasion of Thomas' death.

¹⁶ Shooner, review of Eschmann, 'Quotations of Aristotle's *Politics*,' 155-57 mentions that the mistaken attribution of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* to Augustine is absent from Basel B V 12, though present in the other three manuscripts, and he offers no comment as to which reading is original. If, as Shooner suggests, this portion of the Basel witness is based on Peter of Andria's touching up of his *reportatio* in later years, then it appears likely that the attribution to Augustine is original, for Peter is more likely to have corrected the false attribution in his revision than to have added an incorrect attribution, particularly if the *Lectura* on Matthew were a late work of St. Thomas.

¹⁷ Karlfried Froehlich, 'Saint Peter, Papal Primacy, and the Exegetical Tradition' in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300*, ed. Christopher J. Ryan (to be published by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto).

¹⁸ Compare Thomas' interpretation of 'the gates of hell' in the *Lectura super Mt* 16:18 lect. 2 (Cai, n.1385) with the passage beginning 'Que "ecclesia apostolica ab omni seductione et heretica circumuentione immaculata manet..."' in *Liber de fide Trinitatis* 2.98 (Leonine ed. 40A.145). According to the Leonine editors (40A.16) there is no known source for the pseudo-Cyrrillian *Thesaurus* before Nicholas of Durazzo, who apparently fabricated the work as part of his *Libellus de fide Trinitatis*. Pope Urban IV sent the *Libellus* to Thomas early in 1263 for his opinion; see Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 168-69, 389.

Note, however, what appears to be a direct quotation from the *Thesaurus* in Thomas Aquinas, 4 *Sent.* 24.3.2 quaestiuicula 3 sed contra 2 (Vivès ed. 11.43), and compare this with *Libellus* 2.98 (Leonine ed. 40A.146). The quotation from the *Thesaurus* may be a later addition to the text of 4 *Sent.*, but this reading is present in three early witnesses mentioned above (n. 9): London, Lambeth Palace Library 58, fol. 146r-v; Cambridge, Trinity College 382 (B.16.6), fol. 122r; and *Scriptum in*

I have found new evidence which, together with some of the previous arguments, points to 1263 as the date of the *Lectura* on Matthew. My reexamination of Thomas' citations of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* confirms Glorieux's contention that they have chronological significance. Detailed comparison of these citations points to 1263 as the *terminus ad quem* for the *Lectura*. An examination of the *Index thomisticus* and Thomas' use of sources in his other works indicates that Thomas did not discover the true authorship of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* until c. 1263, when, in the *Catena* on Matthew, he twice mentions Gennadius as author. Before that date he consistently cites Augustine as the author, as he does in all but one manuscript of the *Lectura* on Matthew.¹⁹ After 1263 he typically cites only the title.²⁰

quantum librum sententiarum. The *Thesaurus* citation may also be explained by the theory that the existing text represents a second version of the *Scriptum*, book 4; see Pierre Vallin, 'Une retouche au *Scriptum super quarto sententiarum* de Saint Thomas', *Recherches de science religieuse* 49 (1961) 561-63.

¹⁹ Thomas Aquinas, 2 *Sent.* 4.1.1 arg. 1, ed. Pierre Mandonnet (Paris, 1929), p. 132; 3 *Sent.* 34.2.1 quaestiuncula 3 sed contra 2, ed. M. F. Moos (Paris, 1933), p. 1143; 4 *Sent.* 4.3.3 solutio 4 (p. 195), 12.3.1 quaestiuncula 2 sed contra (p. 532), 12.3.1 solutio 3 (p. 534), 14.2.5 ad 5 (p. 631), 44.3.3 quaestiuncula 1 sed contra 1 (Vivès ed. 11.345 and see note), 45.1.1 solutio 2 (p. 358); Thomas Aquinas, *Contra impugnantes dei cultum et religionem* 6.3 (Leonine ed. 41A.98); Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* 28.2 arg. 8 (Leonine ed. 22.821); Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 362, 383. See also n. 16 above. Compare Weisheipl's analysis of Thomas' citation of this source (*Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 435-36).

Four possible exceptions to this pattern appear in the *Lectura* on Paul's epistles (dated between 1259 and 1268), where the work is cited by title only: Thomas Aquinas, *Super epistolas s. Pauli lectura*, ed. Raphael Cai, vol. 1: *Super primam epistolam ad Corinthios lectura* 11:27, 11:29 lect. 7 (nn.690, 699); vol. 2: *Super primam epistolam ad Thessalonicenses lectura* 5:23 lect. 2 (n.137); *Super epistolam ad Hebraeos lectura* 4:12 lect. 2 (n.222). (Are these citations evidence that Thomas gave the *Lectura* on the Pauline epistles in 1263 or after?) For the date of the *Lectura* on Paul's epistles, see Eschmann, 'A Catalogue of St. Thomas' Works' (n. 3 above), 399.

Probably inauthentic are attributions of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* to Gennadius in 3 *Sent.* 2.1.3 solutio 2 (p. 68) and in 4 *Sent.* 44.3.3 quaestiuncula 1 arg. 2 (p. 344). Three early witnesses read 'Augustinus' rather than 'Gennadius' at the latter locus: London, Lambeth Palace Library 58, fol. 220r; Cambridge, Trinity College 382 (B.16.6), fol. 176r; and *Scriptum in quantum librum sententiarum*. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 435 n. 31 notes that in the University Exemplar (Pamplona, Biblioteca del Cabildo 51, fol. 12v) the passage from 3 *Sent.* mentions no author.

²⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia* 3.9 resp. in *Quaestiones disputatae*, vol. 2 (Marietti ed., 1953), p. 65; 3.10 sed contra 1 (p. 70); 3.11 respondeo (p. 74). *Quaestiones disputatae de malo* 3.4 arg. 1 (Leonine ed. 23.74), 3.5 sed contra (p. 77); 4.1 arg. 2 and 6 (p. 103); 16.8 sed contra 3 (p. 320). *ST* 1.62.1 arg. 1; 1-2.80.4 sed contra; 2-2.186.3 ad 6; 3.5.1 respondeo; 3.5.2 respondeo; 3.8.7 arg. 2; 3.8.8 ad 1; 3.68.1 sed contra; 3.68.2 arg. 2. *Quaestiones disputatae de anima* 1 sed contra 1 in *Quaestiones disputatae*, vol. 2, p. 322. *De perfectione spiritualis vitae* 13 (Leonine ed. 41B.81:19, 35). *Quaestiones quodlibetales* 3.5.2 ad 2 (Marietti ed., 1956), p. 52. The one exception, in *Quaestiones quodlibetales* 12.7.2 resp. (p. 228), is consistent with the 'unfinished look' of Quodlibet 12: 'Dicendum, quod Augustinus hanc quaestionem non determinat, sed indeterminatam relinquit in lib. de Eccles. Dogmat. Sed ille liber non est Augustini, sed Gennadii.' See Leonard Boyle, 'The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care', *The Thomist* 38 (1974) 235-36.

From my study of the development of Thomas' theology of the visible missions of the Holy Spirit comes further proof that the *Lectura* on Matthew is to be dated before Thomas' second regency in Paris.²¹ Thomas describes visible missions of the Spirit as invisible missions which are accompanied by special visible manifestations, such as the dove of the Holy Spirit at Jesus' baptism and the wind and fire at Pentecost.²² Significant for the dating of the *Lectura* on Matthew is Thomas' characterization of these special added manifestations: is the dove at Jesus' baptism a true and natural animal, or only the likeness or species of a dove?

In the *Lectura* on Matthew, Thomas' position is the same as that of the earlier *Scriptum*. The descending dove is a 'likeness' or 'species' of a dove, rather than a true and natural animal:

... de novo formatur aliqua species ad repraesentationem divinorum effectuum, sicut in Ex. III, 2 apparuit Dominus in igne et rubo; et in legislatione, in fulgure et in tonitruo, Ex. XIX, 16. Unde columba fuit ad repraesentandam influentiam Spiritus sancti: et hoc est *Et vidit Spiritum Dei descendentem*.²³

Here Thomas follows the opinion of Bonaventure and Albert that there was only a 'species' or 'similitude' of a dove at Jesus' baptism.²⁴

The first sign of a change in Thomas' opinion on this issue comes in the *Catena aurea* on John, where Thomas includes a passage from Augustine's *De agone christiano* showing that God could specially make the true body of a dove for the occasion of Jesus' baptism.²⁵ Thomas uses the same text in both the *Summa theologiae* and the *Lectura* on John to support his new opinion that the visible mission at Jesus' baptism came through a dove which was a real and true animal formed at that time. For example, Thomas comments on Jo 1:32:

Utrum autem columba illa fuerit verum animal, et utrum praeexistens apparitioni: sciendum, quod rationabiliter dicitur illa fuisse vera columba. Venit enim Spiritus sanctus ad manifestandum Christum, qui cum sit veritas, non nisi per veritatem manifestandus erat.

Quantum vero ad secundum, dicendum, quod non praeexistit apparitioni; sed tunc virtute divina absque commixtione maris et feminae formata fuit, sicut et corpus Christi virtute Spiritus sancti conceptum, non ex virili semine. Et tamen fuit vera columba, quia, ut Augustinus dicit in libro *De Agone christiano*, 'Omnipotenti Deo, qui universam creaturam ex nihilo fabricavit, non erat difficile verum corpus

²¹ See further Michael Arges, *The Visible Missions of the Holy Spirit in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Licentiate thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985).

²² Thomas Aquinas, 1 *Sent.* 16.1.1 resp., ed. Mandonnet (Paris, 1929), pp. 370-71.

²³ Thomas Aquinas, *Lectura super Mt* 3:16 lect. 2 (Cai, n.299). See 1 *Sent.* 16.1.3 (pp. 375-78).

²⁴ Albert, 1 *Sent.* 16B.6 ad quest. 1 (Vivès ed. 25.451); Bonaventure 1 *Sent.* 16.1.3 ad 5 (Grottaferrata, 1934), p. 233.

²⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea* on Jo 1:22 (Marietti ed., 1953), p. 350.

columbae sine aliarum columbarum ministerio figurare, sicut non fuit difficile verum corpus in utero B. Virginis sine naturali semine fabricare.²⁶

Making a similar point in the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas argues that the Holy Spirit should be manifested through a true dove, because scripture calls the Spirit 'the Spirit of Truth'.²⁷

The text from *De agone christiano* appears to have prompted Thomas to change his opinion concerning the reality of the dove. He seems not to have been aware of this Augustinian text before citing it in the *Catena* on John.²⁸ Since the *Lectura* on Matthew includes Thomas' earlier opinion that only a similitude of a dove appeared, it probably should be dated before the *Catena* on John, completed between 1265 and 1267.²⁹

Thus the most likely date for the *Lectura* on Matthew is 1263. The pattern of Thomas' citations of *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* points to a date for the *Lectura* of 1263 or before, while the paraphrase of pseudo-Cyril's *Thesaurus*, noted by Froehlich, suggests a date of 1263 or after. Shooner's suggestion that the *Catena* and *Lectura* on Matthew use similar sources can be construed to support a date around 1263. Eschmann's analysis of the *Lectura*'s citations of Aristotle's *Politics* establishes a date after 1260, while my study of Thomas' developing view of the Holy Spirit's visible missions places the *Lectura* on Matthew before the *Catena* on John (1265-67).

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²⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Lectura super Jo* 1:32 lect. 14.4 (Cai, n.271).

²⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 3.39.7 resp.: 'Spiritus Veritatis'.

²⁸ One possible exception is a citation from Thomas' *Lectura* on the Pauline epistles, but this could be dated as late as 1268 (see n. 19 above): the commentary on 1 Cor 11:1 lect. 1 (Cai, n.583) in *Super epistolas s. Pauli lectura*, vol. 1, p. 343. For explicit citations see Robert Busa, *Index thomisticus, Sectio secunda: Concordantia altera* 1 (Stuttgart, 1974-80), p. 204 and Lohr, *Scriptum super sententiis*, pp. 199-228. According to the Leonine editors and Busa's index, Thomas does not cite *De agone christiano* in the *Summa contra gentiles*, and only nine times in the *Summa theologiae* (secunda pars and tertia pars). The editors of the *Summa* list several parallel texts in the *Scriptum* on Lombard's *Sentences*, but I can find no reference to *De agone christiano* in these parallel texts.

²⁹ Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 172-73.

THE BOETHIAN WHEELS OF FORTUNE AND FATE*

John C. Magee

IN 1929 H. R. Patch raised the question whether Boethius, by illustrating the movements of Fate (*Cons.* 4.6) with the metaphor of a series of nested circles, had not confused it with Fortune's wheel (*Cons.* 2.1-2). His concern arose from the appearance of the word *fortunisque* at *Consolatio* 4.6.19: 'In the last sentence quoted we may observe that Boethius himself has not been careful to distinguish between the works of Fate and those of Fortune, and thus that Fortune would be an easy substitute for Fate in the passage.'¹ Patch's implication clearly was that Boethius *had* (inadvertently) confused the two powers. Fate, although 'mutable', is not the same as her 'more customarily fickle sister, Fortune'. But if Patch was correct, the following question comes to mind: how can there be room for anything even the least fortuitous in the providentially ordered cosmos so forcefully asserted in the final book of Boethius' dialogue? This question remains unanswered by Boethian scholarship.

Patch set out to demonstrate that Boethius' wheel of Fate was influenced not, as had been thought, by Proclus but by Plotinus. Pierre Courcelle spotted a 'misconception' in the argument, and showed that Proclus' *De decem dubitationibus* (because it too placed the divine mind at the centre of the cosmos) should be reckoned a source for Boethius, but in turn raised another issue: Boethius uses *orbis* as a synonym for *circulus* in connection with Fate, and as Plotinus had spoken of a universe of concentric *spheres* (not circles), he therefore cannot have been Boethius' source.²

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¹ H. R. Patch, 'Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists', *Speculum* 4 (1929) 63. The text of Boethius' *Philosophiae consolatio* is cited from L. Bieler's edition (CCL 94; Turnhout, 1957). Metra are distinguished by 'm'.

² P. Courcelle, *Latin Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. H. E. Wedeck (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 305-306. Courcelle was arguing on the basis of what Proclus said at *De decem dubitationibus circa providentiam* 1 concerning the circle and its centre. See V. Cousin, ed., *Procli philosophi platonici opera inedita* (Paris, 1864), col. 82.2-14. Patch himself (*ibid.*, 66 n. 2) had read the passage, and should have seen that the notion of the hub as divine was not peculiar to Plotinus. The image may have come originally from Alexander. See M. Atkinson, *Plotinus: Ennead V.1. On the Three Principal Hypostases* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 236-37.

It is the intention of this article to demonstrate that (a) Boethius' expositions of Fortune and Fate and their wheels (or spheres) need not claim either Plotinus or Proclus exclusively as source, since the basic conception underlying his metaphor derived from a tradition of thought common to both those authors; and that (b) rather than confusing Fortune and Fate, Boethius regarded both as reducible to Providence. The Greek thought upon which he drew had already associated the powers of Fortune, Fate and Necessity with a bond that was circular in form. It will be necessary to consider very briefly some Presocratic, Platonic and Neoplatonic evidence before discussing the interpretation which that evidence suggests for Boethius. Since the further development of the metaphor of the cosmic bonds in Stoic thought has been lucidly expounded by Michael Lapidge, I shall not pursue that development here.³

In his well-known discussion of early Greek conceptions of the deity Necessity, R. B. Onians argued that Homer's expression for things destined (*ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται*) bore concrete reference to the act of spinning the stuff of a fate before *binding* it round the thing fated.⁴ An echo of the Homeric phrase may be heard in the Platonic myth of Er, where Clotho and Atropos were said to have 'spun' the fates before Necessity 'bound' them round.⁵ Moreover, Necessity, if Onians was correct, imposed a bond that was circular in form. In later literature, of course, the image of the Fates as weavers or spinners of thread was ubiquitous. It may have influenced figuratively the descriptions of Aphrodite's wheel (Ixion's fate),⁶ perhaps those of magic wheels such as that used by Simaetha in Theocritus' second *Idyll*,⁷ or even those of the Orphic wheel of fate.⁸

³ M. Lapidge, 'A Stoic Metaphor in Late Latin Poetry: The Binding of the Cosmos', *Latomus* 39 (1980) 817-37. Lapidge perhaps overstates the case when he says (p. 835) that 'there is no need to look outside the Latin tradition' for explanation of Boethius' metaphor. He is certainly right in pointing to the Stoic influences; I want to draw inferences from the Neoplatonic material Patch and Courcelle used. For further discussion of sources which Boethius may have followed, see also P. Courcelle, *La 'Consolation de philosophie' dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), pp. 103-34. On the Stoics, one may also consult M. Lapidge, 'Stoic Cosmology' in *The Stoics*, ed. J. M. Rist (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1978), pp. 161-85.

⁴ See R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 303-51 and 'On the Knees of the Gods', *The Classical Review* 38 (1924) 5. For the Homeric phrase, *Il.* 17.514 and *Od.* 1.267. One may also consult D. M. Robinson, 'The Wheel of Fortune', *Classical Philology* 41 (1946) 207-16 for an interesting discussion of the Greek sources for the metaphor.

⁵ *Rep.* 617B4: *στρέφεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν* [sc. *τὸν ἄτρακτον*] *ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γούνασι*. Plato altered the phrase, but Proclus pointed out the connection with Homer: *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem Publicam commentarii*, ed. W. Kroll, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899-1901; rpt. Amsterdam, 1965), 2.227:11-12.

⁶ On Ixion and Aphrodite's wheel, Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.25-48 and Ovid, *Meta.* 10.42 (a probable source for Boethius, *Cons.* 3.m12.34). On magic wheels, cf. Onians, *Origins*, p. 452.

⁷ *Idyll* 2.30-32. On *καράδεις*, see A. S. F. Gow, ed. and trans., *Theocritus*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1950), 2.37. Boethius probably read Theocritus, for he mentions him explicitly in his second commentary on the *Peri hermeneias* of Aristotle: *Anicii Manlii Seuerini Boetii commentarii in librum*

What is of more significance for present purposes, however, is that the conception of Necessity and Fate as circular bonds is found with great clarity in the earliest Greek philosophy. It occurs, for example, in Parmenides' description of the physical extension of the One (where Necessity and Fate *bind* the sphere with *πεῖρατα* or *δέσμοι*),⁹ and in atomist descriptions of the cosmic whorl, which Necessity constrains by means of a 'membrane'.¹⁰ It is also not surprising, therefore, to find that the words used in Antiquity for a belt or girdle (*ζώνη*, *zona*) came to denote the 'zones' of the heavenly vault or zodiac.¹¹

Plato gave fresh expression to these cosmic bands in terms of the role of mind. Fundamental to the *Timaeus* was the idea that the infinite is unintelligible.¹² Since

Aristotelis ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ (19a7), pars posterior, ed. C. Meiser, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1877-80), 2.234:13; and from the *Anecdota Holderi* (see Bieler's preface to the *Consolatio*, p. x) we know that he himself wrote a bucolic poem.

⁸ E.g., as in the Neoplatonists: *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria* (42C-D), ed. E. Diehl, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-1906; rpt. Amsterdam, 1965), 3.297:8-10 (the prayer κύκλου τ' ἄν λήξαι καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι κακότητος); *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo commentaria* 2.1 (284a14), ed. J. L. Heiberg (CAG 7; Berlin, 1894), p. 377.18 (= frs. 229-30 Kern; Diehl misnumbered the Procline fragment).

⁹ H. Diels, ed., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, rev. W. Kranz, 6th edition, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1951), 28 B 8.29-31; 28 B 8.37; 28 B 10.6-7 (hereafter 'Diels-Kranz'; all references are to the philosopher, section and fragment divisions assigned by Diels).

¹⁰ Leucippus' ὕμνη (Diels-Kranz 67 A 1). On Necessity in Democritus, see Diogenes Laertius 9.45; Aetius 1.25.4.

¹¹ Epiphanius attributes to Epicurus the idea of a belt (*ζώνη*) surrounding the universe (H. Diels, ed., *Doxographi graeci* [Berlin, 1879], p. 589: τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδῶς περὶ τὸ ὅλον ὡς στέφανον ἢ ὡς ζώνην περισφιγγειν τότε τὴν φύσιν). Similarly, Euphorion, fr. 122 (with Orphic or Pythagorean influence), on Ocean: Ὠκεανός, τῷ πᾶσα περίρρυτος ἐνδέδεται χθῶν, in J. U. Powell, ed., *Collectanea alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), p. 51. Onians, *Origins*, p. 316, following Schrader, wrongly attributed the fragment to Porphyry (H. Schrader, ed., *Porphyrii Quaestionum homericarum ad Iliadem pertinentium reliquiae*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1880], 1.239; H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 6 vols. [Berlin, 1969-83], 5.3 [= *Il.* 20.7b n.]). On the astronomical sense of *ζώνη* see, e.g., Diogenes Oenoandensis, frs. 8.1.12 and 20.2.2, ed. C. W. Chilton (Leipzig, 1967), pp. 16, 36; also, *Corpus hermeticum*, treatise 25, ed. A. D. Nock and trans. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Paris, 1945), 1.15-16. On 'zona' see, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 1.45-48, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, ed. J. H. Waszink (Plato Latinus 4; London-Leiden, 1962), §67 (the terrestrial zones, although the discussion is of the zodiac, with which the earthly zones are coordinate), and *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.15.13, 2.7.3, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), pp. 62, 117 (the celestial and terrestrial zones coordinate). Since Empedocles at least there had been among the Greeks a conception of the circle of the heavens enclosing the world (Diels-Kranz 31 B 38.4 [Titan-aether]).

¹² Cf. Boethius' dictum: *Anicii Manlii Seuerini Boethii in Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, editio secunda, ed. S. Brandt (CSEL 48; Vienna-Leipzig, 1906), p. 226.2-3: '... quoniamque scientia infinita esse non potest—nullus enim intellectus infinita circumdat' (my emphasis). Plato's spherical soul not only gave limit to the world, but was said to enjoy a life of ceaseless rational activity (*Tim.* 36E-37C). On the circle in Plato, see L. Ballew, 'Straight and Circular in Parmenides and the *Timaeus*', *Phronesis* 19 (1974) 189-209; E. N. Lee, 'Reason and Rotation: Circular Movement as the Model of Mind (*νοῦς*) in the Later Plato' in *Facets of Plato's Philosophy*, ed. W. H. Werkmeister (Assen, 1976), pp. 70-102; R. J. Mortley, 'Plato's Choice of the Sphere', *Revue des études grecques* 82 (1969) 342-45; E. W. Warren, trans., *Porphyry the Phoenician. Isagoge* (Toronto, 1975), p. 20.

the world was to have intelligible substructure, soul ('necessity')¹³ was introduced, to drive back the spontaneous tendency of matter towards chaos and dissipation. Soul bound the world in the form of a sphere.¹⁴ Plato spoke of the world as permeated by 'bond',¹⁵ and portrayed the Demiurge placing primordial limit upon it by construction of the concentric spheres of the Same and Other (celestial equator and ecliptic), which engaged in intellection 'of necessity'.¹⁶ This was the foundation for later models (Aristotle's included)¹⁷ of rational activity as somehow rounded, spinning, the product of necessity.

Plotinus' treatise¹⁸ on the axial rotation of the soul-cosmos followed Plato's thought, but made more explicit the idea that soul suppresses the tendency of matter to move in an endlessly rectilinear path towards dissipation, i.e., suppresses the tendency by making things to cleave (in orbit) as much as possible to the central Nous.¹⁹ His diction is significant, and recalls earlier thought: soul is a 'bond' sprung from God,²⁰ and the universe is the product of 'Necessity'.²¹ Also, Plotinus established a clear connection between soul as it set out for the lower

¹³ *Tim.* 47E-48A.

¹⁴ *Tim.* 33B-D. The language is Empedoclean (Diels-Kranz 31 B 28-29). Cf. Plato, *Soph.* 244E (Parmenides).

¹⁵ See in particular, *Tim.* 58A-B (the centripetal compression or bond caused by the circuit of the all); 37A: ἀνὰ λόγον ... συνδεθείσα [ψυχῇ] ... ἀνακκλουμένη πρὸς αὐτήν; 38E: δεσμοῖς τε ἐμψύχοις σώματα δεθέντα; 31C: δεσμῶν δὲ κάλλιστος; 73C: κατέδει τὰ τῶν ψυχῶν γέννη; 73D: πάσης ψυχῆς δεσμούς; 81D: τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς δεσμούς; 85E: τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ... πείσματα; 44D: ἐνέδησαν. Necessity and Fate (ἀνάγκη, νόμοι εἰμαρμένοι) place soul in body (*Tim.* 41E-42A). Cf. *Meno* 97D ('binding' true opinions with certain knowledge, lest they slip away like the statues of Daedalus).

¹⁶ *Tim.* 30C-31A, 34A-37C. The rotary movement of soul's intellection unifies the 'highest kinds' (*Tim.* 58A, 34A). The human soul must imitate the kindred revolutions of the World Soul (*Tim.* 90C-D). See also *Tim.* 37C: νοὺς ἐπιστήμη τε ἐξ ἀνάγκης. Cf. *Plotini opera. Porphyrii vita Plotini*, ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzler, 3 vols. (Paris-Brussels, 1951-73), 2.4.5:28-30 (all references are to internal divisions of the *Enneads*).

¹⁷ Of course Aristotle criticized the Timaeon account of soul (*De an.* 1.3 [406b26 ff.]), but he himself thought of the cosmos as driven round by Mind. This is discussed by W. D. Ross, ed. and comm., *Aristotle's Metaphysics*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1924), 1.cxxxviii.

¹⁸ *Enn.* 2.2.1: Περὶ κινήσεως οὐρανοῦ.

¹⁹ E.g., fire rises, and earth falls (a Stoic theme). The All must move, because it is a living being; soul introduces the compromise of rotary movement, which is at once change and rest, rectilinear and yet reverting back upon itself. Proclus would follow Aristotle, against Plotinus: fire rises and earth falls, but only so as to find their natural places in the ordered circuit of the whole (*In Tim.* 31B [Diehl 2.11:24-12:15]). Cf. Boethius, *Cons.* 4.m6.40-43: 'nam nisi rectos reuocans itus / flexos iterum cogat in orbes, / quae nunc stabilis continet ordo / dissaepa suo fonte fatiscant.'

²⁰ *Enn.* 2.1.4:16: παντὸς δὲ δεσμοῦ ... κρείττονα ... ἐκ θεοῦ ὥρμημένην; 6.9.1:41: ἃ τῷ ἐνὶ ὧσπερ δεσμῷ συνέχεται [sc. ψυχῇ]; 2.9.7:13: ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἂν δέοιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς δεδεμένων.

²¹ *Enn.* 3.2.3:3: ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὄντος αὐτοῦ; cf. 1.8.7:5, 3.2.2:33-36, 3.3.6:12 (following *Tim.* 47E-48A). On the circuit around Intellect, 3.2.3:30: αἰδίῳ περιφορᾷ νοῦ μιμῆσει κύκλῳ φερομένη ἐμφρόνως περὶ ταῦτόν αἰεί. The hub is the source of irradiation, and the focus of the celestial chorus: 4.4.8:45-61; 6.6.18:46; 6.9.9:1-16. Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 40C3: χορείας.

world (departed from the hub), Fortune (*Τύχη*), and Plato's celestial spindle of Necessity.²² Philo (on the Stoics) had similarly described *Τύχη* as *λόγος ὁ θεῖος*, dancing *ἐν κύκλῳ*.²³

The present survey concludes with a few of Proclus' comments on *Timaeus* 33B ff., which both Patch and Courcelle passed over. Proclus was following the *Laws* (898A ff.), in which the spinning of soul-reason was depicted as driving, and providentially watching over, the world. Proclus himself spoke of Nous engendering the sphere as the shape most fitting and like unto itself; of Noesis as the motion of a sphere, 'turned on the lathe'; and of the intelligible as 'converging inward upon itself' (*εἰς ἑαυτὸ συννεῦον*).²⁴ He quoted Parmenides, fr. 8.43-44, one line of which (*πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ*) Boethius also would quote at *Cons.* 3.12.37,²⁵ and he described the sphere as in some fashion complementary to the Demiurge, who embraces intelligibly all that the sphere embraces physically. He echoed Orphic material (the wheel of Fate) and even likened the Demiurge's formation of soul to Homer's description of Hephaestus, forging 'curving buckles, bracelets, earrings and chained necklaces'.²⁶ Thus soul *fettered* the world with limit:

ἡ δὲ σφαῖρα μοναδική τε οὔσα καὶ ἀπλῇ καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνῆκει τοῦ πέρατος,

and:

δεσμὸς δὲ πάντως κρατερὸς καὶ ἀδιάλυτος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ νοῦ· δεσμοῖς γάρ φησι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐμψύχοις δεθέντα ζῶα ἐγεννήθη.²⁷

Patch neglected to mention Proclus' descriptions of soul's circulations as imitating the intellectual *ἐνέργεια* around the selfsame Centre, and of the Pythagoro-

²² *Enn.* 4.3.17:16-31 and 3.4.6:47-60. When soul descends it comes under Fate and Necessity (2.3.9:1-14). The ascent is in effect a drawing in to the centre, making the individual centre one with that of the One (6.9.8:1-22). On the nested circles, see 4.4.16:20-31.

²³ *Quod deus immutabilis sit* 36.176: *χορεύει γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ λόγος ὁ θεῖος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ ... ὀνομάζουσι Τύχην.*

²⁴ *In Tim.* 33B (Diehl 2.69:13-19).

²⁵ *In Tim.* 33B (Diehl 2.69:20-22). Cf. Boethius, *Cons.* 3.12.37: 'Ea est enim diuinae forma substantiae ut neque in externa dilabatur nec in se externum aliquid ipsa suscipiat, sed, sicut de ea Parmenides ait ... rerum orbem mobilem rotat dum se immobilem ipsa conservat.' On Boethius' use of Proclus, see F. Klingner, *De Boethii Consolatione Philosophiae* (Philologische Untersuchungen 27; Berlin, 1921; rpt. Zürich-Dublin, 1966), pp. 42-66; Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 302.

²⁶ Proclus, *In Tim.* 33B (Diehl 2.70:2-25) (and the references therein to Orphic material). The Homeric passage is *Il.* 18.401: *πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἔλικας κάλυκας τε καὶ ὄρμους*. On Hephaestus, cf. Proclus, *In Rem Publ.* (Kroll 1.126-28).

²⁷ *In Tim.* 33B (Diehl 2.73:14-15), 28c (Diehl 1.314:14-16) respectively; cf. *ibid.* 34B (Diehl 2.107:14-19).

rean 'tower of Zeus' as the cosmic hub.²⁸ Soul was for Proclus the second of three concentric entities—not necessarily intermediate *spatially*, but intermediate in its associations both with body and with Nous, the κέντρον.²⁹

The intervening centuries did not remove a theme that was common to both Parmenides and Proclus: the figure of the circle (or sphere), whether cosmological or psychological, was conceived in connection with some ultimate form of bond or limit (δέσμος, πείραρ, ζώνη) which, at different times, symbolized Fortune (τύχη), Fate (μοῖρα) or Necessity (ἀνάγκη). For *both* Plotinus and Proclus, moreover, it was the centre of the circle that was a divine reality. It is possible now to turn to Boethius.

This part of the discussion must begin with two passages of *Cons.* 2, on Fortune and her wheel. The first comes from *prosa* 1. Philosophy has asked whether Boethius thinks it right to complain of Fortune's ways, having freely chosen ('sponte legisti' [2.1.17]; cf. 4.7.22: 'In uestra enim situm manu qualem uobis fortunam formare malitis') her as his mistress. It is not right, and so he must acquiesce in her rule: 'Tu uero uoluentis rotae impetum retinere conaris? At ... si manere incipit fors esse desistit.'³⁰ The second passage comes from *prosa* 2, where Fortune herself speaks. Would Boethius deny her her right over all that he possessed, as on loan from her? What she recalls (wealth, office, etc.) is hers; had it been Boethius', it could not have been lost. The sky, the year, the sea—each has its dominion. Why, then, does not she have hers? Then: 'Haec nostra uis est, hunc continuum ludum ludimus; rotam uolubili orbe uersamus; infima summis, summa infimis mutare gaudemus. Ascende si placet, sed ea lege, ne uti cum ludicri mei ratio poscet descendere iniuriam putes.'³¹

Two comments are in order:

(a) Fortune's *ludus* (the *rota* spinning *uolubili orbe*) has been freely chosen, and therefore involves no breach of the 'law' (*legem ... dominae moribus* [2.1.17-18]) under which Boethius must now fall. Fortune then is not anarchic, for even the

²⁸ *In Tim.* 33b (Diehl 2.72:16-23), 34b (Diehl 2.106:21). On the Pythagorean theory, see Aristotle, *De caelo* 2.13 (293b1-6); cf. Simplicius, *In De caelo* 2.13 (293b4) (Heiberg 515.6-8). A similar image is present in Boethius, *Cons.* 4.6.30: 'Qui cum ex alta prouidentiae specula [=ἐκ πύργου] respexit, quid unicuique conueniat agnoscit et quod conuenire nouit accommodat.'

²⁹ *In Tim.* 34b (Diehl 2.105:3-106:23) (against Porphyry). Proclus divided the world three ways, into intellect, soul and body. See J. Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Berlin-New York, 1978), pp. 282-83; A. Fortescue, ed. and comm., *A. M. S. Boethi De consolatione philosophiae libri quinque* (London, 1925; rpt. Hildesheim-New York, 1976), p. 83.

³⁰ *Cons.* 2.1.19.

³¹ *Cons.* 2.2.9-10.

most capricious tyrants and brigands necessarily operate with some (i.e., their own) sense of order or law. That is how power is maintained.³²

(b) The *ludus* is continual (*continuum*). The wheel *must* turn, and in this at least Fortune's inconstancy is constant.³³ She is not as 'fickle' as Patch maintained.

Let us turn now to the discussion of Fate, in book 4.

The first passage of interest shows clearly that the movements of Fortune and Fate are in fact coordinate, since they both involve the spinning of a circle, or orb (*orbis, circulus*):

Nam ut orbium circa eundem cardinem sese uertentium qui est intimus ad simplicitatem medietatis accedit ceterorumque extra locorum ueluti cardo quidam circa quem uersentur existit, extimus uero maiore ambitu rotatus quanto a puncti media indiuiduitate discedit tanto amplioribus spatiis explicatur, si quid uero illi se medio conectat et societ in simplicitatem cogitur diffundique ac diffluere cessat: simili ratione quod longius a prima mente discedit maioribus fati nexibus implicatur ac tanto aliquid fato liberum est quanto illum rerum cardinem uicinius petit; quodsi supernae mentis haeserit firmitati, motu carens fati quoque supergreditur necessitatem.³⁴

The argument is as follows. All things subject to Fate are subject also to Providence, but not vice versa (4.6.14). This is illustrated by the metaphor of concentric circles. The farther one moves from the centre, the more one is subject to Fate. On the other hand, the closer one comes to the centre, the more one shakes off Fate and attains to the providence of the *prima mens*. A proportion, reminiscent of Proclus, is put forward: *ratiocinatio : intellectus :: quod gignitur : quod est :: tempus : aeternitas :: circulus : punctus medius :: series fati : simplicitas prouidentiae*.³⁵ The language used (*conectat, fati nexibus implicatur*) plainly indicates that Fate 'binds' both the actions *and the fortunes* (the phrase that gave Patch difficulty) of men: 'Haec actus etiam fortunasque hominum indissolubili causarum conexione constringit.'³⁶

This can only mean that the 'fortuitous' changes of life described in book 2 were those at the outermost edge of the wheel, where the rotation would also produce a swift and violent alternation of movement up and down, as on a ferris wheel. It

³² Much as, e.g., St. Augustine argued (*De ciuitate Dei* 4.4) that there is little to separate the laws holding empires together from the bonds between brigands; even outlaws live according to the code that best supports their activities. Also, the anarchist does not seek altogether to abolish order or peace, but to replace the existing order with one more to his liking, which in turn will require protection by law or otherwise (*ibid.* 19.12).

³³ Cf. *Cons.* 2.1.9-10: 'Tu fortunam putas erga te esse mutata[m]: erras. Hi semper eius mores sunt, ista natura. Seruauit circa te propriam potius in ipsa sui mutabilitate constantiam....'

³⁴ *Cons.* 4.6.15-16.

³⁵ *Cons.* 4.6.17. On Proclus, see above, n. 2.

³⁶ *Cons.* 4.6.19.

is the region of diffusion (*diffundique ac diffluere*). Now, this movement at the outer edge, we must also conclude, is governed ultimately by the hub (*cardo, prima mens, superna mens, punctus medius* [4.6.15-17]), where the change is less marked, or entirely absent. In this way of seeing things, Fortune 'proceeds' from Fate.³⁷ But Fate in turn is simply Providence as it unfolds in time:

Qui modus cum in ipsa diuinae intellegentiae puritate conspicitur, prouidentia nominatur; cum uero ad ea quae mouet atque disponit refertur, fatum a ueteribus appellatum est. ... Prouidentia namque cuncta pariter quamuis diuersa quamuis infinita complectitur, fatum uero singula digerit in motum locis, formis ac temporibus distributa, ut haec temporalis ordinis explicatio in diuinae mentis adunata prospectum prouidentia sit, eadem uero adunatio digesta atque explicata temporibus fatum uocetur.³⁸

The language of binding appears once again (*nectit, complectitur* [4.6.9-10]).³⁹ Fortune is symbolized by the rim, Providence by the hub, of the wheel. Fate has the area within. Departure from the hub, a voluntary act not unlike Plotinus' *τόλμα*, recalls also the Plotinian themes of exile from the *patria*, and of soul being *fettered* by magic in its descent.⁴⁰ Boethius described it this way, at 1.3.3: 'Et quid ... tu in has exsilii nostri solitudines ... supero cardine delapsa uenisti?'

That Boethius' circle of Providence-Fate-Fortune is a unified entity, and derives conceptually from the Timaeon cosmos, is evident from the tightly knit structure of the dialogue, at the heart of which, and surrounded (as Gruber notes) by a nearly perfect symmetry of metra, lies the celebrated paraphrase of *Timaeus* 34c-37c:

Tu triplicis mediam naturae cuncta mouentem / conectens animam per consona membra resoluus; / quae cum secta duos motum glomerauit in orbes, / in semet reditura meat mentemque profundam / circuit et simili conuertit imagine caelum.⁴¹

³⁷ Just as Fate 'proceeds' from Providence (*procedit* [Cons. 4.6.11], *proficiscatur* [4.6.19]). Cf. Cons. 5.1.19: 'Concurrere uero atque confluere causas facit ordo ille ineuitabili conexione procedens qui de prouidentiae fonte descendens cuncta suis locis temporibusque disponit.' Complementing the Neoplatonic theme of procession is that of return (e.g., *reduci* ... *igne*, 3.m9.21). See Gruber, *Kommentar*, p. 285.

³⁸ Cons. 4.6.8, 10.

³⁹ Cf. Cons. 5.2.2: 'fatalis catena constringit'; *In Perih. librum* (18b9), pars posterior (Meiser 2.209:28): 'necessitatis nexu ... contineri.'

⁴⁰ On *τόλμα*, *Enn.* 5.1.1:4 and cf. 4.3.13:17-22; on exile from the homeland, 1.6.8:8-27 and 5.9.1:20-21; on soul fettered by the 'bonds of magic', 4.3.17:27. On the theme of descent, cf. Boethius, Cons. 1.m4:17-18: 'abiecit clipeum locoque motus / nectit qua ualeat trahi catenam'; 3.m12:52-58: 'Vos haec fabula respicit / quicumque in superum diem / mentem ducere quaeritis; / nam qui Tartareum in specus / uictus lumina flexerit, / quicquid praecipuum trahit / perdit dum uidet inferos'; 5.2.9-10: '... extrema uero est seruitus cum uitii deditae rationis propriae possessione ceciderunt. Nam ubi oculos a summae luce ueritatis ad inferiora et tenebrosa deiecerint, mox inscitiae nube caligant...'; 5.m5:13-15: 'Qui recto caelum uultu petis exserisque frontem, / in sublime feras animum quoque, ne grauata pectus / inferior sidat mens corpore celsius leuato.'

⁴¹ Cons. 3.m9:13-17. See Gruber, *Kommentar*, pp. 22-23, 230, 277; H. Chadwick, *Boethius. The*

This is the hub, the *mens profunda* as it were, of the whole dialogue. It is no accident that it is surrounded at equal distances by the explications, in books 2 and 4 respectively, of the wheels of Fortune and Fate. The dialogue, as Boethius intended his readers to grasp, is roundedly symmetrical.⁴²

Book 5 reveals why Philosophy spoke of the wheel of 'Fortune' in book 2, but that of 'Fate' in book 4: every object, she explains, is known only in accordance with the powers of the beings that know it.⁴³ Different levels of cognition do not require different objects. Higher levels subsume the lower, but not vice versa, which is consonant with the view we have seen expressed concerning the relationship between Providence and Fate. In book 2 Boethius' vision was weak, and fixed on the apparent fortuitousness of things. In book 4 he was better able to see the metaphor of the circle in its symbolic unity.

Fortune spins (lest there be confusion) a *rota*,⁴⁴ which is a 'slice' or cross-section of the complete and all-inclusive sphere of the providential cosmos. She is equated with the changes of time. Fate, both *orbis* and *circulus*,⁴⁵ is somehow intermediate: fixed, yet moving; perpetual, yet temporal.⁴⁶ The soul that does not see the central mind which imparts rotation to the whole becomes enmeshed in the bonds of Fate's wheel; eventually, it ceases to coordinate the buffeting movement of what it then calls 'Fortune' with the unified power turning things from within. It sees Fate and Providence only in their furthest effects, and so labors under the misconception that life is fortuitous.

Patch need not have been concerned about the 'confusion' of Fate and Fortune, since they are in fact one and the same reality, although seen under different aspects; nor is there any inconsistency in the place given to Fortune in Boethius' account of Providence. Moreover, Courcelle was reading too much into the distinction of circle and sphere in regard to Boethius' use of *orbis* in connection

Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy (Oxford, 1981), p. 234; also, H. Scheible, *Die Gedichte in der Consolatio Philosophiae des Boethius* (Heidelberg, 1972), especially pp. 106-108.

⁴² Cf. E. Scarry, 'The Well-Rounded Sphere: The Metaphysical Structure of the *Consolation of Philosophy*' in *Essays in the Numerical Criticism of Medieval Literature*, ed. C. D. Eckhardt (Lewisburg, N. Y.-London, 1980), p. 96: '... book 3, verse 9 ... is the center of a circle whose circumference is defined by the remainder of book 3, and book 3 is the center of a sphere whose circumference is defined by books 1, 2, 4, and 5.' One must approach Scarry's article with caution, however, for the number schemes have little to do with the author of the *De institutione arithmetica*, while the metaphysics do not reflect the Neoplatonic sources of the *Consolatio*.

⁴³ *Cons.* 5.4.24-39. The idea can be traced back to Iamblichus, through Ammonius. See Gruber, *Kommentar*, p. 398; Klingner, *Consolatione*, p. 106; Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 310 n. 98. Cf. Proclus, *The Elements of Theology*, ed. and trans. E. R. Dodds, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1963), prop. 124 (p. 111).

⁴⁴ Above, n. 30.

⁴⁵ Above, nn. 34-35.

⁴⁶ On 'aeternum' and 'perpetuum', see *Cons.* 5.6.12-14. Cf. Proclus, *Elements*, prop. 55 (pp. 53-54).

with Fate. After all, Plotinus (as Courcelle himself saw) *did* refer to the heavenly 'circle',⁴⁷ and, in any case, it was by setting two concentric circles spinning on their respective axes (almost as if having set coins spinning on edge) that Plato's Demiurge constructed the cosmic sphere.⁴⁸ The image of the circle or sphere (soul) suggested in both instances a form of bond, and pointed back ultimately to what the later thinkers thought to have found in the language and cosmology of Parmenides.

Boethius' Fortune is in no wise capricious. We are free not to acknowledge the fact, but it is the *fatalis catena*, not luck, that uncovers for us the buried treasure. Thus the circumulations of Fortune's wheel are as constant, indeed inevitable, as those of the heavens, or of the very thoughts of God. That is Philosophy's consolation.⁴⁹

Columbia University.

⁴⁷ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 306 n. 74; Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.7.1:24, 2.2.1:31, 2.2.1:36, 2.2.2:7, 5.1.7:8, 6.5.5:5, etc.

⁴⁸ *Tim.* 36C1; 36D5; 36E3; 37B7; 37C1; 40C5. Cf. *Laws* 898A5. Of course, both Plato and Plotinus use 'sphere' as well, but the verbal distinction does not require any change in the metaphor.

⁴⁹ Gruber's remark (*Kommentar*, p. 170) seems wide of the mark: 'Wesentlich ist für Boethius, daß das Rad so schnell läuft, daß man es nicht aufhalten kann.' The stopping of the wheel—unlike our roulette ('round and round and round it goes')—is not what is to be desired, for that would be to stop the heavens, even Intellect. The wheel must spin; only our position on it can change. Fortune is averted not by stopping her wheel, but by holding to its centre. The close connection between Fortune and the celestial spinning that produces the different times of the year was established at *Cons.* 1.m5. There is in fact unity behind the 'give and take' of the seasons. This escaped Boethius, which led Philosophy in the next prose (1.5.2-3) to comment upon the seriousness of his self-imposed exile from the 'patria' or centre. On fortuitous or 'chance' occurrences (Aristotle's famous example of the buried treasure), see *Cons.* 5.1.11-18.

THE OCCURRENCES OF *ĀC* 'OAK' IN OLD ENGLISH: A LIST

Douglas Moffat

THE publication of *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* and *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The High-Frequency Words* provides the student of Old English with ready access to each word in the corpus,¹ but neither work, of course, attempts to differentiate between homographic forms, i.e., words with separate meanings but identical spellings. While this problem is not usually insurmountable, in certain cases words of relatively low frequency are grouped together with very common words—those in the *High-Frequency* concordance—and further refinement is required in order to make these low frequency homographs easily accessible to the user. One such case is the Old English word for 'oak', the full declension of which is given by Campbell (§627): n.s., a.s. *āc*, g.s. *āce* d.s. *ācē*, *āce*, *āc*, n.p., a.p. *ācē*, g.p. *ācana*, d.p. *ācum*.² In the *High-Frequency* concordance the nominative, accusative, and, occasionally, dative singular form *āc* is grouped together with the 9,425 occurrences of the adversative conjunction *ac*.

There are 105 occurrences of *āc* in Old English. Because the oak figured prominently as a boundary marker, *āc* appears most often (79 times) in Old English charters. It also occurs as a gloss for the rune *ſ* (7 times) and for Latin

¹ Richard L. Venezky and Antonette diPaolo Healey, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 1; Toronto, 1980); the short references accompanying the lists below can be found in full in the volume published with this concordance (*The List of Texts and Index of Editions*); Richard L. Venezky and Sharon Butler, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. The High-Frequency Words* (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 2; Toronto, 1985).

² Campbell notes (§627 n. 1) that, as a rune name, *āc* follows the *a*-declension, not its usual feminine athematic one. The following studies of *āc* are listed in *Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index*, ed. Angus Cameron, Allison Kingsmill, and Ashley Crandell Amos (Toronto Old English Series 8; Toronto, 1983): O. B. Schlutter, 'Zu Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*. II', *Anglia* 19 (1897) 473; F. A. Wood, 'Etymologies', *The Journal of Germanic Philology* 2 (1898-1900) 213 and 'Germanic Etymologies', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 13 (1914) 499; J. Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 255; H. Falk, 'Altnordisches Seewesen', *Wörter und Sachen* 4 (1912) 87; P. Bierbaumer, *Der botanische Wortschatz des Altenglischen*, vol. 1: *Das Læceboc* (Grazer Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 1; Berne-Frankfurt, 1975), p. 1 and vol. 3: *Der botanische Wortschatz in altenglischen Glossen* (Grazer Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 3; Frankfurt-Berne-Las Vegas, 1979), pp. 1-2. The fullest treatment is the last listed.

ilex, *quercus*, *robor*, or (?) *color* (9 times); there are 7 occurrences in medical texts and 3 other isolated instances, 2 in verse and 1 in an Ælfric homily. (6 citations that appear in the *High-Frequency* concordance under *ac* are, in fact, Latin, not Old English.) All the Old English non-conjunctive *āc*'s are listed below according to their location: Charters, Rune Glosses, Latin Glosses, Medical, Other; the Latin forms are given as well. They are designated first by the abbreviated title and reference used in the *High-Frequency* concordance, secondly by the fiche number, thirdly by page number, i.e., by the page number on the fiche itself. All relevant double occurrences of *āc* in a single concordance citation are treated as single entries.

For the sake of completeness, lists of the four other undeclined forms of 'oak' have been added here. The most frequent, 52 occurrences, all in charters, is *āc*, the nominative, accusative plural and, occasionally, dative singular form of *āc*. It is found in the *Microfiche Concordance* with *æc*, the smoothed form of *eac* 'also'. Much less common are *oc*, *aac*, and *ache*. *Oc*, occurring only 6 times, all in charters, is grouped in the *Microfiche Concordance* with *oc*, a variant of conjunctive *ac*; *aac* appears 3 times in charters, once in a medical text, and 6 times as a gloss for Latin; *ache* occurs twice, both times in the *Heptateuch*. Peculiar variants of the main spellings (*ak*, *acc*, *æcc*, *ok*) are indicated after the relevant entries.

ĀC (A Microfiche Concordance of Old English: The High-Frequency Words)

I. Charters

1. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	1; A002, 557
2. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	1; A002, 557
3. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	9; A002, 557
4. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	10; A002, 557
5. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	10; A002, 557
6. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	10; A002, 557
7. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	13; A002, 557
8. Ch 60	(Birch 204)	14; A002, 557
9. Ch 64	(Birch 123)	4; A002, 557
10. Ch 142	(Birch 219)	10; A002, 557
11. Ch 142	(Birch 219)	11; A002, 557
12. Ch 179	(Birch 356)	20; A002, 557
13. Ch 179	(Birch 356)	21; A002, 557
14. Ch 179	(Birch 356)	31; A002, 557
15. Ch 179	(Birch 356)	32; A002, 557
16. Ch 179	(Birch 356)	35; A002, 557
17. Ch 179	(Birch 356)	36; A002, 557
18. Ch 258	(Birch 179)	4; A002, 557
19. Ch 377	(Birch 625)	5; A002, 557

20. Ch 383	(Birch 628)	4; A002, 557
21. Ch 423	(Birch 696)	1; A002, 557
22. Ch 440	(Birch 729)	5; A002, 557
23. Ch 440	(Birch 729)	5; A002, 557
24. Ch 441	(Birch 730)	6; A002, 557
25. Ch 475	(Birch 770)	5; A002, 557
26. Ch 475	(Birch 770)	5; A002, 557
27. Ch 491	(Birch 789)	5; A002, 557
28. Ch 509	(Birch 816)	4; A002, 557 (AK)
29. Ch 553	(Birch 887)	3; A002, 557
30. Ch 553	(Birch 887)	11; A002, 558
31. Ch 557	(Birch 890)	3; A002, 558
32. Ch 565	(Birch 905)	6; A002, 558
33. Ch 565	(Birch 905)	7; A002, 558
34. Ch 619	(Birch 982)	8; A002, 558
35. Ch 619	(Birch 982)	9; A002, 558
36. Ch 630	(Birch 970)	32; A002, 558
37. Ch 630	(Birch 970)	38; A002, 558
38. Ch 651	(Birch 1035)	4; A002, 558
39. Ch 659	(Birch 1029)	2; A002, 558
40. Ch 659	(Birch 1029)	2; A002, 558
41. Ch 664	(Birch 936)	20; A002, 558
42. Ch 677	(Birch 1040)	3; A002, 558
43. Ch 677	(Birch 1040)	3; A002, 558
44. Ch 681	(Birch 1052)	10; A002, 558
45. Ch 681	(Birch 1052)	10; A002, 558
46. Ch 688	(Birch 1067)	4; A002, 558
47. Ch 754	(Birch 1200)	6; A002, 558
48. Ch 786	(Birch 1282)	43; A002, 558
49. Ch 786	(Birch 1282)	84; A002, 558
50. Ch 786	(Birch 1282)	105; A002, 558
51. Ch 786	(Birch 1282)	145; A002, 559
52. Ch 786	(Birch 1282)	148; A002, 559
53. Ch 801	(Birch 1312)	6; A002, 559
54. Ch 801	(Birch 1312)	6; A002, 559
55. Ch 811	(Birch 1319)	13; A002, 559
56. Ch 811	(Birch 1319)	13; A002, 559
57. Ch 857	(Kem 652)	7; A002, 559
58. Ch 857	(Kem 652)	7; A002, 559
59. Ch 867	(Kem 658)	9; A002, 559
60. Ch 943	(Hart)	7; A002, 559
61. Ch 1227	(Kem 951)	1; A002, 559
62. Ch 1248	(Birch 82)	3; A002, 559
63. Ch 1248	(Birch 82)	4; A002, 559

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| 64. Ch 1272 (Birch 455) | 19; A002, 559 |
| 65. Ch 1300 (Birch 1088) | 7; A002, 559 |
| 66. Ch 1380 (Dugdale) | 60; A002, 559 |
| 67. Ch 1395 (Kem 765) | 4; A002, 559 |
| 68. Ch 1395 (Kem 765) | 5; A002, 559 |
| 69. Ch 1562 (Perceval) | 9; A002, 559 |
| 70. Ch 1562 (Perceval) | 11; A002, 559 |
| 71. Ch 1595 (Hearne) | 24; A002, 559 |
| 72. Ch 1595 (Hearne) | 24; A002, 559 |
| 73. Ch 1596 (Birch 362) | 3; A002, 559 |
| 74. Ch 1598 (Hearne) | 7; A002, 559. |

Mispunctuation renders the first *ac* in this citation ambiguous. However, it refers to the same *cristel mæl ac* as the one that follows.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| 75. Ch 1598 (Hearne) | 7; A002, 559 |
| 76. Ch IWm (Earle) | 29; A002, 559 |
| 77. Ch Radulfus (Hearne) | 2; A002, 559 |
| 78. Ch Radulfus (Hearne) | 5; A002, 560 |
| 79. Ch 353 (Birch 563) | 45; A002, 560 |

II. Rune Glosses

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. MRune | 77; A001, 28 (see ĀC V.2 below) |
| 2. MSRune 1.1 (Derolez) | 25; A002, 596 |
| 3. MSRune 1.2 (Derolez) | 25; A002, 596 |
| 4. MSRune 1.3 (Derolez) | 32; A002, 596 |
| 5. MSRune 1.4 (Derolez) | 26; A002, 596 |
| 6. MSRune 2.1 (Derolez) | 25; A002, 596 |
| 7. MSRune 2.2 (Derolez) | 25; A002, 596 |

III. Latin Glosses

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. ÆGram | 29.19; A001, 226. <i>quercus</i> . |
| 2. ÆGram | 69.11; A001, 227. <i>ilex</i> |
| 3. ÆGl | 7.3; A001, 234. <i>quercus, ilex</i> |
| 4. OccGl 28 (Nap) | 353; A003, 652. <i>quercus (ACC)</i> |
| 5. AntGl 4 (Kindschi) | 206; A003, 653. <i>quercus, quernus, ilex</i> |
| 6. AntGl 4 (Kindschi) | 207; A003, 653. <i>robur</i> |
| 7. CIGl 1 (Stryker) | 946; A003, 653. <i>color</i> |
| 8. CIGl 2 (Quinn) | 393; A003, 653. <i>robor</i> |
| 9. CollGl 25 | 188; A003, 653. <i>robor</i> |

IV. Medical

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Lch II(1) | 6.3.5; A002, 590 |
| 2. Lch II(1) | 23.1.5; A002, 590 |
| 3. Lch II(1) | 36.1.1; A002, 590 |
| 4. Lch II(1) | 44.2.10; A002, 590 |

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 5. Lch II(2) | 51.3.22; A002, 593 |
| 6. Lch II(3) | 26.1.3; A002, 593 |
| 7. Med 5.4.2 (Cockayne) | 6; A002, 593 |

V. Other

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1. Rid 55 | 7; A001, 17 (<i>ACC</i>) |
| 2. MRune | 77; A001, 28 (see <i>AC</i> II.1 above) |
| 3. ÆCHom II | 10.90.300; A001, 93 |

VI. Latin *ac*

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. ÆGram | 73.15; A001, 227 |
| 2. ÆGram | 73.15; A001, 227 |
| 3. ÆGram | 259.4; A001, 233 |
| 4. ÆGram | 259.6; A001, 233 |
| 5. Ch 84 (Birch 139) | 1; A002, 557 |
| 6. Ch 360 (Birch 596) | 63; A002, 557 |

ÆC (A Microfiche Concordance of Old English)

Charters

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ch 488 (Birch 786) | 2.8; Æ001, 104 |
| 2. Ch 660 (Birch 1045) | 3; Æ001, 104 |
| 3. Ch 1486 (Whitelock 15) | 53; Æ001, 105 |
| 4. Ch 142 (Birch 219) | 12; Æ001, 105 (<i>ÆCC</i>) |
| 5. Ch 242 (Birch 102) | 8; Æ001, 105 |
| 6. Ch 255 (Birch 1331-3) | 1.32; Æ001, 105 |
| 7. Ch 255 (Birch 1331-3) | 2.34; Æ001, 105 |
| 8. Ch 258 (Birch 179) | 4; Æ001, 105 |
| 9. Ch 284 (Birch 398) | 10; Æ001, 105 |
| 10. Ch 360 (Birch 596) | 57; Æ001, 105 |
| 11. Ch 360 (Birch 596) | 57; Æ001, 105 |
| 12. Ch 377 (Birch 625) | 3; Æ001, 105 |
| 13. Ch 386 (Birch 724) | 3; Æ001, 105 |
| 14. Ch 412 (Birch 674) | 48; Æ001, 105 |
| 15. Ch 430 (Birch 707) | 12; Æ001, 105 (<i>ÆCC</i>) |
| 16. Ch 470 (Birch 748) | 1; Æ001, 105 |
| 17. Ch 470 (Birch 748) | 15; Æ001, 105 |
| 18. Ch 544 (Birch 883) | 3; Æ001, 105 |
| 19. Ch 544 (Birch 883) | 12; Æ001, 105 |
| 20. Ch 553 (Birch 887) | 5; Æ001, 105 |
| 21. Ch 557 (Birch 890) | 4; Æ001, 105 |
| 22. Ch 563 (Birch 903) | 7; Æ001, 105 |
| 23. Ch 567 (Birch 906) | 5; Æ001, 106 |

24. Ch 664 (Birch 936)	16; Æ001, 106
25. Ch 664 (Birch 936)	17; Æ001, 106
26. Ch 664 (Birch 936)	19; Æ001, 106
27. Ch 690 (Birch 1066)	2; Æ001, 106
28. Ch 754 (Birch 1200)	6; Æ001, 106
29. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	43; Æ001, 106
30. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	66; Æ001, 106
31. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	66; Æ001, 106
32. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	70; Æ001, 106
33. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	70; Æ001, 106
34. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	84; Æ001, 106
35. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	97; Æ001, 106
36. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	97; Æ001, 106
37. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	152; Æ001, 106
38. Ch 786 (Birch 1282)	152; Æ001, 106
39. Ch 837 (Kem 624)	13; Æ001, 106
40. Ch 867 (Kem 658)	9; Æ001, 106
41. Ch 898 (Kem 705)	4; Æ001, 106
42. Ch 898 (Kem 705)	4; Æ001, 106
43. Ch 916 (Nap-Steven 11)	14; Æ001, 106
44. Ch 916 (Nap-Steven 11)	14; Æ001, 106
45. Ch 1004 (Sanders)	1; Æ001, 107
46. Ch 1004 (Sanders)	3; Æ001, 107
47. Ch 1004 (Sanders)	3; Æ001, 107
48. Ch 1300 (Birch 1088)	3; Æ001, 107
49. Ch 1300 (Birch 1088)	4; Æ001, 107
50. Ch 1300 (Birch 1088)	5; Æ001, 107
51. Ch 1556 (Birch 299)	8; Æ001, 107
52. Ch 1556 (Birch 299)	9; Æ001, 107

AAC (A Microfiche Concordance of Old English)

I. Charters

1. Ch 79 (Birch 124)	4; A001, 111
2. Ch 364 (Birch 588)	7; A001, 111
3. Ch 563 (Birch 903)	7; A001, 111

II. Latin Glosses

1. CorpGl 2 (Hessels)	3.648; A001, 111. <i>color</i>
2. CorpGl 2 (Hessels)	16.206; A001, 111. <i>robor arbor</i>
3. EpGl (Pheifer)	242; A001, 111. <i>color</i>
4. EpGl (Pheifer)	728; A001, 111. <i>robor</i>
5. ErfGl 1 (Pheifer)	235; A001, 111. <i>color</i>
6. ErfGl 1 (Pheifer)	863; A001, 111. <i>robor</i>

III. Medical

1. Med. 5.10 (Schauman-Cameron) 18; A001, 111

ŌC (A Microfiche Concordance of Old English)

Charters

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ch 485 (Birch 775) | 19; 0001, 35 |
| 2. Ch 277 (Birch 410) | 6; 0001, 35 |
| 3. Ch 481 (Birch 776) | 3; 0001, 35 (<i>OK</i>) |
| 4. Ch 481 (Birch 776) | 3; 0001, 35 (<i>OK</i>) |
| 5. Ch 943 (Hart) | 6; 0001, 35 |
| 6. Ch 1863 (Finberg) | 3; 0001, 35 |

ACHE (A Microfiche Concordance of Old English)

Biblical

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Gen | 35.8; A002, 267 |
| 2. HeptNotes | 28; A002, 268 |

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